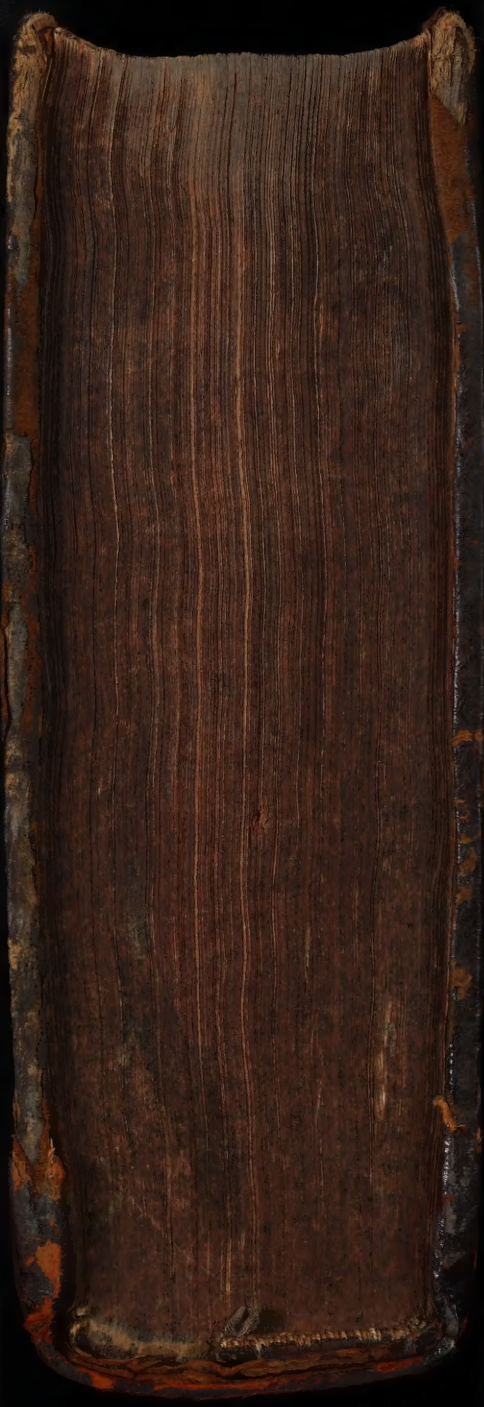
HISTORIE
OF
GUICCIARDIN

1579



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571 Guicciardin. Historie, conteining the Warres of Italie and other partes, reduced into English by Geffray Fenton (*some inner margins wormed*), *old calf* *T. Vautrollier*, 1579

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THE HISTORIE of Guicciardin,

CONTEINING THE VVARRES OF ITALIE AND OTHER PARTES, CONTINued for many yeares vnder ſundry Kings and Princes, together with the variations and accidents of the ſame, deuided into twenty bookes:

And alſo the Argumentes, vvith a Table at large expreſſing the principall matters through the vvhole hiſtorie.

Reduced into Engliſh by GEFFRAY FENTON.

Mon heur viendra.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautroullier dvvelling in the Blackfriers by Ludgate.
1579.

TO THE QVEENES MOST EXCELLENT MAIESTIE, OVR MOST REDOVTED, MOST HAPPIE, AND TRVE SOVERAIGNE LADIE ELIZABETH, BY THE grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, principall defender of the faith, and next vnder God, the onely, absolute, and full supreame head ouer all causes Eccleſiasticall and temporall through her Maiesties dominions:

Geffray Fenton prayeth a perpetuall increasing of the spirite of Gods holy feare, and a continuall going on and confirmation of that godly course vvherein vvith so long peace and happines, her Maiestie hath gouerned the subiects and peoples of her Realmes and seuerall iurisdictions.

IT is not vvithout reason nor contrarie to example, that I presume to offer vp to the peculiar and graue vievv of your Maiestie, these my compositions and labors: for that the generall argument being historicall, a doctrine vvherein your Maiestie farre aboue all other Princes hath a most singular insight & iudgement, and the particular partes conteining discourse of state and gouernment, in vvhich God hath expressed in the person of your Maiestie a most rare and diuine example to all other Kings of the earth for matter of pollicie and sound administration: All lavv of reason, of equitie, and of other impression vvhat so euer, do chalenge to appropriate the addresse and iustification of this vvorke to your Maiestie only, in vvhom, for your inspired science & spirit to iudge of Monuments and euents of times, and for the felicitie of your gouernment in seasons so perillous & conspiring, all Kings, and Kingdomes, and nations rounde about you, rise vp to reuerence in your fourme of gouerning, that propertie of vvisdome and vertue, vvhich it seemes God hath restrayned to your Maiestie onely, vvithout participation to any of them: And in that regarde they holde you that sacred and fixed Starre, vvhose light God vvill not haue put out, though the deuises of men on

all ſides are buſie to dravv clovvdes and darke vayles to obſcure it.

I am alſo encoraged to make this oblation to your Maieſtie by the example of many notable vvriters, both of the primitiue times and in all ages and poſterities ſucceeding, ſuche as for the grauitie and fidelitie of their penne and ſtyle vvere cherished vvith the greateſt Princes of thoſe dayes, and vnder the authoritie and countenance of their names, their vvorks vvere vvith reputation and credite inſinuated into many peoples, nations, and regiments, The ſame being an effect due to the vertue and pietie of great Princes, for that as it is God that giueth vviſdome and ſcience to men, So it is authoritie that chiefly shovveth it to the vvorld, euen as the earth norisheth the roote of a tree, but the comfortable Sunne doth much to bring foorth the bloſſoms. So many are the teſtimonies and examples of this, and ſo familiar vvith your Maieſtie is the doctrine of hiſtories and information of times, that by ſo much leſſe neede I to ſtande vpon authorities of antiquitie, or declarations relatiue, by hovv much more is knovven to be happily laied vp in your Maieſties breſt, and effectually expreſſed in the forme of your gouernment and reigne, all that vvhich learning and bookes can ſet dovvne by rule and precept, your Maieſtie being the onely conſecrated Lampe from vvhom all other dominions about you do dravv their light, or rather that terreſtriall Sunne, vpon vvhoſe influence God hath appoynted to depend the motions of all the Regions and Climats of the vvhole common vveale of Chriſtendome: A calling and authoritie vvhich all other Potentates do honor in you vvith ſo much the more merite and reuerence, by hovv much amid ſo many occaſions and oportunities to ambition, they proue your equitie, pietie, and moderation of minde, to exceede all examples of former Princes and times, and farre ſurmount all humaine exſpectation: for that hauing as it vvere a ſoueraigne povver ouer them & theirs, you do notvvithſtanding diſpoſe of things according to the lavv of meaſure and right. In regard of vvhich diuine properties, accompanied vvith your Maieſties other vertues vvhich God hath made infinite in you, and your felicitie vvhich is the revvarde and effect of the ſame, I may vvith good comelineſſe reſemble the gratious reigne of your Maieſtie touching theſe regions of Chriſtendome, to the happy time & dayes of Cæſar Auguſtus Emprour of Rome: vvho, after a long and generall combuſtion and harrying of the vvhole vvorlde vvith blood and vvarres, did ſo reforme and reduce the Regions confining his Empire, that vvith the Scepter and ſeate of peace he much more preuayled then euer he could haue done vvith the ſvvord: By his clemencie he brought to ſubmiſſion

his

his neighbours that ſtoode out agaynſt him, and by his conſtancie helde them aſſured being once reconciled: His vviſdome ſeemed an Oracle to the Nations about him to diſpoſe of their counſels and ſvvaigh their enterpriſes: And touching quarrels and controuerſies of ſtate, eyther for his grauitie and iuſtice, the only arbitration and reſolution vvas referred to him, or at leaſt for the avve that vvas had of him, the factions durſt not burſt out to further limits then he liked of: Laſtely, it vvas an approued Monarchie of God, for that Chriſt the ſonne of God amid ſuch an vniuerſall malice of man and mankinde, vvas contented to shevv himſelfe in flesh in the dayes of his reigne. Euen ſo though the ſingular perſons be chaunged, yet the effects and bleſſings of this time do nothing vary vnder the happy rule of your Maieſtie, vvhom God hath raiſed and eſtablished a ſouéraigne Empreſſe ouer ſeuerall nations and languages, and vvith the frutes of a firme and continued peace, hath plentifully enriched the peoples of your Dominions: reſtored Religion and the Church of Chriſt to dvvell a nevv amongſt vs: made your authoritie avvefull to all your neighbours and borderers: and laſtly hath erected your ſeate vpon a high hill or ſanctuarie, and put into your hands the ballance of povver and iuſtice, to peaze and counterpeaze at your vvill the actions and counſels of all the Chriſtian kingdomes of your time: VVherin ſure according to the courſe your Maieſtie holdeth, much leſſe that eyther for the preſent or in poſterities to come, can be iuſtly obiected any matter of imputation agaynſt you, ſeeing of the contrarie, moſt of them that be vviſe and true obſeruers of your dealings, do daily confeſſe and publish, that in your Maieſtie hath bene orderly fulfilled all lavves and offices of a deuoute Nevvtralitie: For that like as amidde their heauy afflictions vvherein ſucceſſiuely hath bene offred you no ſmall cauſes to ambition, your Maieſtie hath neuer ſtopped or cutte from them the refuge of your amitie and mercy: So neuertheleſſe your compaſſion hath principally reſpected the equitie of the complaynts of ſuch as implored it, eſteming it not agreable to the lavv of vertue and account of your conſcience, to make your profite vpon the diuiſions of your neighbours, though there haue not vvanted reaſons and titles to induce your deſire.

I forbeare to make declaration to your Maieſtie of the life and learning of the firſt Author of this booke, A matter teſtified vvith ſufficient credit and reputation in the high negociations and employments vvhich he managed long time vnder great Princes, Popes, & common vveales: And I am bolde (contrary to the cuſtome of ſome vvriters) to leaue to particulate in my Epiſtle any part of the argument vvhich vvith ſo great

grauitie he hath digested at large in so great a volume: Onely the man for his integritie and roundnes vvas such one, as vvhose vertues vvere farre from all suspicion of parcialitie, fauour, hatred, loue, revvard, or any other propertie of humaine affection, vvhich might haue force to corrupt or turne from the truth the minde of a vvriter: And for the generall matter of his vvorke, it doth not onely conteine the vvarres and diuerse accidentes hapned in Italy and other partes for almost fortie yeres, but also he doth so distinctly set dovvne the causes, the counsells, and the fortunes of euery principall partie introduced into those actions, that by his studie and iudgement, is traced & made easie to the reader, the vvay to all those svvete and plentifull frutes vvhich vvith paynfulnes are sought for in Histories of this nature.

And for mine ovvne part, vvhere in all my dedications heretofore, not my vvill vvhich vvas alvvayes vvarranted by the gracious demonstrations of your Maiestie, But my maner of life instituted vpon priuate customes and exercises, hath holden me from approching the authoritie of this place, affore vvhich nothing ought to be presented vvhich hath not a full perfection of spirite and studie: yet novv, taking my reason of the vvorthines of the vvorke, and obseruing the examples and inducements of others in like oblatiõs, I am bold vnder feare & humilitie to prostrate these my last payns afore that diuine moderation of mind vvhich alvvays hath holden for acceptable all things respecting learning or vertuous labours: Humbly beseeching your right excellent Maiestie, that vvhere the vvorke is novv to appeare in the open vievv of the vvorld, and stande before the vncertaine iudgements of so many sundry & straunge humors of men, you vvill vouchsafe to let it passe vnder the happie name of your Maiestie, and vnder your gracious authoritie to giue it defence and fauor agaynst the emulation of such as eyther through malice or ignorance may rise vp to interprete me and my labours sinisterly. The Lorde blesse your Maiestie vvith a long and peaceable life, and confirme in you to the comfort of your people, that course of vvell tempered gouernment, by the benefite vvhereof they haue so long time liued vnder the felicitie of your name. At my lodging neare the Tovver of London.

vij. Ianuarij. 1578.

Your Maiesties humble and true subiect,
GEFFRAY FENTON.

LOdovvike Sforce vncle and tutor to Iohn Galeas Duke of Millan, fearing leaſt Ferdinand vvould make vvarre vpon him, breaketh of from the League that had bene renevved betvveene the ſayde Ferdinand, Iohn Galeas, and the Common vveale of Florence, agaynſt the Venetians: he procureth the French king Charles the eight to paſſe into Italy to conquer the kingdome of Naples: Pope Alexander the ſixth allieth himſelfe vvith the king of Naples: The French king hauing ordred the affayres of his kingdome diſcendeth into Italy, vvhere he taketh many tovvnes: Diuerſe emotions happen in the kingdome of Naples: The Pope is in great perplexitie and trauell: Piſa rebelleth agaynſt the Florentins: The Fr. king entreth into Florence and Rome, and from thence paſſeth to Naples. Fol. 1.

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mains demaundeth passage of the Venetians to go take the Crovvne at Rome: He inuadeth their lands, and aftervvards maketh truce vvith them. Fol. 353.

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The king of England makes vvarre vppon the Fr. king: The Venetians recouer Fryull: The Pope as Arbitrator pronovvnceth peace betvveene them and the king of Romaines: king Lovvys the xij. dyeth: Frauncis the first commeth to the crovvne, and discendeth into Italy to reconquer Myllan. Fol. 660.

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The

The Pope is accorded vvith th Emprour: Many practiſes are made for the kings deliuerie: Ierom Moron conſpireth againſt the Emprour: The fr. king is deliuered out of priſon & returneth into Fraunce. *Fol.* 9004.

The Pope, the french king, Venetians, and Duke of Myllan dravve into league againſt th Emprour: The Duke of Burbon comes co Myllan: The army of the league breakes vp from before Myllan: The caſtell of Myllan is rendred to th Imperialls: Many enterpriſes are dreſſed againſt the Pope: The confederats ſende their armies by ſea to Genes: Rome is ſurpriſed by the Colonnois: The Pope makes peace vvith th Imperialls vvhich hurteth the deuiſes of Lombardye: The D. of Ferrara is confederat vvith the Emprour. *Fol.* 967.

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Lavvtrech beſeegeth Naples: In the meane vvhile Anth. de Leua taketh Pauya and beſeegeth Loda: Andre Dore leaueth the pay of the French: Lavvtrech dyeth: The french breake vp from before Naples: Monſr Saint Pol reconquereth Pauya: Andre Dore taketh Genovvay: The Genovvaies take Sauona and put them ſelues in libertie: Saint Pol is taken by Anth. de Leua: Th Emprour falleth to accord vvith the Pope: Peace is made at Cambray betvvene the Emprour and French king: The Emprour paſſeth into Italy vvhere the vvarre goeth againſt the Florentyns, and peace is ſolicited vvith all others. *Fol.* 1103.

The Emprour taketh th Imperiall crovvne at Bolognia, and from thence paſſeth into Germany: The famulies of Medicis by the ayde of th Emprours army returne to Florence: Ferdinand is choſen king of Romaines: The Pope vvill not harken to a counſell: The French king ſtirreth vp the Turke againſt th Emprour, & hath conference vvith the Pope at Marſeilles. *Fol.* 1163.

The ende of the contents of the bookes.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE FIRST BOOKE.

LODOWYK SFORCE vncle and tutor to Iohn Galeas Duke of Myllan, fearing leaſt Ferdinand King of Naples would make warre vpon him, breaketh of from the league that had bene renewed betwene the ſayd Ferdinand, Iohn Galeas, and the common weale of Florence, againſt the Venetians: he procureth the French King Charles the viij. to paſſe into Italy to conquer the kingdom of Naples: Pope Alexander the vj. alliseth himſelfe with the King of Naples: The French King, hauing ordered th'affayres of the kingdom, deſcendeth into Italy, where he taketh many townes: Diuerſe emotions happen in the kingdom of Naples: The Pope is in great perplexitie and trauell: Piſa rebelleth againſt the Florentines: The French King entreth into Florence and Rome, and from thence paſſeth to Naples.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſſe of Guicciardin.

HAVING in hand to write the affaires & fortunes of Italie, I iudged it cõuenient to drawe into diſcourſſe thoſe particularities that moſt neareſt reſemble our time and memorie, yea euen ſince the ſelfe princes of that country calling in the armies of Fraunce, gaue the firſt beginning to ſo great innouations. A matter, for the varietie, greatnes, and nature of ſuche thinges, verie notable, and well worthie of memorie: and for the heauie accidents, hateſull, bluddie and horrible: for that Italie for many yeres was trauelled with all thoſe ſortes of calamities with the which principalities, countries, and mortall men, are wont to bee afflicted aſwell by the iuſte wroth and hand of God, as through the impietie and wickednes of other nations. The knowledge of theſe things ſo great and diuerſe, may miniſter many wholſome inſtructions aſwell to all men generally, as to euery one in particular, conſidering that by the trial, conſent & demonſtration of ſo many examples, all princes, people, and patrimonies may ſee (as a ſea driuen with diuerſe windes) to what inconſtancie humane things are ordeined, & how harmefull are the ill meaſured counſells of princes, many times preiudiciall to them ſelues, but alwayes hurtefull to their people and ſubiects, ſpecially when they are vainelie caried awaye either with their ſingular errours, or priuate couetouſnes, without hauing any impreſſion or remembrance of the ordinary chaunges of fortune, whereby turning to the domage and diſpleaſure of others, the power which is giuen them for the ſafetie, protection, & pollicie of the whole, they make them ſelues, either by want of diſcreſſion, or too much ambition, authours of innouations and new troubles. *Intention of the authour.*

But the better to make knowen the ſtate and condition of Italie at that time, together with the occaſions of ſo many afflictions happening, it is to be conſidered that their calamities begonne with ſo much the more diſpleaſure & aſtoniſhement in mens mindes, by howmuche the vniuerſall eſtate and multitude of things ſtoode *The eſtate wherein Italie was anno 1490.*

quiet,pleasant,and happie.For,it is true & well assured, that since the Romaine empire (weakened chiefly by the chaunge of auncient manners & customes) began a thousand yeares afore to decline from that greatnes whereunto it was raised by a wonderfull vertue and fortune: the principalities of Italy had not tasted of so great and generall prosperitie,nor reioysed in a condition so happy,plawsible and wel gouerned,as was that wheron it was with great sewertie reappосed the yeare of grace 1490. and certeine yeares afore and after: for that being on all sides reduced into peace and tranquillitie,the hilles and barreine places tilled and made no lesse frutefull, then the valleyes and regions most fertill, and no potentacy or communaltie subiect to other Lordes or rulers then their owne. It was not onely plentifully replenished with people,societie,and riches, but also greatly honored with the estates and maiestie of many Princes,goodly aspect of sundry right stately cities, and with the seate and residencie of the throne of Religion: it florished in men rare and excellent in administration of common weales, and infinite in good witts seene and studied in all sciences and artes of excellencie and industrie: lastly bearing also no small praise and glorie for the seruice in warre according to the vse and discipline of that time,it reteyned iustly(by these giftes and blessings)a peculiar merite and reputation amongst all other nations. This felicitie being gotten with diuerse occasions, there were many thinges to enterteyne and preserue it,and amongest others, common voyce and consent gaue no small prayse and deseruing to the industrie and vertue of *Laurence de medicis* a Citisen of Florence, in whom was expressed such an excellencie of spirite and authoritie aboue the other Citisens of that regiment, that vpon his counsell was reappосed the gouernment of the affayres of that common weale, which was at that tyme more mightie for th'opportunitie of his situation, for the excellent witts and inuentions of men,and for the ready meanes and mynes of siluer and mettalles, then for the greatnes and circuite of Lordship or dominion: And by reason he was lately ioyned by parentage with Pope *Innocent* the viij. whom he had brought to reappосe almost an absolute faith and credit in his councells, his name was great through all Italy, and his authoritie mightie in the deliberation of common affayres. He knewe well that it would be a thing preiudiciall to the common weale of Florence, and no lesse hurtfull to him selfe,if any of the great Potentates of that nation stretched out further their power, and therefore he employed all his deuises, meanes, and directions that the thinges of Italy should be so euenly ballanced, that they shoulde not waigh more on the one side then of the other: A thing which he could not make to succeede,without the preseruation of peace,and a perpetuall care,diligence and watching ouer all accidents yea euen to the least,basest,and most inferior.

The good estate of Italy afore the troubles.

Laurence de medicis.

In the same inclination to common tranquillitie was also concurrant *Ferdinand* of Aragon King of Naples, a Prince for his councells deliberate, in his actions resolute,& touching his affections very moderat, notwithstanding often times before, he had shewed many ambicious thoughts and farre of from all councell to peace. Wherein he was much gouerned in that time by *Alphonso* Duke of Calabria,his eldest sonne, who vnwillingly suffered that *Iohn Galeas Sforce* his sonne in lawe Duke of Myllan,more then twenty yeares of age,but of a iudgement very incapable and vnapt to great affayres & reteyning onely the name of Duke, should be suppressed and as it were kept smothered by *Lodovvike Sforce* his vncle, who, more then tenne yeares afore by the misgouernment and vnchast life of Madame *Bonne*, mother to the sayd *Galeas*,was seazed vpon his minoritie, and by that meanes, had reduced by

Ferdinand King of Aragon.

litle

litle and litle into his power the ſtrong holdes, men of warre, tributes and treaſures, and all other the groundes and foundacions of the ſtate of Myllan, perſeuering in the gouernment not as tutor and regent, but (except the onely title of Duke) with all demonſtrations and actions of an abſolute Prince. *Ferdinand*, with whom was more familiar the impreſſion of preſent vtilitie, then his auncient inclination, or th'indignation of his ſonne (how iuſt ſo euer it were) deſired that nothing ſhould be innouated in Italy, nor the preſent policie fall into alteration: perhaps he had regard to the experience of the yeres before, wherin (to his great daunger) he had proued the hate of his barons and vniuerſall ſubiectes: & happily he had not forgotten (by the memory of things paſt) what affection a great part of his people boare to the name of the houſe of Fraunce: which iuſt and wiſe coniectures drewe him to ſuſpect leaſt the diſcordes of Italy might brede occaſion to the french to inuade the kingdome of Naples: or perhaps, to make a counter ſtrength agaynſt the might of the Venetians, (at that tyme redowted throughout all Italy) he iudged it neceſſary to ally him ſelfe with others and chiefly with the eſtates of Myllan and Florence: Touching *Lodovvyke Sforce*, notwithſtanding he was poſſeſt with a minde traueling, buſie, and ambicious, yet by the neceſſitie of his condicion, he was driuen to embrace the inclination and purpoſe to peace, aſwell for that they which commaunded at Myllan were no leſſe threatned then others with the daunger which the reſidue feared touching the greatnes of Venice; as alſo for that it was more eaſie for him by the benefite of tranquillitie and peace, to keepe the authoritie he had vſurped, then by the trauells and troubles of warre. And albeit he kept a continuall dreade, ielouſie and ſuſpicion ouer the thoughtes and deuiſes of *Ferdinand* and *Alphonſo*, yet waighing with the diſpoſition of *Laurence de medicis* to peace, the ielouſie he had likewiſe of their greatnes, and perſwading him ſelfe alſo that for the diuerſitie of affections and auncient hatredes betwene *Ferdinand* and the Venetians, it was a thing vaine to feare that betwene them ſhould be contracted an amity firme and wel aſſured: he held for certeine that they of Aragon could not haue the ſtrength, ſocietie, or aſſiſtance of others to enterpriſe againſt him that, which alone and of their ſingular power they were not ſufficient to obteyne.

Thus *Ferdinand*, *Lodovvyke*, and *Laurence* hauing one equall will and deuotion to peace, partly for the perſwaſions afore ſayd, and ſomewhat for other inducements & conſiderations: the league and confederation contracted in the name of *Ferdinand* King of Naples, *Iohn Galeas* Duke of Myllan, and the common weale of Florence, was eaſily recontinued: it was begonne many yeares before, and afterward broken by many accidents, and now eftſones renewed in the yeare 1480. for xxv. yeares, being competitors & parties therin almoſt all the meaner Potentates of Italy in whom was any principall ende and purpoſe not to ſuffer the Venetians to become great: The Venetians (for their partes) being in deede more mighty and greater then any particular of the confederates, but farre leſſe and inferior to them all togither, helde their councells ſeparate from the common councell of the league, and watching to rayſe and encreaſe their eſtate by the diſcord and trauells of others, they had a continuall preparation and readines to take th'opportunitie of all occurrants and tymes which might open vnto them the way to the Empire & Monarchie of al Italy: wherunto it was clearly ſeene that they did aſpire in diuerſe ſeaſons, but chiefly when abuſing the occaſion of the death of *Philip Maria Viſcoũte* Duke of Myllan, they attempted vnder colour to defend the libertie of the people of Myllan, to make them ſelues Lordes of that ſtate, conſpiring in like ſort (but of later memory) to bring the Duchie

A league for 20. yeares betwen the king of Naples, Duke of Myllan, and the Venetians.

of Ferrara by the way of open warre, to their seruitude and subiection.

This confederation did easily bridle the couetousnes of the senate of Venice, but it could not entierly knit the confederats in a true and faithfull amitie, for that being indifferently repleniſhed with enuie & iealousie, they ceased not to keepe a continuall care, obseruation, & eye ouer the thoughts and behauiours of one an other, breaking mutually all their resolucions and plotts by the which might come to any one of them enlargement of estate or reputacion. A thing which made not the peace lesse stable, but reuiued in them all a generall readines to be carefull to quench all such sparkes and brondes as might be the cause of new fires and burnings.

Such was the estate of the affayres, such were the foundacions of the tranquillitie of *Italy*, disposed and counterpeised in such sort, that much lesse that there was any dout of present mutacion, seeing the wisedome of man could not easily make coniecture, by what councells, by what accidents, or with what innouacion or armies, so great a tranquillitie could be troubled, when in the month of Aprill 1492. chaunced the death of *Laurence de medicis*: A death very pitifull for him in respect of his age (hauing not yet fortie foure yeares) but more bitter and intollerable to his contrey, which, for the wisedome and reputacion of the man togither with the naturall volubilitie of his witte raysed to all thinges concerning honour and greatnes, flourished plentifully with riches, loue, and ciuilitie, and with all other benefitts and felicities, which in thaffayres of the worlde are wont to accompany a long concord and peace. This death hapned also very ill for the residue of *Italy*, as well for his generall deuises, cares, and actions for the common sewertie, as also for that he was a meane in particular to moderate & bridle the differences, councells, and suspicions, which for diuerse occasions, were often kindled betwene *Ferdinand* and *Lodovvyk Sforce*, Princes equall in ambicion, and nothing inferior in power. Like as when aduersities happen, it is seldom seene that one ill comes alone: So a litle after the death of *Laurence* (the time preparing euery day occasions to the calamities to come) chaunced the death of the Pope, whose life being in other thinges vnprofitable to the common weale, was at the least conuenient in this, that leauing so deinly warre and armes vnhappily raysed in the entry and beginning of his popedom against *Ferdinand* at the incēsing of many barons of the realme of *Naples*, he turned soone after all his facultie, affections & spirite to pleasures vaine, dissolute, & idle, not acquainting his thoughts (neither for him selfe nor friendes) with any enterprise which might trouble the rest, felicitie, & good accord of *Italy*. To *Innocent* succeded *Roderyk Borgia* borne at *Valence* one of the chiefe cities of *Spayne*: he was an auncient Cardinal & one of the greatest in all the court of *Rome*: one meane that raised him to the seate of the Pope, was the difference betwene the Cardinals *Ascanius Sforce*, & *Iulian S. Petri ad vincla*: but the chiefest thing that accomplished his election, was that with a new exāple for that time, he bought by the consent & knowledge of euery one, partly for money, and partly with promises of offices and great dignities, many voyces of the Cardinals, who reiecting thinstruction of the Gospell, were not ashamed to passe to him by sale, an authoritie and power to make marchandize of the holy treasors, & that with the name of the celestiall authority in the most high and eminent part of the temple. To which abominable negociacion many of them were induced by the Cardinall *Ascanius*, but that was not more with perswasions and sutes, then with his example: for that being corrupted with the infinite desire of riches, he made the Pope promise him for his hyer and recompence of so great wickednes the office of vicechancellorshippe, (the principallest place in the Court of *Rome*)

Laurence de medicis dyeth 1492.

Pope Innocēt the viij. dieth.

Creation of Pope Alexander 6.

Corrupcion of Cardinalls in the election of the Pope.

Rome) togither with benefices, caſtells, and his pallaice of *Rome* full of mouables of great valour. But the Pope for all this, coulde not auoyde neither for the tyme to come, the iuſtice and iudgement of God, nor for the preſent, the infamy and iuſt hate of men, in whom for this election, was no ſmall impreſſions of aſtoniſhment & horror, not only for that it was entãgled with meanes diſhoneſt but alſo becauſe the natures & condicions of the man choſen, were, (for the greateſt part) knowen to many: many ſentences & coniectures were made of his ſucceſſe, & amongeſt others, *Ferdinand* king of Naples, diſſembling openly the griefe he had of that election, ſignified to the Queene his wife with teares (which he was wont to forbeare euen in the death of his children) that there was created a Pope who woulde be moſt hurtfull to *Italy* and the whole common weale of Chriſtendom. A iudgement not vnworthy of the wiſedome of ſuch a Prince: for that in *Alexander* the ſixt (for ſo would this newe Pope be called) was a ſutteltie, ſharpenes, and expedicion of witte moſt ſingular, a councell excellent, a wonderfull efficacie in perſwaſion, and in all great affayres a iudgement and care incredible. But theſe vertues were maruelouſly defaced by his vices, for, touching his manners and cuſtomes, they were very diſhoneſt, in his adminiſtrations he expreſſed litle ſinceritie, in his countenance no ſhame, in his wordes ſmall trueth, in his hart litle faith, and in his opinion leſſe religion. Of the contrary, all his actions were defiled with an inſatiable couetouſnes, an immoderate ambicion, a barbarous crueltie, and a burning deſire to rayſe and make greate (by what meanes ſo euer) his children, who were many in number, and amongeſt others, one, no leſſe deteſtable then the father, to whoſe curſed councells he became a wicked inſtrument. Great was the chaunge in the affayres of the Church by the death of *Innocent* the eyght, but no leſſe reuolucion happened in the common weale of *Florence* by the taking away of *Laurence de medicis*, to whoſe greatnes (without contradiction) ſuceeded *Peter* the eldeſt of his three ſonnes, who as well for his age being yet younge, as alſo for his other qualities was not fitte for the gouernment of ſo heauie a charge, and leſſe capable to manage the affayres with that moderacion which his father was wont to vſe in buſines both forreyn and domeſticall, and knowing diſcreetely how to temporiſe betwene Princes confederate, he had whileſt he liued augmented greatly the condicions and facultyes both publike and priuate, and at his death, left vnto euery one a firme opinion that the peace of *Italy* was principally preſerued by his meanes.

Pope Alexander the ſixt ſtayned with many vices.

Peter de medicis heire to Laurence.

Peter was no ſooner ſucceeded to thadminiſtracion of the common weale, then with a courſe directly contrary to the councells of his father, & not communicating with thoſe auncient citiſens which were wont to be called to the deliberacion of buſines of importance, he ioyned him ſelfe ſo ſtraitly with *Ferdinand* and *Alphonſo*, perhaps by the perſwacion of *Virginio Vrſin* his parent depending wholy vppon them, that *Lodovvyk Sforce* had iuſt occaſion to feare, that as often as the Aragons would annoy him, they ſhould be ayded (by thauthoritie of *Peter de medicis*) with the forces of the common weale of *Florence*. This intelligence, ſeminary, and originall of all the troubles, albeit at the beginning was debated with no leſſe iudgement and wiſedome, then the reſolucion ſecrete and priuate: yet by certeine obſcure coniectures, it beganne euen in the beginning to be ſuſpected by *Lodovvyk*, a Prince very watchfull and of right ſuttle vnderſtanding: for, as it hath bene an auncient cuſtome in Chriſtendome to ſende Embaſſadors to congratulate with the newe Pope as Chriſtes vicar on earth, and to offer him obedience: So *Lodovvyk Sforce* who appropriated to him ſelf this peculiar cuſtome to ſtudy to ſhew him ſelfe more

Lod. Sforce is ielous ouer the amities betwene P. de medicis & the Aragons.

wise then the rest and of inuentions straunge and vnaduised to others, had giuen counsell that thembassadors of the confederats should all enter Rome in one day, and presenting them selues altogither in the publike consistorie afore the Pope, the oration should be expressed by one of them onely in the name of them all: for that by that forme and order of doing, besides thencrease of their common reputation, it should appeare to all Italy that there was amongest them not onely a good will and confederation, but rather so great a coniunction, that they seemed as one body, one Prince, and one inuested corporation. To this he adioyned, that as touching the vtilitie of this councell, it was not onely expressed with the discourse of reason, but iustified with a late and familiar example, for that (as was beleued) the last Pope taking argument of the disunion of the confederates in that at seuerall seasons, and with councells separate, they had done him obedience, he was the more ready to inuade the kingdom of Naples. *Ferdinand* approued easily the aduise of *Lodovvyk*: the Florentines allowed it for thauthoritie of the one and other: and *Peter de medicis* was not against it in open councell, albeit in particular, the deuise was nothing agreeable to him: for that being one of the elect Embassadors for that common weale, & hauing an intention to make his legacion glorious with proud and gorgeous demonstrations, he feared that if he should make his entry into the citie and the Popes presence amongest the other Embassadors of the confederats, the magnificencie of his trayne would not be seene no more then a litle candle amidd a choyse sort of greater lights. This vanitie of the yong man was confirmed by the ambicious councell of *Gentyll* Byshop of Arze, the other coembassador for Florence: to him beloged the authoritie of the oration in the name of the Florentines, by reason of his dignitie and profession in the studies of humanitie: And seeing by this maner no lesse vnlooked for then alwayes vnaccustomed, he saw him selfe depriued of thoccasion to publish his eloquence in an assemblie so honorable and solemne, he complayned as if he had suffered wrong in his perpetuall reputation. For this reason, *Peter de medicis*, pushed on partly by his proper vanitie and lightnes, and partely by the pompe and ambicion of the other, required the king of Naples (albeit with this caution to keepe from *Lodovvyk* that he did impugne his councell) to consider that that forme of legacion could not be executed in common without great confusion, and therefore that he would take vpon him to perswade that thexpedicion might be separat, and passe according to the examples passed. The king of Naples desiring to gratifie him in his demaund (but yet not without the displeasure of *Lodovvyk*) satisfied him in theffect, but not in the maner, plainly declaring to *Lodovvyk* that he did not discondescend from the first plott and resolucion for thembassadors, for other occasion then at the instance and solicitation of *Peter de medicis*: *Lodovvyk* for this suddein mutacion, declared more perplexitie and trouble of mind, then the nature and importance of the thing could deserue, and amydd his complaintes, he impropriated to him selfe this degree of iniurie, that to diminish his reputation, they reuoked the first deuise wherof he was author and already had communicated it with the Pope and the whole court of Rome. But the point wherein he felt his most trouble and trauell of mind was, for that in this litle & vayne accident, he saw tokens, argument, and coniectures, that *Peter de medicis* had secret intelligence with *Ferdinand*, which by the euentes that followed he discouered dayly more apparantly. *Languilare*, *Ceruetre*, and other small castells neare to Rome, were in the possession of *Franciſquin Cibo*, a Genoway, bastard sonne to Pope *Innocent*, and he after the death of his father being gone to dwell at Florence, perhaps vnder the fauour and societie of *Peter de medicis*,

medicis, brother to M. his wife: solde immediatly after his comming thether to *Virginio Vrsin* by the negociation of *Peter*, those castells for the price of forty thousand duckats. A thing debated chiefly with *Ferdinand* who lent him most part of the money, perswading him selfe that it could not but turne to his profite, if the greatnes of *Virginio* who was his parent and in his pay, should enlarge and stretch farre about the confins of Rome. The king considered that the power of the Popes was an apt instrument to trouble the realme of Naples (an auncient freeholder and chiefe of the church of Rome) both for that it had large borders vpon the eccleſiasticall territories, and he had not yet forgotten what differences he and his father had with them: and also he wisely foresaw that there is alwayes some occasion of newe contencions about the iurisdiction of Confins, both for tributes and collacion of benefices, and for regard of entercourse of barons with many other quarrels hapning many tymes amongest estates borderers, and no lesse often betwene the vassall and the Lord Peramount: for which reasons, he held alwayes for one of the firme foundacions of his securitie, that all or the greater part of the mightiest barons of the territory of Rome, should depend vpon him. A thing which in that time he wrought with so much the more care and diligence, by how much the world iudged that the authoritie of *Lodovvyk Sforce* was like to be great with the Pope by the meane of Cardinall *Ascanius* his brother: And as many beleued, he was perhaps not the least pushed forward with feare least in *Alexander* were concurrant the couetousnes and hatred of his vncle Pope *Calixtus* the third, who, (sauing that death gaue impediment to his councells) had immediatly after the decease of *Alphonso* father to *Ferdinand*, taken armes to dispoile him of the kingdome of Naples, (reuerted as he sayd to the Church). He did not remember (so litle force amongest men hath the memorie of benefits receiued) how by the meane of *Alphonso* (in whose kingdoms he was borne, and to whom he had bene a seruant long tyme) he had obteyned other eccleſiastical dignities with a liberal fauour and ayde to aspire to the popedom. But it hath bene alwayes a thing very true that wisemen haue not at all tymes a discretion or iudgement perfect, seeing it is necessary, that the signes of the weakenes and frailtie of mans vnderstanding should many tymes be discouered. The king of Naples, notwithstanding he was recommended for a Prince watchfull, pollitike, and foreseeing, yet did he ouersee to consider how much this deliberation deserued to be reiected, for that conteyning in no accident or fortune any other hope then of a small vtilitie, it bredde on the other side, many degrees and properties of mischieses and harmes irreparable, for that in the sale of those small castels was no litle opportunitie to innouate to newe things, the mindes of those to whom it did either apperteyne, or had interest of profite to looke to the preseruation of the common peace and concord: for the Pope pretending that by such alienacion made without his knowledge, they were diuolued to the sea Apostolike by the disposing of the lawes, seemed not a litle iniuried: & looking withall into the endes and purposes of *Ferdinand*, filled all Italy with complaintes against him, *Peter de medicis*, and *Virginio*, whom he assured that so farre as his power would stretch, he would not spare any thing nor let passe any meane to preserue the dignitie and right of the sea of Rome. *Lodovvyk Sforce* was no lesse moued, to whom were alwaies suspected the actions of *Ferdinand*, and who, for the false opinion he had that the Pope would be gouerned by the councells of *Ascanius* and him selfe, estemed it his proper losse, if any thing should be diminished of the greatnes of *Alexander*: But that which vexed him most, was that he could not but doubt, that betwene the Aragons and *P. de medicis* was contracted a secret and an assured

league, drawing his coniecture from this that in that action they had proceded wholy, vniformely, and reciprocally: And therefore to raise impediments to those plots & determinations as most daungerous to his affayres, & to make this occasion conuenient to winne the Pope, he stirred him vp as much as he could to protect his proper dignitie: he perswaded with him that there was not so much necessitie to set before his eyes thinges that were done presently, as to consider how much it imported him, to suffer in the first dayes of his pontificacie, to be despised the maiestie of such a degree euen by his proper vassalls: he told him he had not to beleue that the couetousnes of *Virginio*, or the importance of the castells, or other reason of that nature, had moued *Ferdinand*: But a certeine languishing desire (which he could no longer keepe smoothered) to assay his patience and courage with iniuries bearing litle face and shew at the beginning, but afterwards (if he would ioyne sufferance to those inferior wronges) he would not be without boldenes to tempt him euery day with offences of farre higher and greater qualitie: he aduised him to beleue, that the ambicion of *Ferdinand* did nothing differ from his auncestors kings of Naples and perpetuall enemies to the Church of *Rome*, who had not forborne to persecute the Popes with warres and armies, and some times had occupied *Rome*: That the example is fresh & green, that the king now reigning, in the person of his sonne, dispatched two armies at two seueral times against two Popes, & made inuasion euen to the wals of *Rome*: That he hath bene alwaies exercised in malice, conspiracies, and warres against his predecessors: And now not onely the example of other kinges, not onely his naturall couetousnes to beare rule, did stirre him vppe against him, but rather an olde infected desire of reuenge nowe burst out by the memorie of iniuries receiued of *Calixtus* his vncle. Therefore he aduised him with great diligence to looke into those thinges, least by giuing sufferance and patience to these first wronges, he were not the breeder of his proper dishonor and derogacion, making him selfe to be honored with ceremonies and vayne titles, and in effect followed with dispite, derision and contempt of euery one: he told him that in this vnworthy tolleracion was secretly many oportunities of courage & boldnes to the party to conspire against him many daungerous enterprises: where, if he would take this to hart and call thinges into correction and iustice, he should with more facilitie preserue the auncient maiestie & greatnes with the true reuerence due by all the world to the Popes of *Rome*. To these perswasions he ioyned many offices and promises of no small importance, but farre greater in efficacie and effect, for that he lent him readily forty thousand duckatts, and leuyed with him at their common charge three hundreth men at armes, vnder this condicion that they should be employed where it best pleased the Pope. Notwithstanding all this, *Lodovvyk*, desirous to shunne the necessitie to enter into new troubles, cõmunicated with *Ferdinand*, & councelled him to dispose *Virginio* to appease the Pope by some honest meane, lest vpon so slẽder beginnings, there arose not displeasures and troubles heauy and slaunderous. But with greater libertie and efficacy, he admonished often times *Peter de medicis*, that (considering how conuenient it was for the common peace of *Italy* that his father *Laurence* was alwayes as the mediator and indifferent friend of *Ferdinand* and him) he would rather take the wayes, examples, and directions of his father specially touching a personage of so great valour, then beleuing new councells, to be driuen to giue occasion to an other, to make deliberacions which in the ende woulde proue hurtfull to euery one: he willed him to remember what great reputacion & sewertie the *Sforces* and *Medicis* had giuen reciprocally to their houses: and with what wronges and iniuries the familie

Lodo. Sforce insinuateth enuy into the Pope against the Aragons and Medicis.

milie of *Aragon* had obtruded vpon his father, his aunceſtors, and common weale of *Florence:* and laſtly by how many meanes and times *Ferdinand* and *Alphonſo* his father had conſpired ſome times by armes and open force, and often by traines & ſutteltes, to make them ſelues Lordes of *Tuſkane*.

Theſe councells or aduertiſements brought fourth litle frute according to thexpectation of the author, for that *Ferdinand*, eſteeming it much to his indignitie to giue place to *Lodovvyk* and *Aſcanius*, by whoſe workings he ſuppoſed the Pope was ſetled into thoſe diſcontentements and indignations which he ſhewed: gaue ſecrete councel to *Virginio* by thincitation of his ſonne *Alphonſo*, not to delay to take by vertue of his purchaſe, the poſſeſſion of the caſtells, promiſing to defend him againſt all diſpleaſures that might happen. And of the other ſide, gouerning him ſelfe with his naturall induſtrie, he communicated with the Pope diuerſe meanes of compoſicion, ſecretely incenſing *Virginio* notwithſtanding not to conſent to any but ſuch, as might keepe the caſtells in his poſſeſſion, ſatisfying the Pope with ſome portion of money: which comfortes ſet *Virginio* into ſuch a courage & reſolucion of mind, that many times afterwards he refuſed certein of the condicions, euen ſuch as *Ferdinand* (not to incenſe the Pope to much) ſolicited him inſtantly to be accepted. By theſe actions it was plainly perceiued that *Peter de medicis* perſeuered to follow the authoritie of the king, & that all that was done to draw him away, was in vaine & without frute: therefore *Lodovvyk Sforce* deepely reuoluing how much it imported that the citie of *Florence* ſhould be at the deuocion of his enemies, whoſe temperature and good gouernment was wont to be the principall foundacion of his ſecuritie, and ſeming to ſee in his ſecret cogitacion many impreſſions of daungers threatning him on all ſides, determined to prouide for his proper ſafetie, and to thoſe newe perills to appropriate new remedies, ſpecially his conſcience interpreting vnto him with what vehement deſire the *Aragons* thirſted to take from him the gouernment of his Nephew: which iuſt ambiciō, albeit *Ferdinand* (to whom nothing was more familiar thē to diſſemble his intentions) had ſought to couer in all his actions, yet in *Alphonſo*, of nature more open and liberall, was not ſo great continencie and moderacion, but that he complayned publikely of thoppreſſion of his ſonne in lawe, pronouncing with more great libertie of wordes, then temperance of diſcreſſion many iniurious ſpeeches tending to manifeſt threatning. To theſe coniectures, *Lodovvyk* added this argument of ſuſpicion: He knew well that *Iſabell* wife to *Iohn Galeas*, a young Lady of high ſtomacke would vſe a perpetuall diligence to incenſe her father & grandfather, that if thindignitie which was done to her huſband and her would not moue them, at leaſt the conſideracion of the perills whereunto their owne liues were expoſed, togither with the lamentable ruine of their children, might draw them to compaſſion. But that which chiefly occupied his mind with perplexitie and torment, was, that by the ſuggeſtion of his proper conſcience, he knew how hatefull his name was to the ſubiectes of the Duchie of *Myllan*, as well for the greeuous and vnaccuſtomed money tributes which he had impoſed vpon them, as alſo for the compaſſion that euery one had of *Iohn Galeas* their rightfull Lord. And although he trauelled by all his beſt wayes to make them of *Aragon* ſuſpected of a deſire to impatroniſe them ſelues of that eſtate, as though they did aſſume a title by the auncient rightes of the teſtament of *Philip Maria Viſcounte*, who had inſtituted his heire *Alphonſo* father to *Ferdinand*, and vnder that pretence ment to wreſt from him the gouernment of his Nephew: yet, he found him ſelfe vnable by all theſe meanes to remoue the hatredes that were conceyued agaynſt him, and much leſſe ſo to ſatisfie the world, but that all

men might consider to how many miseries and wickednes the ambicion and wretched desire to beare rule, leades mortall men. Therefore after he had made discourse and conference with no small study and trauell of minde of the state of thinges present, and the daungers likely to happen, casting aside all other thoughts, his deuises at last brought forth this resolution to search newe confederats and new friendes: Touching this resolucion he found a great oportunitie in the Popes disdaine against *Ferdinand*, and in the desire which he beleued the state of *Venice* had, that this confederacion should chaunge and alter, which of long time had giuen no small impediments to their purposes: he made solicitation to both these to contract in common a new confederacie for the publike benefite.

The impudency of the Pope to iustifie his children.

But the Pope reiecting all passions of anger, and all other affection, had his mind onely possest with an vnbridled couetousnes to rayse and make mighty his sonnes, in whom hauing setled a blind fancie, he was not ashamed contrary to the custome of former Popes (who to cast some cloke ouer their infamie were wont to call them their Nephewes) called them his children, and expressed them to the world for such: And not finding as yet other fitte occasion to giue beginning to his ambicious intention: he made instance to marry one of his two sonnes to the bastard daughter of *Alphonso* demaunding a dowrie of some rich estate in the kingdom of *Naples*: from which hope so long as he was not excluded, he harkened rather with his eare then his hart to the confederacion offered by *Lodouvyk*. And if in this desire he had bene satisfied, the peace of *Italy* had not perhaps falne into so sodein alteracion & trouble.

Ferdinand happily had not his mind much estraunged from that motion: but *Alphonso* to whom was hatefull the ambicion and pride of the Pope, denied constantly his consent, and yet keeping his intencions dissembled, they made no open chalenge or dislike to the mariage, but laying all the difficultie vpon the qualitie of the dowrie that was demaunded, they satisfied not *Alexander*, who rising for this cause into discontentement, resolued to embrace the councells of *Lodouvyk*, his humors being turned all into disdaine and ambicion, and his mind trauelled with feare for that not onely *Virginio Vrsin* was mercinary to *Ferdinand*. And for the many fauours he had receiued of him and them of *Florence*, and being withall of the faction of the *Guelffes*, was at that time very mighty throughout the whole dominions of the Church. But that which more was, *Prosper* and *Fabricius* principall heades of the familie of the *Collonnoys*, and the Cardinall of *S.P.ad vincla*, a Cardinall of great reputacion (then retyred to the Castell of *Ostie*, which he held as Bishop of the place, leaste the Pope should dresse some ambush against his life:) was now become a great friend to *Ferdinand*, to whom before he was a professed enemie, and had many times stirred the Popes *Sixtus* and *Innocent* against him. But the Senate of *Venice* contrary to the opinion and expectation of the world made no great shew of readines to this confederacion, for, albeit they tooke it to happen to their commoditie, and held withall very agreeable the disunion of others, yet they tooke occasion in the infidelitie of the Pope being euery day more and more suspected to euery one, to be slow to harken to the league, the remembrance of the alliances made by them with *Sixtus* & *Innocent* the Popes lateste predecessors seruing much to their present distrust. This was when the warre was most hoate against the Duke of *Ferrara*, whereunto after he had prouoked them, & intangled them with the quarrell, receiuing of the one great displeasures without any profit, and for *Sixtus*, he did not onely chaunge purpose, but also recompensed them with his spirituall curses, and (togither with the residue of all *Italy*) he proceeded against them with his temporall corrections: But notwithstanding

all

all these, the industrie and diligence of *Lodovvyk* continually soliciting the Senate, and priuatly working with many in particular, all these difficulties were vanquished, and at last was contracted in the month of Aprill 1493. betwene the Pope, the Senate of *Venice*, and *John Galeas* Duke of *Myllan* (for all expedicions were dispatched in his name). A new confederacion for their common defence and particular preseruation of the gouernment of *Lodovvyk*: one of the condicions was, that the *Venetians* and Duke of *Myllan*, and euery of them should send immediatly to *Rome* for the sewertie of the Pope and state ecclesiastick, an hundreth men at armes, as well with those, as with greater forces (if neede required) they should ioyne with him for the recouerie of the castells deteyned by *Virginio*.

Confederacion betwene the Pope, the Venetians & the Duke of Myllan.

These new councells moued not a litle the mindes of all *Italy*, for that the Duke of *Myllan* remayned now deuided from that league, by the which for more then a dozen yeares, their common securitie was mainteyned, being in it expresly defended that none of the confederats should enter any new alliance without consent of the residue. And therefore seeing that vnitie was broken with vnequall diuision, wherein consisted the equalitie of their generall and common busines, and the mindes of the Princes replenished with suspicions and displeasures, there could be no expectacion of other successe then that, to a generall and common hurt, there would resort frutes equall and conformable to such seedes. Nowe, the Duke of *Calabria* and *P. de medicis*, iudging it more for the sewertie of their estates to preuent, then to be preuented, inclyned easily to *Prosper* and *Fabritius Colonne*, who being also secretely incensed by the Cardinal *S. P. ad vincla*, offered to surprise the towne of *Rome* with their companies of men at armes & the ayde of the faction of the *Gebelyns*, so that the *Vrsins* would follow them, and the Duke of *Calabria* march so neare, that he might reskew them within three dayes after their entry into *Rome*.

But *Ferdinand*, who now desired no more to vexe but to appaise the courage of the Pope, and to correct that which heretofore had bene done by a rash councell & without discression, reiected altogither those councells wherein he iudged was infection of commotion, and caried not intencion and matter to breede securitie, but to rayse and nourish greater troubles and daungers: he determined now, not faynedly but with all his hart to doe all he could to compound and accord the controuersie of the castells, perswading him selfe, that that occasion of so great emotion & chaunge being taken away, *Italy* would speedely returne with litle or no trauell, to her first estate. But it hapneth not alwayes, that in taking away thoccasions, theffectes doe cease, hauing had of them their first beginning: for, as it often tymes hapneth that resolucions made by feare, seeme to him that feareth, lesse then the perill: so *Lodovvyk* had no great confidence in that he had found a remedie sufficient for his securitie: But dowting, by reason the Pope and the Venetians had intencions and endes other then his, that his foundacion could not long last which he had layd vppon the confederacion lately made with them, and that therefore his affayres by diuerse accidents should be in daunger to be reduced into hard tearmes and many difficulties: he applyed all his thoughts more to cure euen to the roote the originall ill that he sett before his eyes, then to prouide a salue for such accidents as might happen by it, neither remembring how daungerous it is to vse a medicine stronger then the nature of the disease or complexion of the patient will suffer, nor that to enter into greater perills can be the onely remedie for daungers present. And to the ende to build his sewertie vppon forreine strength, seeing he had no confidence in his owne forces, and lesse expectacion of trust in thitalyan amities, he determined to doe all

that he could to ſtirre vp the French King *Charles* the viij. to aſſayle the kingdom of *Naples*, which he pretended to appertein to him by the auncient rightes & diſcentes of the houſe of *Aniovv*.

The title of the houſe of Aniow, to the kingdom of Naples.

The kingdom of *Naples*, which, in the inueſtitures & bulls of the Church of *Rome* whereof it is an auncient freehold, is abſurdly called the Realme of *Sicyle* on this ſide the riuer of *Far*, and being vniuſtly vſurped by *Manfroy* baſtard ſonne to the Emperour *Frederyk* the ſecond, was giuen in chiefe togither with the yle of *Sicyle* vnder the title of both *Sicyles*, the one on this ſide, and the other beyond *Far*, by Pope *Vrbyn* the fourth, to *Charles* Earle of *Prouence* and *Aniovv*, brother to that *Levvys* king of the french, who, much renowmed for his power & ſtrength, but more recommended for the holines of his life, deſerued (according to the vaine affections of the frenchmen) to be tranſlated after his death into the number of Saincte̅s. This *Charles* with force of armes, obteyned effectually, that, which by title was giuen to him with thauthoritie of the Church: after his death, ſucceeded to the kingdom, *Charles* his ſonne called by the Italyans, (to diſtinguiſh him from his father) *Charles* the ſecond, who left the inheritance of the Realme to *Robert* his ſonne. But becauſe *Robert* died without iſſue male, *Iohane* daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Calabria* ſonne to *Robert*, who died in young age before his father, aſpired to the kingdom: but her authoritie beganne immediately to be deiected, no leſſe for thinfamie of her life and condicions, then for the common imbecillitie of that ſexe: whereuppon, with thincreaſe of time, the Realme being throwne into many diſcordes and warres, not with ſtraungers, but amongeſt the ſelfe ſucceſſors of *Charles* the firſt, deſcending of diuerſe children of *Charles* the ſeconde: *Iohane* deſpayring not to be able to defend her ſelfe, adopted for her ſonne, *Levvys* Duke of *Aniovv*, brother to the frenche Kinge *Charles* the fift: he to whome the french men gaue the ſurname of wiſe, for that he had obteyned many victories without feeling the power of *Fortune*. This *Levvys*, after he had paſſed into *Italy* with a mighty armie (*Iohane* being aforehand deceſſed by violent meanes, and the kingdom transferred to *Charles* called *Durazzo* deſcending likewiſe of *Charles* the firſt) died of a feuer in *Apulia* euen when he was almoſt in poſſeſſion of the victorie: ſo that there came no other thing to them of *Aniovv* by this adopcion, then thearldom of *Prouence*, which had bene alwaies poſſeſſed by the yſſues of *Charles* the firſt. But yet of that roſe the original of the colour vnder the which afterwards, both *Levvys* of *Aniovv*, ſonne to the firſt *Levvys*, & at an other tyme a ſonnes ſonne of the ſame name both ſtirred vp by the Popes, being then in variance with the ſame kinges, to make many inuaſions vppon the kingdom of *Naples*, but with great misfortune and preiudice. Touching *Charles Durazzo*, *Ladiſlao* his ſonne ſucceeded him, who dying without iſſue in the yeare 1414. the crowne diuolued to his ſiſter *Iohane* the ſecond, A name much accurſed for the kingdom of *Naples*, and no leſſe vnhappy to both the one and other of the women, reſembling one an other in diſſolute gouernment and wanton cuſtomes of life: for this *Iohane* putting the pollecie and direction of the Realme into the handes of thoſe perſons with whom ſhe communicated vnchaſtly her body, was immediatly brought into ſuch ſtraites and difficulties, that being tormented with *Levvys* the third, with the aide of Pope *Martyn* the v. ſhe was at laſt conſtrayned for her laſt refuge, to make her ſonne by adopcion, *Alphonſo* king of *Aragon* & *Sicyle*. But entring ſoone after into contencion with him, ſhe brake that adopcion vnder colour of ingratitude, & made a new adopcion, calling to her ſuccours, the ſelfe *Levvys*, who perſecuting her with warre, compelled her by the neceſſities of warre, to make the firſt adopcion: In ſo much as hauing

1164.

The name of Iohane, a name vnhappy for the kingdom of Naples.

with

with force chaſſed *Alphonſo* wholly out of the kingdom, ſhe enioyed it in peace, all the reſidue of her life: And dying without yſſue, ſhe inſtituted for her heire (as the brute went) *Rene* Duke of *Aniovv* and Earle of *Prouence* brother to *Levvys* her ſonne adoptyf, who perhaps died the ſame yeare. But the ſucceſſion of *Rene* diſpleaſing much the Barons of the realme (beſides a brute running that the teſtament was forged by them of *Naples*) *Alphonſo* was reuoked by a part of the Barons & people: And from thence kindled the fire of the warres betwene *Alphonſo* & *Rene*, which by many yeres brought many afflictions to that noble realme, & yet the accidēts & actions of the warre, were more by the proper forces of the realme, then by the ſtrength of the parties. In this ſort (the wills of men being different and contrary) were kindled the factions not altogither in that time quenched betwene the *Aragons* and them of *Aniovv*, their titles and coulers of rightes chaunging with the time, for that the Popes following more their cuſtoms of couetouſnes, or the propertie of times, then iuſtice or equitie cōſented diuerſly to the inueſtitures of them. But touching the warres betwene *Alphonſo* & *Rene*, the victory remained to *Alphonſo*, a Prince for his valer, more renowmed, for his power, more mighty, & for his fortune, better fauored: who dying ſoone after without lawful heires, & without making any mēcion of *Iohn* his brother & ſucceſſor to the realme of *Sicile* & *Aragon*, bequeathed by teſtament the kingdom of *Naples* to *Ferdinand* his baſtard ſonne, as a iuſt reward & teſtimonie of his proper getting & cōqueſt, & therfore he iudged it could not appertein to the crowne of *Aragon*. This baſtard, notwithſtanding he was immediatly after the death of his father, inuaded by *Iohn* the ſonne of *Rene*, & that by the ſupportacion of the principal barōs of the realme: yet with his fortune & vertue he mainteined not only good defēce, but alſo ſo chaſſed his aduerſaries, that neuer after during the life of *Rene* (ſuruiuing many yeares his ſonne,) he neither had to debate with thoſe of *Aniovv*, nor yet ſtoode in feare of their inuacions. In the end *Rene* died, & hauing no yſſue male, he eſtabliſhed as heire ouer his whole eſtates, *Charles* the ſōne of his brother, who dying ſoone after without childrē, left by his wil his inheritāce to the frēch king *Levvys* the xj. to whō did not only returne as to his Lord ſouereigne the Duchie of *Aniovv* (which ſuffreth no capacity of ſucceſſion in the women, for that it is a mēber of the crowne) but alſo he put him ſelfe in the poſſeſſion of *Prouence*, notwithſtanding the Duke of *Lorraine* deſcending of one of the daughters of *Rene*, iuſtified the inheritance of his eſtates to appertein vnto him. And the ſayd *Levvys* by iuſt vertue & prerogatiue of the ſame teſtamēt, had good power to pretend that the rightes which thoſe of *Aniovv* had to the kingdom of *Naples*, ſhould be appropriated to him. All which inheritāces being paſſed & cōtinued after his death to the perſon of *Charles* the viij. his ſōne; *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* began to haue a mighty enemy, beſides the oportunitie generally offring to who ſoeuer deſired to annoy him. For, at that time, this was the ſtate of the realme of *Fraunce*: it was very populous in multitudes of men, for wealth & riches euery particular region moſt fertill & plētiful, for glory in armes moſt floriſhing & renowmed: a pollicy wel directed, diſcipline adminiſtred, an authority dreadful, & in opinion & hope moſt mighty, laſtly their generall condiciōs & faculties ſo wel furniſhed, as phaps it was not more happy in theſe mortal felicities ſince the daies of *Charlemain*. It was newly amplified in euery one of the 3. parts wherein all *Gavvle* ſtoode deuided by the aūcients: for, xl. yeares before vnder *Charles* the vij. (a Prince for his victories obteined with great daūgers called happy) *Normādie* & the Duchie of *Guyen* holden by the engliſh, were reduced to the obediēce of the frēch crowne. And in the laſt daies of *Levvys* the xj. the earldō of *Prouence*, the dukdom of *Burgondy*, almoſt

The ſtate of the Realme of Fraunce vnder Charles the viij.

all *Picardy* togither with the Duchie of *Britaine*, were by a newe mariage inuested in the power of *Charles* the viij. There was no wāt of inclinaciō in this king to aspire to conquer by warre and armes the kingdom of *Naples* as iustly apperteyning to him: which continuing from his infancie by a certeine naturall instinct, was enterteyned and nouriſhed by ſuch as were about him, and for the conformetie of humors, very agreeable with him: they raiſed his thoughts into vaine regions, and made him glorious aboue the triumphes of *Cæſar* and *Alexander*: they told him that with his heroicall minde, vertues, and diſpoſition, did concurre a preſent occaſion to make him ſurmount the renowme of his predeceſſors, for that in the conqueſt of *Naples* was a ready way for him to bring vnder his ſubiection thempire of the *Turkes*.

Theſe things being knowne to many, brought many hopes to *Lodovvyk Sforce* to perſwade eaſily the thing he deſired, who alſo reappoſed much in the frēdſhip & familiaritie which the name of *Sforce* had in the french court: for, both in him & in his brother *Galeas* afore him was continued by many demonſtracions & good offices, the amitie begon by *Francis Sforce* their father, who xxx. yeares before hauing receiued in fee of *Levvys* the xj. (whoſe mind abhorred alwaies the things of *Italy*) the city of *Sauōe* with the right which he pretēded to haue to *Genes* poſſeſſed aforetime by his father, neuer failed him in his daūgers, neither with coūcel, ſuccors, nor affectiō.

But *Lodovvik* to ſolicite in *Fraunce* with more credit and authoritie, and iudging him ſelfe vnable alone both for the importance and daunger of the thing: to handle ſo great an enterpriſe: ſought to communicate & perſwade all things with the Pope, in whō he knew had moſt dominion two ſtirring humors, ambicion & diſdayne: he told him that not by the fauors of the Princes of *Italy*, and much leſſe by the meane of their armies and helpes, he ſhould be reuenged of *Ferdinand*, nor haue hope to compaſſe eſtates worthy and honorable for thaduancement of his ſonnes. He found the Pope to beare a vehement and ready wil to the matter, perhaps for a deſire to innouate and alter thinges, but more likely to conſtraine the *Aragons* by feare to come to that which by conſent & wil they would not accord to him. After they had communicated their councells, they diſpatched ſecretly into *Fraunce*, perſonages of truſt to ſound the will of the king & ſuch as gouerned him: who ſhewing them ſelues not farre from their intencion, *Lodovvyk* turning his whole witts to the deuiſe of this enterpriſe: ſent in the ſight of all the world (but ſhadowing it with other occaſions) one *Charles Balbyan* Earle of *Belioyenſe*, who ſoliciting the king certeine dayes in priuate audience, & working particularly with ſundry of his principal fauorits, was at laſt introduced into open councell, the king preſent, where in a publike hearing of the Prince, his Lordes and Prelates of the Court, he deliuered this forme of diſcourſe.

Lodo. Sforce ſeeketh to draw the pope to his purpoſe

Thembaſſador of Myllan perſwades the french king to the voyage of Naples.

" Moſt chriſtian king, The experiēce of the diſpoſiciō of harts diuerſly inclined, makes
" me dowtful, whether vnder a direct & abſolute forme, I ſhould begin my diſcours, or
" vſing the cuſtome of Orators, bring into queſtion ſuch obiectiōs as may be oppoſed
" againſt the preſēt matter: for, in cauſes of perſwaſion, the one with the other muſt or-
" derly cōcurre, leaſt for want of due office in the ſpeaker, the matter ſeeming to ſuffer
" imperfectiō & error, do not bring forth reſolucion & effect according to the expecta-
" cion of the parties for whom he ſolicites. And albeit the vniuerſal coniecture & opi-
" niō of your maieſties many vertues, & the graue aſpect & face of your right wiſe coū
" cel here aſſēbled, promiſe no leſſe ready cōſent & liking, thē the matter is iuſt & inno-
" cēt: yet for your maieſties better inducemēt, & general ſatisfactiō of your Lordes &
" Prelats aſſiſting, I wil ioyne my ſelf to the refutaciō of that general dout which in ne-
" gociaciōs of this nature, are cōmonly obiected, more by cuſtō, thē iuſt cauſe ariſing:

if

If therefore (right Christian king) any man for what occasion so euer, will hold for
suspected the integritie of mind and faith, with the which *Lodovvik Sforce* comes to
councel you to beare armes to cõquer the kingdom of *Naples*: he may easily deliuer
his mind of that ill grounded suspicion, if he either loke into the offers, offices, & cõ-
dicions wherwith he doth accompany his perswasion & councell, offering you the
cõmoditie of his treasors, men, & all other oportunities: or at least wil cal to his me-
mory with what deuociõ both he, *Galeas* his brother, & originally *Francis* his father,
did honor the late king *Levvys* your father, continued with no lesse constancie, faith,
& piety to the glorious name of your maiestie. Let him consider also that by this en-
terprise, *Lodovvyk* standes possible to many great daungers with a very naked hope
of any profit: yea in this is conteined the only benefit he shall haue, to see a iust re-
uenge of the ambushes & wronges done by them of *Aragon*: where your maiestie by
meane of the victory shal happily aspire to a most florishing kingdom, bringing with
it a greater glory & oportunitie of farre more high and honorable merite, an action
wherunto the thoughts of mighty Princes ought to be fashioned. And of the other
part, if it happen that you come not to the end of this enterprise: yet your maiestie
loseth no reputacion, nor your greatnes the more diminished: for that onely the for-
tunes of Princes are subiect to opiniõs, but not their estate & maiesty impaired. But
for *Lodovvyk*, he is of nothing more sure then to suffer general ill wil & contempt, &
of nothing more vnsure then to find remedy in his perils: for that in him would con-
curre all the displeasures & slaunders which may concerne his estate, life or reputa-
cion. And therfore I see not how should be suspected the councels of him, whose cõ-
dicions & fortunes are so vnequal & inferior to yours. But there be reasons stirring
you to this honorable expedicion, which for the simplicity, roundnes, & innocency
they conteine, will admitte no dowt: for that in them are liberally concurrant all the
groundes & foundacions which in consulting of enterprises, merit chiefest conside-
racion: that is to say, the iustice of the cause, the facilitie of the conquest, & the great
frut of the victory: it is manifest to all the world, how resolute & apparãt be the rights
which the house of *Aniovv*, to whom you are lawful inheritor hath to the realme of
Naples, & how iust is the succession which this crowne pretendes to it by the yssues
of *Charles*, who first of the blood royall of *Fraunce*, obteyned the same kingdom both
with thauthoritie of the Pope, and by his proper valour. And it is no lesse easie to
conquer it, then the action is iust: for, who knowes not, howe much the King of
Naples is inferior in force, authoritie, and fortune, to the most mightie King of
all Christendom. And no nation dowteth with what terrour and renowne the name
of the french thundreth throughout the regions of the world, neyther with what a-
stonishment the brute of your armies, keepeth other contreys in dread. At no time
did the inferior Dukes of *Aniovv* assaile the kingdom of *Naples*: that they put it not
in great hazard: And it is to late to be forgotten, how *Iohn* sonne of *Rene* had in his
hand the victorie against *Ferdinand* now reigning, if Pope *Pius* had not taken it from
him: but much more *Francys Sforce*, who forbare (as is well knowen) to obey *Levvys*
the xj. your father. If those small forces trained with thẽ so great fortunes, what may
be hoped for of the armies & authoritie of so mighty a king, all oportunities being
increased, and the difficulties obiected against *Rene* and *Iohn*, diminished, seeing the
Princes of those estates which gaue impediments to their victories, haue now vnitie
& confederacion with you: & in them be no small meanes to offend the kingdom of
Naples: for, the Pope by lãd, by reason the territories of the church are frõtiers to *Na-
ples*, & the Duke of *Myllan* by sea, applying to you the cõmoditie & seruice of *Genes*:

" will be furtherers of your victorie with many helpes,fauours,and commodities: be-
" sides these,there is no potentacie or iurisdiction in *Italy* wil oppose against you:for,it
" can not be iudged of the *Venetians* that they will throwe them selues into expenses
" and daungers,and much lesse depriue their estate of the amitie wherein so long time
" they haue bene interteyned with the kinges of *Fraunce*:to preserue or protect *Ferdi-*
" *nand* an auncient enemy to their name & greatnes:for that amongest estates & king-
" doms the remẽbrance of iniuries past kepes mens mindes from reconcilement.And
" there is no reason to beleue that the *Florentyns* wil depart from the natural deuocion
" which they haue borne to the crowne of *Fraunce*,seing it is but iust,to owe faith,ser-
" uice & affection,to those who gaue them their first creacion, dignitie,and greatnes.
" But be it,that,following the common ingratitude of mortall men,they would obiect
" them selues against you: what are they against so great a power,compounded vpon
" so warlike a nation, which many tymes, against the wils of all *Italy* hath passed the
" *Alpes*,& with a wonderful glory & happines,haue brought home many victories &
" triũphes: And in what time hath the realme of *Fraunce* bene euer more happy,more
" glorious, or more mighty then at this hower: neither had this crowne at any tyme
" heretofore so cõueniẽt & ready meanes to establish a firme peace with all his neigh-
" bours.All which oportunities if they had so generally mette togither in the daies of
" your father,he would perhaps haue bene more ready to this selfe same expedicion:
" And touching them of *Aragon* your enemies, the difficulties be no lesse augmented
" against them,then to you the oportunities be fauoring, becawse in the same realme
" both the faction of *Aniovv* is yet mighty,& no lesse thintelligences of many Princes
" & gentlemen chassed out vniustly within these few yeares, besides,the iniuries done
" at all times by *Ferdinand* to the Barons & people,yea euen to them of the party of *A-*
" *ragon*,haue bene of so bitter tast and toleracion togither with his disloyaltie so great,
" his couetousnes so insatiable,and the examples of crueltie in him and his eldest sonne
" *Alphonso* so notorious and horrible: that it is certeine that all the realme pushed for-
" ward with a iust hate against them, will rise into willing commocion at the brute of
" your cõming(so great authoritie hath as yet the remembrance of the liberalitie,sin-
" ceritie,humanitie,and iustice which the french kinges haue vsed:) the onely delibe-
" racion to make the enterprise is sufficient to make you victorious: for, your men at
" armes shall no sooner passe ouer the mounteynes, nor the armie at sea no sooner be
" prepared in the hauen of *Genes*,then *Ferdinand* and his sonne stricken with the con-
" science of their wickednes, will take more councell to flie then to fight: so shall
" you with great happines, recouer for the posteritie of your blood,a kingdom,which
" albeit can hold no comparison with the large realme of *Fraunce*, yet, besides his ri-
" ches,amplitude & fertility,it wel merits accompt & reckoning for the helpes & infi-
" nite cõmodities which by it may be increased to this your imperial crowne,matters
" which I would particulat, were it not that the noble mindes of the french reach to
" greater ends,& that the high & excellent thoughts of so valiant and glorious a king,
" regard not so much profits priuat,or particular,as they behold the vniuersal greatnes
" of the whole cõmon weale of christendom: wherin touching this,what oportunitie
" more greater,what more ample occasions,what seate of contrey more proper or cõ-
" uenient to manage warre against the enemies of our religion? The sea that deuides
" the kingdom of *Naples* & *Grece*,conteines not in some part aboue lxx.miles in large-
" nes:A prouince so oppressed & torne in peeces with the tyrannies of the *Turks*, that
" they desire nothing with more general gladnes,then to see the bãners of Christians
" and men of warre marching for their deliuerie.There is nothing more easie then to
" runne

runne euen into thintralls of that nation,and to batter *Conſtantinople*,the ſoueraigne
reſidencie of that Empire.This enterpriſe, for the maieſtie & nature of it,doth moſt
worthely become your perſon & greatnes, with whoſe high and aſpiring thoughts
it ſeemes to haue a certeine liuely affinitie.And for the reaſon and neceſſitie of it, it
can not ſo iuſtly apperteine to any as to you bearing the ſurname of *Moſt Chriſtian*,
a title wherin your predeceſſors haue flouriſhed with no ſmal examples of triumph
and glory,they yſſuing in armed maner out of this realme,ſome times to deliuer the
Church of God from thoppreſſion of tyrannes,ſome times to inuade the infidels, &
recouer the holy ſepulcher,haue raiſed euen to the third heauen their names & ma-
ieſtie of the french kinges: with theſe councells,with theſe meanes, with theſe ac-
ions,with theſe ends,became great & emperour of *Rome*,that mighty & triumphant
Charles,of whom as you beare the name, ſo nowe the time offereth you occaſion to
communicate with his glory & titles.But it is a time vainly ſpent to ſtand long vpon
the recapitulacion of theſe reaſons, as though it were not more conuenient & more
agreing with the order of nature,to conſider how to keepe,then how to get:for,con-
ſidering the oportunitie of ſo many and great occaſions calling you,it could not but
intangle your greatnes with apparant infamie & diſhonor, to ſuffer any longer *Fer-
dinand* to vſurp vpon you ſuch a kingdom, which for almoſt ij.hundreth yeares hath
had continuall poſſeſſion in the kings of your blood. And ſeeing by cleare iuſtice &
all iudiciall courſe of lawes, it apperteynes vnto you,who dowtes how iuſtly it agre-
eth with your dignitie to recouer it:but ſpecially how much it concernes your piety
to deliuer from the cruel tyrannie of thoſe *Catelyns*,thoſe people which beare deuo-
cion to your name,& doe craue by right to beare you the dutie & office of ſubiects?
Thus moſt high & glorious king is the enterpriſe proued iuſt,eaſie, & neceſſary, &
withall no leſſe glorious & holy,as well for it ſelf in particular,as for that it openeth
the way to other enterpriſes worthy of a right chriſtian king of *Fraunce*:whereunto
not only the reaſons of mẽ,but euẽ the ſelf voice of God,doth call you with great &
manifeſt occaſiõs,aſſuring you afore the beginning,of a moſt great happines & for-
tune,ſince no greater worldly happines can happen to no Prince,thẽ to ſee his deli-
beracions & councels,(bringing glory & greatnes) to be accõpanied with ſuch cir-
cũſtances & conſequẽces,that they concerne not only the benefit & vniuerſal ſaue-
tie,but much more do conſider thexaltation of the whole cõmunitie of chriſtẽdom.

This propoſicion had no willing paſſage into the eares or hartes of the great Lordes of *Fraunce*,but ſpecially of ſuch,who for their nobilitie and opinion of wiſe-dom held greateſt authority:They iudged that ſuch a warre wherof he hath opened the way and entrey, could not but conteyne many difficulties & daungers,both for the conduct of armies into a countrey ſtraunge, &farre remoued from the realme of *Fraunce*,& alſo againſt enemies bearing reputaciõ of valour,pollicie,& diſcipline: for,for wiſedõ,forecaſt,& ſtaied diſcreſiõ,*Ferdinãd* bare a high recõmẽdacion:& for valour,conduct & direction in warre,his ſonne *Alphonſo* was no leſſe renowmed.Beſides,they made this coniecture,that *Ferdinand* hauing raigned xxx.yeres & ſacked & cõfiſked at ſundry times many of the Barõs, had heaped togither no ſmal treaſor: on the behalf of the king,they conſidered that his capacitie was to green to ſuſteine alone ſo heauy a burdẽ,& for the direction of warres & eſtats,the councel weake,& thexperiẽce leſſe aſſured of ſuch as he beleued moſt in.To theſe they added the want of mony wherof they eſtemed to neede a great quãtity.They wiſhed that the deceits & ſuttleties of thitaliãs might be depely loked into,aſſuring them ſelues that it could not be pleaſing,neither to others nor to *Lodovvik Sforce* him ſelfe:A man confeſſed

by all the *Italians* to be of litle faith) that the kingdom of *Naples* ſhould paſſe into the power of a king of *Fraunce*: they iudged it harde to winne, and leſſe eaſie to keepe thoſe thinges that ſhould be wonne: For that reaſon (ſayd they) *Levvys* father to *Charles*, (a Prince in all his actions following more the truth then the apparance of thinges) would neuer accept the hopes which were offered him of the matters of *Italy*, and much leſſe make reckoning of the rightes falne to him in the Realme of *Naples*: No, he ſaw in his iudgement, that to ſend armies beyond the mounteynes, was no other thing then to ſearch enemies and daungers with the waſt of infinite treaſor and blood of the realme of *Fraunce*: They held it neceſſary afore all thinges (if this expedicion ſhould proceede) to reunite controuerſies with the kinges borderers, for that with *Ferdinand* king of *Spayne*, was no want of occaſions of quarrells and ſuſpicions, and with *Maximilyan* king of *Romaines*, and *Philip* Archduke of *Auſtrich* his ſonne, not onely many hartburnings and ielouſies, but alſo diſpleaſures and iniuries: whoſe minds albeit could not be reconciled without condeſcending to ſome things hurtfull to the crowne of *Fraunce*, yet neuertheles ſuch reconcilements would be more by demonſtracions then effects: for, ſay they, if any ill accident happen to the kinges armie in *Italy*, what accord can be ſo well aſſured which will hold them from
" inuading the realme of *Fraunce*, ſeeing this is familiar with Princes to hold for ſuſpe-
" cted the greatnes and fortunes of their neighbours, and are ouer nothing ſo watch-
" full as ouer oportunities and occaſions. And touching the king of *England*, *Henry* the vij. it was not to be dowted that the naturall hate of thengliſh toward the french had not more force then the peace made with him two monthes before, for that it is manifeſt that no one thing brought him more to the compoſicion, then that the preparacions of the king of *Romaines* aũſwered not the promiſes wherwith he had induced him to lay ſeege to *Bollogne*. Of this nature were the reaſõs alleaged by the great Lordes, partly debated amongeſt them ſelues, and partly diſputed in the preſence of the king. The chiefeſt of thoſe that iuſtified theſe arguments afore the king, was one *Iames Grauille* Admiral of *Fraunce*, whoſe greatnes albeit was ſomewhat diminiſhed, yet his authoritie ſuffered no alteracion for the auncient name and credit of his wiſdom rouing liberally thorow all the realme of *Fraunce*. But the kinges minde with a wonderful gredines, was wholly inclined to the cõtrary aduiſe: what with the greennes of his yeares aſpiring nowe to xxij. and by his vnſtayed nature, not yet experienced in thaffayres of the world, he was caried into a wonderfull ambicion to enlarge his imperie, following an appetite of glorie, founded rather vpon a light will and furie of youth, then vpon maturitie of councel, ſeeing that either by his proper nature, or rather the examples and admoniſhments of his parents, he reappoſed litle faith in his Lordes and Nobles of his realme. And ſince he came forth of the tutorſhip and iuriſdiction of *Anne* Ducheſſe of *Burbon* his ſiſter, he bare no more care to the councells of thadmirall, nor to others that had bene great in the gouernment: But gaue him ſelfe ouer to the directions of certeine men of baſe condicion, trained vp almoſt alwaies in the ſeruice of his perſon: of theſe, ſuch as had moſt fauour and place with him, perſwaded him greatly to embrace the enterpriſe, being partly corrupted, (for the councells of Princes are often times mercenarie) with the promiſes and preſents of *Lodovvykes* Embaſſador by whom was not forgotten any diligence or art to draw the fauours of ſuch as might doe moſt in this action. They were partly puſhed on by certeine hopes, either to be rayſed to eſtates in the kingdom of *Naples*, or to obteyne of the Pope, dignities and penſions in the Church. The principall of all theſe, was one *Stephen de Vers*, borne in *Languedock*, of baſe place, but bredd vp of long time

with

with the king, in whose chamber he vsed to lye, and by the kings creacion made *Seneshall* of *Beucaire*: with this man did communicate one *VVilliam Briconnet*, who of a marchaunt created first generall of *Fraunce*, and after made Bishop of *S. Malo*, had not onely the charge and administracion of the kings reuenue, (which the french cal superintendant of the finances,) but also hauing confederacie with *Stephen*, had by his meanes a great entry into all thaffayres of importance, albeit he had no great insight in the pollicie and gouernment of matters of estate. To the helpe of this enterprise were adioyned the perswasions of *Autouell* of *S. Seuerin*, Prince of *Salerne*, and of *Vernaedin* of the same familie, Prince of *Bysignan*, togither with many other Barons banished the Realme of *Naples*, who being withdrawne many yeares before into *Fraunce*, had continually solicited the king to that enterprise, laying before his eyes the great calamitie or rather generall despaire of the whole kingdom, and the factions and many followers which they promised them selues to haue in the same.

In this diuersitie of perswasions, the deliberacion remained suspended for certein dayes, others being not onely in dowt what to determine, but also the kings will wauering and vncerteine, for that some times inclining to his ambicion and glory, and some times restrained with feares and daungers, he would often be irresolute, & eftsones turne to the contrary of that which he had afore determined. But in the ende, his first inclinacion togither with the cursed destinie of *Italy*, being of more force thē any thing that could be sayd to the contrary, the well gouerned and peasible councells of his Nobles were altogither reiected, and communicating onely with the bishop of *S. Malo* and the *Seneshall* of *Beucaire*, and partaking nothing with the assent & priuitie of all others, there was a conuencion made with *Lodovvyks* Embassador, whose condicions albeit were holden secrete for many monthes, yet this is the capitulacion and summe of them.

Confederacion betwene the kinge of Fraunce, and Lodo. Sforce.

That king *Charles* either going in person into *Italy*, or sending thether any armie for the conquest of *Naples*, the Duke of *Myllan* was bound to giue him passage thorow his iurisdictions. To send thether with his men, fiue hundreth men at armes paied: To suffer him to arme at *Genes* so many vessells as he will: And to lend him before he departed out of *Fraunce*, two hundreth thowsand ducketts.

Touching the king, he was bound to the defence and protection of the Duchie of *Myllan* against all men, with particular mencion to preserue the authoritie of *Lodovvyk*: to enterteine during the warre within the citie of *Ast* belonging to the Duke of *Orleance*, two hundreth launces to giue succours to the necessities of that Duchie. Lastly he promised either at that time or soone after, by a writing subsigned with his owne hand, that hauing once conquered the realme of *Naples*, he should giue to *Lodovvyk* the principalitie of *Tarente*.

But let vs looke somewhat into the variacion of times and thinges of the worlde: " Albeit *Francis Sforce*, father to *Lodovvyk*, a Prince of rare wisedom and valour, was a " professed enemie to those of *Aragon*, for the many displeasures he had receiued of " *Alphonso*, *Ferdinands* father: and an auncient friend to the house of *Aniovv*: yet this " was his moderacion in the actions concerning those two families, that in the yeare " 1457. when *Iohn* sonne of *Rene*, inuaded the kingdom of *Naples*, he ministred succours to *Ferdinand* with such a wonderfull diligence and readines, that the victorie " was acknowledged to happen wholly by his helpe: he was stirred to this for no other " reason, then that he saw it was to perillous for his Duchie of *Myllan*, that the french " his neare neighbours, should make them selues Lordes ouer so mighty an estate. The " same reason induced *Philip Maria Viscounte* (abandoning them of *Aniovv*, to whom

he had alwaies before borne fauour)to deliuer *Alphonſo* his enemie,who taken of the *Geneuoys* in a battell at ſea neare to *Caiette*, was brought to him priſoner to *Myllan*, with all the nobilitie of his realmes:on the other ſide,*Levvys* the xj.father to *Charles*, being often times perſwaded by many and not with light occaſions,to harken to the thinges of *Naples*,and being withall with great inſtance,called by the *Geneuoys* to be Lord ouer their contreyes,as *Charles* his father had bene afore him: Did alwayes refuſe to intangle him ſelfe with the doings of *Italy*,as matters full of expenſes and difficulties,and in the ende hurtfull to the realme of *Fraunce*. But now the opinions of men being chaunged,but perhapps not chaunged the reaſon of thinges, we ſee how *Lodovvyk* calls the french ouer the mounteynes, not fearing by ſo mighty a king (if *Naples* ſhould fall into his handes) that daunger which his father no leſſe valiant in armes then he,would haue feared, if but a litle Earle of *Prouence* had conquered it. And of the other ſide, we ſee *Charles* now raigning inflamed with a deſire to make warre in *Italy*,preferring the raſhnes of men of baſe place and vnexperienced, afore the councell of his father: A Prince of ſingular wiſedom, temperance, and forecaſt.

" It hapneth too often, that new Princes haue newe councells,and of newe councells
" commonly reſort new effectes, euen ſuch as in a ſhip,when a rawe man is put to the
" helme,the courſe muſt needes alter.

It is not vnlikely that *Lodovvyk* was drawne to ſo great a deliberacion by *Hercules de Eſte* Duke of *Ferrara*,his father in law,who,nouriſhing a vehement appetite to recouer *Poleſine de Rouigne*, a contrey confining and importing much the ſewertie of *Ferrara* which the *Venetians* had taken from him in the warres ten yeares paſt, foreſaw that the onely meane to recouer it was to ſet all *Italy* in trouble,and innouate the ſtates with moſt great emotions.Beſides this, many beleued, that albeit in *Hercules* appeared a diſguiſed apparance and will to wiſh well to his ſonne in law,yet in ſecret he followed him with an extreme hatred,for that in the ſame warre all the reſidue of *Italy* which had taken armes for him being farre more mighty then the *Venetians*, *Lodovvyk* gouerning then the ſtate of *Myllan*, and regarding his proper reſpectes & particular intereſtes,conſtrayned the others to make peace with condicion that *Poleſine* ſhould remayne to the *Venetians*: And therefore *Hercules* hauing no meanes to reuenge ſo great an iniurie by armes and warre, ſought to execute his long ſmothered malice by giuing him a daungerous councell: ſuch are the operacions of malice
" working in mindes mighty,who ſeldom hold it any breach of iuſtice to be reuenged
" of him that offereth the firſt iniurie.

But now *Italy* being poſſeſſed with a brute of thoſe thinges which were in practiſe on the otherſide the mounteynes,and whoſe firſt authors at the beginning were vncerteyne,many thoughtes and diſcourſes appeared in the vnderſtandings of men:to many,waighing with the power and ſtrength of the french king,and the readines of that nation to new broyles and innouacions, the preſent diuiſions and factions of thitalians, it ſeemed a buſines of great qualitie and importance: others,interpreting the age and greenes of the king,and iudging much of the negligence naturall to that nation,and laſtly looking into the great impediments which great enterpriſes haue, conſtrued all not to a councell well grounded,but to a hotte and vnbridled affection of youth,which after it had a litle throwne out his fume and fire,would eaſily vaniſh and diſſolue. *Ferdinand* him ſelfe(againſt whom all this buſines was conſpired)ſhewed litle appearance of feare, ſaying it was an enterpriſe intangled with many difficulties, for that if they made their inuaſion by ſea, they ſhould find him furniſhed with a plentifull nauie,armed able to giue him battel in the plaine ſea,his portes be-

The thoughts of Ferdinand King of Naples.

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ing furniſhed,and his fortes well manned and vittelled: neither was there any baron in the realme able to receiue them,as had bene done afore to *Iohn* of *Aniovv*, by the Prince of *Boſſane*,and other great ones of the land. And touching their expedicion by land,it was full of incommodities,ſuſpicious to many,and a painefull march farre of, for that their way lying all a long the length of *Italy*, the reſidue of the Princes could not be without their particular feares,and perhaps *Lodovvyk Sforce* more then the others,notwithſtanding he made ſhew of the contrary,ſeming as though a common perill brought intereſt to euery particular: for that the proximitie and neighbourhood of *Myllan* with *Fraunce*, gaue vnto the king a greater oportunitie, (but in true likelyhood)a greater deſire to poſſeſſe and occupie that Duchie. And ſeeing the yong and true Duke of *Myllan* was of neare kinred to the king, *Lodovvyk* could not other waies aſſure him ſelf,but that the king caried an intencion to deliuer him from his oppreſſion,hauing not many yeares before proteſted openly, that he would not endure that *Iohn Galeas* his coſin ſhould be ſo vnworthely reſtrayned and kept vnder: That the ſtate of them of *Aragon*, ſtoode not vpon ſuch tearmes and condicions, as the hope of their weaknes might induce the courage of the french to make inuaſions vpon them, for that they were plentifully furniſhed with many numbers of valiant men at armes,great trowpes of horſes of ſeruice,many ſtoares of munitions and artilleries,and all other neceſſary things for the warre, togither with ſo rich a mynt of money,that it ſufficed againſt all wantes, prouicions and fortunes: that beſides many honorable capteines trayned and experienced,he had for the conduct of his armies,his eldeſt ſonne,Duke of *Calabria*,a leader of great renowme & no leſſe vertue,growen into a mind reſolute,a councell ſtayed and well aduiſed, and an aſſured experience,by following all the warres in *Italy*,for many yeares before. To theſe forces he added the powers of his parents and allies, of whoſe ready ayde and aſſiſtance he nothing dowted,hauing ſpeciall expectacion to receiue plentifull ſuccors from the king of *Spayne* his coſin,and brother to his wife, not onely in reſpect of the double knotte of parentage, but alſo for that in good pollicie it ſtoode him vpon to holde for ſuſpected the neighbourhood of the french men to *Sicyle*.

This was the glorious humor of *Ferdinand*, bringing forth in publike many bragges touching his owne power and greatnes, and to the contempt and leſſening of the forces and meanes of his aduerſaries. Theſe be properties often times familiar with Princes, to whom there can not be a more ſenſible and apparant token of „ their aduerſitie or ruine,then when they eſteeme them ſelues more then they are,& „ make their enemies leſſe then they finde them.

But *Ferdinand*,as he was a Prince of ſingular wiſedom and well aſſured experience: ſo,in him ſelf he found his mind torméted with many very greuous thoughts beholding with a freſh memorie the troubles he had receiued of the french nation, in the beginning of his raigne: he debated deepely that he ſhould haue to doe with enemies warlike and mighty, for their trowpes of horſemen farre aboue him: in footemen infinite,in enſignes well appoynted,trayned,and diſciplined: for prouiſions at ſea,nothing wanting to an armie royall: for artilleries,plentifull,ſundry, and terrible: for money,his mynes and myntings furniſhed aboue all wantes that could happen: And of men, infinite in multitudes, reſolute in mindes, for ſeruice apt,of „ faith aſſured,of wills tractable,for commaundement obedient,and laſtly, bearing all „ one common deſire to commit their liues to any daunger for the glory and greatnes of their naturall king.But of the contrary,touching him ſelfe,all thinges were ſuſpected to him, his realme being full of hatred againſt the name of the *Aragons*, or at

leaſt of no litle inclinacion to commocion, and the moſt part of the reſidue, of an ordinary deſire to haue new kings, wherein fortune may be of more power then faith: his ſtrength was mightier in opinion, then in true forces: his treaſor layd vp and reſerued, not ſufficient to cary the neceſſary expenſes for his defence, ſince all thinges by the warre being turned into rebellion and tumults, his reuenewes would conuert to nothing in a moment: he ſaw that in *Italy* he had many enemies, and with none any frendſhip firme or well aſſured, hauing at ſome times bene greuous to all, either by armes or other violent meanes. And for *Spayne*, according to the examples paſt, & condicions of the ſame realme, he had no expectacion of other ſuccours for his perills, then large promiſes with a great name of operacions, but very ſlender and ſlow effectes. Laſtly his feares were augmented by the vnfortunat predictions that went of his howſe, come to his knowledge at ſundry times, partly by auncient writinges found out of new, partly by thinterpretacions and wordes of men for the moſt parte vncerteine of the preſent, and yet will referre certeinly to thinges to come: thoſe be
" thinges that in proſperitie we beleue litle, & in aduerſitie too much, ſpecially if there
" ariſe any apparance.

The king of *Naples* wandring in theſe conſideracions, and his feares being greater without compariſon then his hopes, he ſaw there were no better remedies againſt ſo great daungers, then either with all ſpeede poſſible, to remoue by ſome agreement, ſuch thoughtes from the french kinges mind, or at leaſt to take from him part of the foundacions which ſtirred him to the warre.

And therefore hauing ſent Embaſſadors into *Fraunce*, to treate of a mariage betwene the king of *Scots*, and *Charlotte* daughter of *Dom Federyk* his ſecond ſonne, the diſpoſicion of which mariage was gouerned by the french king: for that the yõg Lady was nouriſhed in his court, and borne of a ſiſter of the mother of king *Charles*: he diſpatched new commiſſions for the matters preſent & running: he ioyned with them in deputacion and aſſiſtance *Camille Pandon*, hauing bene vſed in negociacion for him there before, the better to labour priuatly ſuch as were chiefeſt guiders of the kinges councells, and others bearing inclinacion to profit, promiſes, and corrupt offers: and if they could not by other meanes appeaſe or remoue the kinges intencion to the warre, then to offer him condicions of tribute and other ſubmiſſions: & ſo, if it were poſſible, to obteine peace. Beſides this, he applied not only all his thoughts, diligence & authoritie to compoſe the difference of the caſtells bought by *Virginio* (to whoſe intractabilitie and obſtinacie, he referred the chiefe occaſion of all theſe diſorders) but alſo he ſtudied to giue a new life to the practiſes of parentage, commoned vpon before betwene the Pope and him. But aboue all others, his deepeſt care and thought was to appeaſe and aſſure *Lodovvyk Sforce* (firſt author and mouer of all the miſchiefe) perſwading him ſelfe that feare, more then other occaſion ledde him to ſo daungerous a councell. And therefore (according to the neceſſities that followed him) preferring his particular ſewertie, afore the naturall reſpect and intereſt of his Neece, or the ſauetie of the ſonne borne of her: he offered by many embaſſages, to referre him ſelfe wholly to his will touching the things of *Iohn Galeas*, & the Duchie of *Myllan*: In which offers more generall then honorable, he had no regard to the aduiſe of his ſonne *Alphonſo*, who to amaſe, confuſe, and threaten *Lodovvyk*, iudged it the readieſt meane to make him giue ouer thoſe new coũcells: wher-
" in albeit he might take courage of the naturall fearefulnes of *Lodovvyk*, yet we often
" ſe, that no leſſe eaſily is the timerous man caried by deſpaire into deliberaciõs head-
" long and hurtfull, then the raſh man, by credulitie, furie, and want of conſideracion,

runnes

runnes into enterprises,that bring forth daunger,dishonor,and shame.

At last were appeased the controuersies of the castells after many difficulties proceeding more of *Virginio* then of the Pope, to the conclusion of which composicion,came *Dom Federyk* sent to *Rome* by his father for that effect. The accord runne that they should remaine in the possession and right of *Virginio*, repaying to the Pope equall proporcion of money which he had giuen at first to *Franciſquin Cibo:* togither with this was knit vp the mariage of the Ladie *Sances* bastard daughter to *Alphonſo*,with *Dom Geffray* yongest sonne to the Pope,(both the one & other by reason of their greene age vnable to consomat or accomplish the mariage.)These were the condicions: That *Dom Geffray* should goe to remayne at *Naples* after a few moneths: that he should receiue in dowrie and respect of the mariage,the principalitie of *Squillaco* valued at tenne thowsand duckats in yearly reuenue,and that *Ferdinand* should giue to him an estate of an hundreth men at armes. This confirmed thopinion of many,that all that the Pope solicited in *Fraunce*,bare no other meaning, then by feare to draw them of *Aragon* to these conuencions: this was one argument to approue their coniectures,that *Ferdinand* laboured to make a confederacion with him for their common defence: but the Pope obiected so many difficulties, that there was no other thing obteyned of him, then a very secret promise by writing to defend the kingdom of *Naples*, so that *Ferdinand* would equally promise to protect the estate of the Church.

These thinges dispatched,the companies of men at armes which the *Venetians* & the Duke of *Myllan* had sent to the Pope for his succors, retired with licence and fauour out of the Church dominions: *Ferdinand* also began now with no lesse hope of happy succesſe to treate with *Lodovvyk Sforce*, who with a wonderfull suttletie & arte, shewed him selfe some times ill contented with the inclinacion of the french king to the matters of *Italy*, and some times excused and iustified him selfe vpon his necessitie,for that by reason of his chiefe for *Genes* and the auncient confederacion with the house of *Fraunce:* he was constrayned to tender the desires and requestes made to him(as he sayd)by the same king.But some times he promised to *Ferdinand* in publike,and some times to the Pope and *P.de medicis* apart and seuerally,to do all he could to moderate the kinges desire,assaying to lull them a sleepe in this hope,to the ende they conspired or dressed nothing against him,before thaffayres of *Fraunce* were well proceeded and established: wherein they were the more easie to beleue him,by how much they iudged the resolucion to bring the french king into *Italy* so ill for his owne sewertie,that in consideracion of his particular perill, and the common inuest of *Italy*,they supposed he would vtterly disclaime and shake it of. All this somer past in this nature of doings, *Lodovvyk* working vnder such disguised formes and maners,that without giuing any suspicion to the french king,neither *Ferdinand*, the Pope,nor the *Florentyns* dispaired of his promises,nor yet altogither trusted him.

The suttleties of Lod.Sforce.

But in this meane while,were layed in *Fraunce* with no small studie,the foundacions of the warre and expedicion to come, whereunto(contrary to the councells of most of the greatest)inclined more & more thaffection of the king,who,to be more at libertie,accorded the differēces he had with *Ferdinand* and *Isabell* king & Queene of *Spayne*: Princes in those times of great reapport and name for gouernment and wisedom, both for that they had drawne their Realmes out of great troubles into a setled tranquillitie,& also,had recouered to Christianitie,with a warre of ten yeares continuance, the kingdom of *Granado* vsurped by the *Moares* of *Affrica* for almost viij.hundreth yeares:it was expressed in this capitulacion (solemnly iustified by pub-

Preparacions in Fraunce for the warres of Italy.

like oth of both partes in the church) that in *Ferdinand* nor *Isabell* (for *Spayne* was gouerned vnder their common name) ſhould be no action of ayde to the *Aragons* directly nor indirectly: no contract of any new affinitiue or alliance: nor that in no ſort they ſhould oppoſe againſt king *Charles* for the defence of the realme of *Naples*. The king, in counterchaunge and recompence of theſe, (beginning by a loſſe certein, for a hope of gaine vncerteine) reſtored without any repayment of money, *Parpignian*, with all the earldom of *Roſſellion*, pawned many yeares before to *Levvys* his father by *Iohn* king of *Aragon* and father to *Ferdinand*. An exchaunge altogither againſt the will & liking of the whole nation of *Fraunce*, for that that earldom ſeated at the foote of the hills *Pyrennei*, & conſequently according to thauncient diuiſion, part of *Gallia*, gaue alwayes neceſſary impediments to them of *Aragon* for entring into *Fraunce* on that ſide.

The king, for the ſame occaſion, made peace with *Maximylian* king of *Romaines*, and with his ſonne *Phillip* Archduke of *Auſtrich*, in whom was no want of occaſion either of olde or newe hatreds againſt him: but ſpecially for that his father *Levvys* by the death of *Charles*, Duke of *Burgondie* and Earle of *Flaunders*, with many other contries conioyning, did impatronize him ſelfe vpon the Duchie of *Burgondie*, and Earldom of *Artoys*, with many other places which the ſayd Duke poſſeſſed: whereof growing no ſmall warres betwene king *Levvys*, & *Marie* the onely daughter of Duke *Charles*, married after the death of her father to *Maximilian*: there was made at laſt (*Marie* being dead and *Phillip* the common ſonne of *Maximilian* and her ſucceding to thinheritance of his mother) an accord amongeſt them, more by the wills of the people of *Flaunders*, then readines of *Maximylian*. The better to cõfirme this accord, *Margaret* the ſiſter of *Phillip* was married to *Charles* ſonne of *Levvys*, and (notwithſtanding ſhe was very yong,) ledde into *Fraunce*: where after ſhe had remained many yeares, *Charles* refuſed her, and tooke to wife *Anne*, to whom by the death of *Francis* her father leauing no yſſue male, the Duchie of *Bryttaine* was deſcended. This was a double iniurie to *Maximylian*, being at one time made fruſtrate the mariage of his daughter, and his owne, hauing by procuracion afore married the ſayd *Anne*: And yet, for that he was not able of him ſelfe to ſuſteyne the warre recontinued by occaſion of this iniurie, and that the people of *Flaunders* (gouerning them ſelues by their proper councell and authoritie, by reaſon of the minoritie of *Phillip*) would not dwel in warre with the realme of *Fraunce*. And ſeeing laſtly that the kings of *Spayne* & *England* had diſſolued their armies which they had leuyed againſt the french: he conſented to the peace, by the which king *Charles* reſtored to *Phillip*, his ſiſter *Margaret* deteyned in *Fraunce* till then, togither with the townes of the Earldom of *Artoys*, reſeruing to him ſelfe the caſtells, but vnder bond to render them at foure yeares ende, at what time *Phillip* being riſen to his maioritie might in good validitie confirme the accord paſt. Thoſe townes when the peace was made by king *Levvys*, were acknowledged by common agreement as the proper right of the ſayd *Margaret*. The generall peace thus eſtabliſhed with all the neighbours to the realme of *Fraunce*, the reſolucion of the warre againſt the kingdom of *Naples*, was confirmed for the yeare following: in which time were prepared all prouiſions neceſſary continually ſolicited by *Lodovvyk Sforce*: who (the thoughts of men aduauncing from degree to degree) occupied his witts now not onely how to aſſure the gouernment to him, but lifting vp his mind to higher conceites, he had an intencion to transferre to him ſelfe the Duchie of *Myllan* vnder thoccaſion of the warre againſt *th Arragons*, wherein to giue ſome couler of iuſtice to ſo great an iniuſtice, and with more firme foundacions to aſſure

The Duchie of Brittain inueſted in the crowne of Fraunce.

assure his affayres against all fortunes that might happen: he married *Blanche Mary* sister to *Iohn Gales* and his Neece to *Maximylian* newly aspired to thempire of *Rome* by the death of *Federyk* his father: to him he promised in dowrie to be payd within a certeine time iiij.hundreth thowsand duckatts of ready money,with iewells and other ornaments to the value of xl.thowsand duckatts: and of the other parte *Maximylian* thirsting more after money then affinitie by this mariage,bound him selfe to indue *Lodovvyk*,(to the preiudice of *Iohn Galeas* his new brother in law)with thinuestiture of the Duchie of *Myllan*,for him,his children, & offspringe, as though that estate had remained without lawfull Dukes euer since the death of *Phillip Maria Viscount*. At the latter payment of the money,he promised to giue him all the priuileadges and prerogatiues accomplished in most ample forme.

Mariage of Blanche Mary Sforce with themprour Maximylian.

The *Viscounteis*,gentlemen of *Myllan*,during the bluddy factions in *Italy*,betwene the *Gebelyns* and *Guelffes*,and after the *Guelffes* were suppressed: of principall men of one part of *Myllan*,became Lordes and absolute maisters of the whole citie, (such frutes for the most are bredd by ciuill discordes.) And in this greatnes after they had continued many yeares,they sought (according to the common aduauncement of tyrannies the better to disguise their vsurpacion with a show of right) to strengthen first with colers lawful,& after to set out their fortune,with most ample titles: therefore after they had first obteyned of themprours (of whome *Italy* began to know rather the name then their power)the title of capteines & then vicaires of thempire:In the ende *Iohn Galeas* (who for that his father in lawe *Iohn* king of *Fraunce* had giuen him the earldom of *Vertus*,called him self Earle of *Vertus*)obteyned of *Vincislao* king of *Romaines* for him & his yssues males,the dignitie of Duke of *Myllan*,in which succeded him the one after the other *Iohn Maria* and *Phillip Maria* his sonnes. But the lyne masculyne being determined by the death of *Phillip*, albeit,by his testament he had instituted as his heire *Alphonso* king of *Aragon* and *Naples*,partly for the recompense of the amitie he shewed at his deliuery,but more, for that the Duchie of *Myllan* defended by so mighty a Prince,should not fall into the subiection of the *Venetians* aspiring manifestly to it: yet *Francis Sforce*, at that time a capteine valiant and equally seene in affaires of peace and warre, being assisted with many occasions then occurrant, and more esteeming to reigne then to keepe faith: held with armes the sayd Duchie as apperteining to *Blanche Maria* his wife,the bastard daughter of *Phillip*. And albeit it was supposed that soone after with a small porcion of money, he might haue purchased of themprour *Federyk* thinuestiture of that state: yet trusting he was able to kepe it by the same meanes wherwith he had wonne it,he made small reckoning of that office in themprour:thus without inuestiture continued *Galeaz* his sonne,& *Iohn Galeaz* his later sonne:by reasō wherof *Lodovvyk* bearing him self wickedly at one time against his Nephew liuing,& doing wrong to the memory of his father & brother decessed,mainteined that not one of thē were lawful dukes of *Myllan*,procuring him self,as of an estate diuolued to thempire,to be inuested by *Maximylian*,& by that reason bare the title not of the 7.but of the 4.Duke of *Myllan*,which thinges(so long as his Nephew liued) were not suffered to come but to a fewe mens knowledge.Besids,following the example of *Cyrus* yonger brother to *Artexerses* king of *Persia*,(which also he confirmed with thauthority of many lawyers)he aduowched that he was before his brother not in yeares & age,but for that he was the first borne after their father became Duke of *Myllan:* This reason togither with the first was bestowed amongest the imperiall priuileadges,wherin to cloke with a vaine couer the ambicion of *Lodovvyk*, there was also written in letters separate, that it was not the

cuſtom of the holy Empire to conſent or paſſe any eſtate to any that afore had holden it vnder thauthoritie of an other, for which cauſe *Maximylian* had kept no reckoning of the peticions made by *Lodovvyk* to obteyne thinueſtiture for *Iohn Galeas*, hauing afore acknowledged the ſame Duchie of the people of *Myllan*.

In this mariage made by *Lodovvyk* of his Neece with *Maximylian*, *Ferdinand* tooke encreaſe of hope that *Lodovvyk* would eſtraunge him ſelfe from the amitie of the french king: theſe were the reaſons and arguments of his hope: for that he had knitt him ſelfe with *Maximylian* enemie and Corriuall to the french king by many occaſions: the departing with ſo great a ſumme of money might induce the kings ſuſpicion agaynſt him: And laſtly this newe coniunction miniſtring occaſion of corage & hart, he ſuppoſed he would not be fearful to diuide him ſelfe from the french doings: This hope *Lodovvyk* nouriſhed with great conning, and with the vayle of the ſame ſo blinded all others, that at one time he communicated with *Ferdinand* & the other Potentates in *Italy*; and withall enterteyned the king of *Romaines*, and yet kept the french from ielouſie: *Ferdinand* alſo iudged that it could not but be diſpleaſing and intollerable to the Senate of *Venice* (to whom he had ſent Embaſſadors) that a Prince ſo mightie aboue them ſhould enter the hart of *Italy*, wherein they had the chiefeſt place, opinion, and authoritie: beſides, he fedd much of the hopes in the king and Queene of *Spayne*, who had promiſed him great ſuccors, if neither by perſwaſions, offers, nor authoritie, he could not breake the enterpriſe. On the other ſide, the french king hauing taken away all impediments, on that ſide the mountes began to practiſe to remoue ſuch difficulties as might fall to his hinderance on the other ſide the hills: In that action he ſent *Peron de la bache*, a man not ignorant in thaffayres of *Italy*, by thexperience he had there vnder *Iohn* of *Aniovv*: who after he had made knowen to the Pope, the Senate of *Venice*, and the *Florentyns*, the reſolucion of his king to recouer the kingdom of *Naples*, he made petition to them all to enter ſocietie, fellowſhippe, and communitie with him: But he reaped no other frute then frayle hopes and generall aunſweres, for that the warre being not to be executed till the next yeare, euery one refuſed to diſcouer ſo long before, his intencion: In like ſort, the king required of them embaſſadors of *Florence*, (ſent to him a litle before by *Ferdinands* conſent to excuſe them ſelues of thimputacion that they inclined to the partie of *th Aragons*) to haue paſſage and vittells for his armie in their iuriſdictions at reaſonable rate, and that to accompanie him to the kingdom of *Naples*, they would furniſh him with an hundreth men at armes, which he ſayd he required as a ſigne that the common weale of *Florence* ſtoode with him in amitie: Albeit they aunſwered him with many reaſons and declaracions, that they could not in that ſort proteſt without great perill vntill his armie were paſt into *Italy*: And albeit they affirmed that he might be well aſſured that in all accidents and fortunes, that citie ſhould not faile to miniſter to him, all thoſe conuenient effects, of office, obſeruãce, & deuocion, which of long time they had borne to the crown of *Fraunce*: yet they were conſtrayned according to the french importunities to promiſe all thoſe thinges, otherwaies they were threatned to ſuffer priuacion of that great mart and traffike of marchandize which the *Florentyne* nation had in that realme: it was knowen after that theſe compulſions were inforced by *Lodovvyk* at that time the principall diſpoſer of all the french practiſes with *th Italians*.

Peter de medicis labored much to perſwade *Ferdinand*, that thoſe demaunds imported ſo litle the ſubſtance of the warre, that it would be more for his profit if the common weale & he continued amitie with the french king, hauing by that meane good

way

way and oportunitie to make some composicion, then in refusing those small demaundes, to declare them selues his enemies, and so suffer no possibilitie to doe good to him: he alleadged with all the generall complaynts and hatreds which he should heape vpon him selfe, if the traffike of *Florence* were restrayned in *Fraunce*: or that thentercourse there so necessary to thupholding of the citie, should suspende and perhaps come in time to lose his libertie and practise: he told him it was conuenient in good faith and meaning (the principall ground of confederacions) that euery confederate should suffer patiently some incommoditie, to thende the other ronne not into more greater harmes: But *Ferdinand* who considered how much of his reputacion and sewertie would diminish if the *Florentyns* were deuided from him: was not satisfied with these reasons, but complayned greeuously that the faith and constancie of *Peter* beganne so soone not to aunswer his owne promise & thexpectacion he had conceiued of him: by reason whereof, *Peter* resolutly disposed aboue all thinges to continue in amitie with them of *Aragon*, vsed many meanes to suspend and deferre the aunswer importunatly demaunded by the french, referring them in the ende to vnderstand the full wills and intencions of the common weale by new Embassadors.

About the ende of this yeare, the alliance made betwene the Pope and *Ferdinand*, beganne to wauer and shake, either for that the Pope in obiecting newe difficulties, aspyred to obteyne of him greater thinges then he had: or else that he perswaded him selfe to induce him by this meane to bring agayne to his obedience the Cardinall *S. P. ad vincula*, whom (offering first for his securitie the faith of the colleadge of Cardinalls, of *Ferdinand* and of the *Venetians*) he desired much to see returned to *Rome*: he held his absence much suspected for thimportance of the rocke of *Ostia*, holding in his handes about *Rome*, *Roncillon* and *Grotaferare*, by the fauors, opinion and authoritie which he had in the court: But chiefly he was ielous ouer him, for that naturally he was desirous of innouacion, and obstinate to hazarde rather all daunger, then to be cut of from one poynt of his councells and purposes. *Ferdinand* excused him selfe much, that he had no power to apply the Cardinall thereunto, whose suspicion was so great, that all sewertie seemed to him lesse then the perill: he complained to the Pope of his hard fortune, that on him alwayes was layd thimputacion of thinges which in truth proceeded from others: he was sory that the Pope had beleued that by his mocion and by his money, *Virginio* had bought the castells, being in deede bought without his priuitie or medling. In deed he had disposed *Virginio* to the composicion, & for that effect had furnished him with the money which was giuen in repayment & recompense of the castells: The Pope receiued not these excuses, but with hard and bitter wordes complayned of *Ferdinand*, & so gaue shew that there could be layed no firme ground of their reconciliacion.

With such a disposicion of mindes and confusion of thinges so apparantly drawing to new troubles, began the yeare 1494. (I enterpret the yeare according to the vse of *Rome*.) A yeare very vnhappy for *Italy*, and in deede the first of the vnfortunate and miserable yeares, for that in it was made open the way to infinite and horrible calamities, whereof we may well say a great part of the worlde by many accidents, hath tasted euer since. In the beginning of this yeare, King *Charles* refusing to heare speake of any agreement with *Ferdinand*, enioyned his Embassadors as messengers of a king enemie, to depart with speede out of the realme of *Fraunce*: And almost in the same concurrance of time, the sayd *Ferdinand* dyed suddeinly of an appoplexy being more trauelled with cares & perplexities of mind, then loaden with yeares, or

Death of Ferdinand king of Aragon.

weakned with olde age: he was a Prince of singular wisedom and industrie, with the which (accompanied with happy fortune) he kept him selfe in the kingdom newly obteyned by his father against many difficulties appearing euen in the beginning of his reigne, and brought to it much more amplitude and greatnes, then was done vnder any other king perhaps long before: A good king, if he had continued to reigne, in the same maner he began: But either with the variation of times or chaunge of maners, because he knew not (with most Princes now a dayes) how to resist the furie of dominion and rule, or perhaps according to the iudgement of euery one his nature and inclinacion beginning nowe to disclose which he had couered afore with great conning: he was esteemed a man of litle faith, and of such violent and cruell moodes, that euen by his owne followers he was iudged worthy of the name of inhumanitie. The opinion was, that the death of *Ferdinand* hapned very inconuenient for the common affayres, for that, where he would haue proued all remedies to hinder the descending of the french men, it was not now to be dowted but it would be more hard to make *Lodouvyk* assure him selfe of the haughtie & immoderate nature of *Alphonso*, then it was to dispose him to renew amitie with *Ferdinand*, in whom was for the most part expressed a ready inclinacion (the better to auoyd all quarrels with the state of *Myllan*) to yeld and condescend to his will: And amongest other things, it is manifest that when *Isabell Alphonsoes* daughter was brought to *Iohn Galeas* her husband, *Lodouvyk* at the first sight suffred him self to slide into so great affection towards her, that he desired her of *Alphonso* for his wife, and to that ende (according to the vniuersall opinion of *Italy*) he did so much by magick and enchauntments, that *Iohn Galeas* for many monethes was made vnable to the actiō of mariage: *Ferdinand* was not intractable to this mariage, but *Alphonso* so refused and resisted it, that *Lodouvyk* making no hope of it, tooke an other wife by whom hauing children, he turned all his studies and thoughtes to transferre to them the Duchie of *Myllan*: some suppose and write, that *Ferdinand*, being determined (for the auoyding of the present warre) to suffer all indignities and incommodities: had an intencion, as soone as the calmnes of the tyme woulde suffer, to goe by sea to *Genes*, and from thence by lande to *Myllan*, to satisfie *Lodouvyk* in all his desires, and to bring againe to *Naples* his Neece, hoping that not onely with effectes, but also with this publike confession by the which he acknowledged to holde all his estate and well doing vppon him, he should remoue his mind from the warre, or at least somewhat moderate his conspiring intencions, the rather for that it was seene to all men of obseruacion, with what wonderfull ambicion and desire, he aspired to be noted the onely arbitrator and oracle of all *Italy*: *Alphonso* immediatly after the death of his father, dispatcheth foure Embassadors to the Pope, who albeit shewed manifest signes that he was returned to the first inclinacion of amitie with the french, and had at the same tyme by bull subsigned by the colleadge of Cardinalles, promised at the french Kinges request, the estate of Cardinall to the Byshoppe of *S. Malo*, and reteyned in common with the Duke of *Myllan Prosper Colonne* whome the Kinge afore had taken to his pay, togither with other Capteynes and leaders of men of warre: yet he made no greate difficultie to accorde in regarde of the profitable condicions offered by *Alphonso*, who desired much to be assured of him and to bynd him to his protection and defence: They made these open conuencions, that there should be betwene them a confederacion for the defence of their estates, with equal leuyes of men by both: That the Pope shoulde conferre vnto *Alphonso* the inuestiture of the kingdom, with diminucion of tribute obteyned by *Ferdinand* of other

Confederacion betwene the Pope and Alphonso k. of Naples.

Popes

Popes for his life onely: that the Pope ſhould ſend a legatt to crowne him: That he ſhould create Cardinall *Lodovvyk* ſonne of *Henry*, baſtard brother to *Alphonſo*, who afterwardes was called Cardinall of *Aragon*: That king *Alphonſo* ſhould pay immediatly to the Pope thirtie thowſand duckatts: That he ſhould indue the Duke of *Candia* with eſtates within the realme of xij. thowſand duckatts reuenue yearly, togither with the firſt of the ſeauen principall offices that ſhould be voyd: That he ſhould interteyne him ſo long as the Pope liued in his pay with three hundreth men at armes, with the which he ſhould be bounde to ſerue the one and the other equally and indifferently: That he ſhould giue to *Dom Geffray*, (who for the pawne of his fathers fayth was nowe to goe to his father in lawe) the eſtate of *Pronotorye* and one of the ſeuen offices, ouer and beſides the promiſes of the firſt contracte: That he ſhoulde beſtowe the reuenue of benefices in the Realme vppon *Cæſar Borgia* the Popes ſonne, who a litle before was created Cardinall by his father, wherein, to auoyde impediments of being a baſtard, to whom it hath not bene accuſtomed to graunt ſuch dignities) he made proofe by ſubborned teſtimonies that he was the ſonne lawefull of an other: Beſides all this, *Virginio Vrſin* (who by the Kinges ſending for came to this capitulacion) promiſed that the King ſhoulde ayde the Pope to recouer the rocke of *Oſtia*, if the Cardinall *S. P. ad vincula* refuſed to come to *Rome*. This promiſe King *Alphonſo* affirmed without his conſent or priuitie, and well ſaw that in ſo daungerous ſeaſons, it would bring no litle preiudice to him to be depriued of the Cardinall whoſe authoritie was not ſmall ouer the towne of *Genes*, which he determined to ſurpriſe by the ſetting on of the Cardinall. And becauſe amidd ſo great troubles and emotions, there might perhaps be treaties of councells or other matters preiudiciall to the ſea apoſtolike, he did what he could to vnite him with the Pope, who not ſatisfied with any condicion if the Cardinall returned not to *Rome*, and the Cardinall being moſt obſtinate to hazard his life vnder the faith of thoſe *Catylins* as he termed them, the diligence of *Alphonſo* was in vayne, and his deſire of no effect: for after the Cardinall with many diſſembled and flouriſhing ſhewes, had giuen almoſt aſſured hope to accept the condicions: he ſtale away by night from *Oſtia* in a brigantyne well appoynted, and at a time when was leaſt reaſon to dowt any ſuch euaſion, leauing the rocke armed with ſufficient garriſon: And reappoſing certeine dayes at *Sauone*, and ſpending ſome litle time at *Auignion*, (of which citie he was Legatt) he went laſtly to *Lyons*, where king *Charles* was come a litle before, to prepare with better oportunitie and reputacion the prouiſions of the warre which he publiſhed he would execute in perſon: he was receiued of the king with great ioy and honor, and immediatly ioyned him ſelfe to thoſe that ſtudied to trouble *Italy*.

In this meane while *Alphonſo*, more by feare then proper inclinacion, forgott not to continue with *Lodovvyk Sforce* that which had bene begonne by his father, offering him the ſame ſatisfactions: But *Lodovvyk* to whom nothing was more familiar then to diſſemble, deuiſed to enterteyne him with diuerſe hopes, but with demonſtracions that he was conſtrained to proceede in ſuch exact order and conſideracion, leaſt the warre determined againſt others, tooke not his beginning againſt him, he left not for all this to ſolicite and vrge the preparacions in *Fraunce*, wherein to expreſſe the deuocion of his minde with better effect, and to reſolue all particularities occurrant in that expedicion, and laſtly leaſt the execution of all thinges determined ſhoulde ſuffer ſuſpence or haue ſlowe action: he ſent thether (coulering it with a brute of the Kinges pleaſure) *Galeaz* of *S. Seuerin* huſband to one of his

baſtard daughters and in whom he reappoſed great confidence and fauors. Accor-
ding to the councells of *Lodovvyk*, king *Charles* ſendes to the Pope foure Embaſſa-
The french k. ſendeth Embaſſadors to the Pope, Florentins and Venice.
dors, with charge that in paſſing by *Florence*, they ſhoulde make inſtance for the de-
claracion of that common weale. The Embaſſadors were *Eberard Daubigny* a Scot-
tiſh Capteine of nation, the generall of *Fraunce*, the Preſident of the parliament of
Prouence, & the ſame *Peron la Bache*, that had bene with them the yeare before. They
according to their inſtructions (ſet downe chiefly at *Myllan*,) recounted in both the
one and other places the rightes which the french king (as ſucceſſor to the houſe of
Aniovv, and for want of yſſue in *Charles* the firſt,) pretended to the realme of *Naples*,
togither with his royall determinacion to paſſe that yeare into *Italy* in perſon, not to
intrude into any thing that belonged to an other, but to reobteyne that which iuſtly
was his owne: And to giue his voyage a more pawſible paſſage in the mindes of
men, they ſayd his mind and meaninges were not ſo much fixed vpon the conqueſt
of *Naples*, as that afterwards he would turne his forces againſt the *Turkes*, for the ſer-
uice of Ieſu Chriſt, & glory of his name. They declared to the *Florentynes*, how much
their king aſſured him ſelfe of that citie hauing bene reedified by *Charlemain*, and fa-
uored alwaies of the kinges his predeceſſors, and lately of king *Levvys* his father in
the warres vniuſtly managed againſt them by Pope *Sixtus*, by *Ferdinand* laſt dead, &
Alphonſo now raigning. They willed them to loke into the great profits comming to
their nation by traffike and entercourſe in the realme of *Fraunce*, where they were
fauored with familiaritie and offices as if they were naturall of the region it ſelf And
with that example they might hope to haue in the kingdom of *Naples*, (if he became
Lord of it) the ſelfe ſame libertie of trade, ſewertie and benefit, where, of them of *A-
ragon* they neuer receiued other thinges, then domage, daungers, and diſpleaſures.
They recommended to their good councells the conſideracion of theſe things, and
to proteſt by ſome token that they would ioyne with him in this enterpriſe. But if
they were reſtrayned by ſome iuſt impediment, reaſon or excuſe, at leaſt that they
would graunt libertie of paſſage to his armie thorow their territories, and refreſhing
and vittells for his money. They debated theſe thinges with the common weale and
generall ſtate, but they recommended particularly to *P. de medicis*, the reſpect of ma-
ny goodturnes and honors done by *Levvys* the xj. to his father and aunceſtors: how
he in very ielous and daungerous ſeaſons, had made many demonſtracions for the
preſeruacion of their greatnes, and in ſigne of amitie, had honored them with the
ſkotchions and armes proper to the houſe of *Fraunce*: where, *Ferdinand* not ſatisfi-
ed to perſecute them with open and violent warre, did alſo with a minde ſworne to
their ruine, take parte with the ciuill conſpiracies wherein *Iulyan* his vncle was kil-
led, and *Lavvrence* his father ſore hurt. The Embaſſadors went out of *Florence* with-
out reſolucion, & being at *Rome*, they preferred to the Popes remembrance the aun-
cient merits and perpetuall deuocion of the crowne of *Fraunce* to the ſea apoſtolike,
whereof were autentike teſtimonies, all recordes both auncient and preſent, and of
the contrary, they inſinuated the ordinary contumacie and diſobedience of them of
Aragon, and referred the proofe to the view and conſtruction of their actions paſt.
Then they demaunded that the realme of *Naples* might be inueſted in the perſon of
their king, as iuſtly apperteyning to him. They allured him with many hopes, and
made many offers, ſo that he woulde be fauorable to the enterpriſe, which their king
had taken vpon him as much by his perſwaſions and authoritie, as for other occaſi-
ons. To this demaund the Pope aunſwered that thinueſtiture of that realme hauing
bene graunted by ſo many his predeceſſors to three kinges of the houſe of *Aragon*
ſucceſſiuely

ſucceſſiuely(for in thinueſtiture graunted to *Ferdinand*,*Alphonſo* was comprehended by name) it was not conuenient to giue it to king *Charles* afore it was declared by forme of iuſtice that he had good right, whereunto thinueſtiture graunted to *Alphonſo* was not preiudiciall, for that for ſuch conſideracion it conteyned expreſſe mencion,that it was ment without the preiudice of any perſon: he tolde them that the realme of *Naples* did directly belong to the ſea apoſtolike, whoſe authoritie he knew was farre from the kings will to violat, and no leſſe contrary to thintencions of his aunceſtors who had bene alwayes the principall defenders of the ſame: But if he ſhould doe any violent action vpon *Naples*, it could not be without manifeſt intruſion & tranſgreſſion of the holy ſea,and bring diſhonor to the reputacion & merits of his elders: it would better become his dignitie and vertues, to ſeeke to iuſtifie his pretence of right by courſe of iuſtice & moderate equitie,wherein as Lord, Patrone,& onely iudge of ſuch a cauſe he offered him ſelfe ready to adminiſter to him: And that a Chriſtian king ought not to demaund more of a Pope, whoſe office was to reſtraine and forbid, and not to enterteyne and nouriſh warres betwene Princes chriſtened: And though he ſhould ſo farre incline to the kings will, yet he ſhewed many difficulties and daungers both by the neighbourhood of *Alphonſo* and the *Florentyns*,whoſe vnitie all *Tuſkane* followed,and alſo for the conſanguinitie & alliance of ſo many Barons holding of the king of *Naples*,whoſe eſtates ſtretched euen to the gates of *Rome*. Notwithſtanding all this, he enforced him ſelfe,not to cut of their hope altogither,albeit he bare priuatly this ſetled reſolucion not to depart from the confederacion made with *Alphonſo*. At *Florence* thinclinacion was great and generall to the houſe of *Fraunce*,for the liberall mart & traffike which that ſtate had with the french: for an olde opinion(but vntrue)that *Charlemain* was the reedifier of their citie deſtroyed by *Tottila* kinge of *Gothes*: for the auncient coniunction and amitie which their aunceſtors the *Guelffes* haue had long time with *Charles* the firſt,king of *Naples*,and with many of his lyne protectors of the faction of *Guelffes* in *Italy*.And laſtly for the memorie of the warres,which the olde *Alphonſo*,& after him *Ferdinand* in the perſon of his ſonne,had areared againſt that citie.By the reaſon,recordacion, and memorie of theſe thinges, the communaltie and multitude cried to conſent to free conduct and paſſage, deſiring no leſſe the beſt authoriſed and wiſe citiſens in that common weale to whom it ſeemed a great partialitie and ouerſight to pull vpon the countrey of *Florence*,(for the controuerſies of an other)ſo preſent and daungerous a warre: they held it no pollicie to oppoſe them ſelues againſt ſo mighty an armie managed in the perſonne of A king of *Fraunce*, deſcending into *Italy* with the fauour of the ſtate of *Myllan*,and no reſiſtance of the gouernment of *Venice*,though they publiſh no manifeſt conſent: this councell they confirmed with thauthoritie of *Coſmo de medicis*(eſteemed in his time one of the wiſeſt in *Italy*)who,in the warres betwene *Iohn* of *Aniovv* and *Ferdinand*,gaue alwayes this councell, that the citie of *Florence* ſhould not obiect it ſelfe againſt *Iohn*: notwithſtanding the Pope & Duke of *Myllan* were ioyned with *Ferdinand*. They remembred withall, the example of *Lavvrence* father to *Peter*, who was of the ſame aduiſe vppon euery brute of the returne of them of *Aniovv*: yea ſo much was he amaſed with the power of the french ſince the ſame king obteyned *Britaine*,that he would often times ſay,that great troubles were prepared for all *Italians*,if the king of *Fraunce* knew his owne ſtrength.But *Peter de medicis* who meaſured thinges more by will then by wiſedome, abuſed him ſelfe to much with his owne opinion,beleuing that theſe emocions would rather reſolue into brutes then into effects: wherein being gouerned by ſome his ſpeciall fa- 1478.

uorits corrupted perhaps with the presents of *Alphonso*, determined resolutly to continue in amitie with the *Aragons*, whereunto in the ende all the residue of the Citi-
" sens must condescend by reason of his greatnes: Ambicion is an vnquiet humor in
" man: it may be that *Peter* not content with thauthoritie which his father had got in the common weale (& yet such, by his disposing, that though Magistrats were created, yet they determined no matters of importāce without his aduise) aspired to a power more absolute euen to the title of Prince: he did not debate with discression the condicions of that citie, who, at that time being populous in multitudes, and mighty in riches, and nourished by many ages with an apparance of a common weale, the principall Citisens being accustomed to participate in the gouernment, rather in forme of companions then subiectes, would hardly endure so great and suddein mutacion: And therefore, *Peter* knowing that to the holding vpp of his ambicion must be ioyned foundacions extraordinary: and the better to haue a mighty piller to support his new principallitie: he restrained him selfe immoderatly to *th Aragons*, determining in their course to communicate with their fortunes. Thus perhaps was furthered by this accident: not many dayes before thembassadors of the french ariued at *Florence*, there came to light certeine practises, which *Lavvrence* and *Iohn de medicis*, yong men rich, and neare in bludd to *Peter*, and lately become his enemies vpon certein light occasions of youth, conspired with *Lodovvik Sforce* and by him with the french king directly against the greatnes of *Peter*: But being arested by the Magistrates, they were with light punishment returned to their houses in the countrey, for that the temperance of the Magistrates preuailing with *Peter* not without some difficulties, induced him not to suffer the lawes to execute any extreme action vpon his kinred and bludd: But receiuing warning by this accident that *Lodovvyk Sforce* thirsted after his ruine, he esteemed it so much the more needefull to remaine still in his first purpose: At last thembassadors were aunswered, but much to their discontentment, and more contrary to their desire: in place of the conclusion they hoped for, they were told with wordes reuerent and respectiue, with what naturall deuocion the people of *Florence*, honored the house of *Fraunce*, togither with their commō desire to satisfie so great a king: on the other side they made declaracion of their impediments, as that there could be nothing more vnworthy of Princes and common weales, then not to keepe faith promised, which vnlesse they should apparantly defile and breake, they could not now satisfie his demaundes, and content the time togither: They sayd, as yet was not ended the confederacion which by thauthoritie of king *Levvys* his father was made with *Ferdinand* with couenant, that after his death it should stretch to *Alphonso*: wherein they were bound by special condicion not only to defend the realme of *Naples*, but also to giue no passage thorow their countries to any that went about to inuade it: Lastly that it brought no small greefe to them, that there was such difference betwene their desires and wills, and that they had no power to make other resolucions then such as must either make the king displeased, or bring great preiudice to their whole estate: Onely they hoped that the king being wise and iust, would interpret them according to their good wills, and referre to those reasonable impediments that which they could not promise.

The Florentyns aunswere the french Embassadors.

The king made angrie with this aunswere, commaunded immediatly thembassadors of *Florence* to depart out of *Fraunce*, and following the councell of *Lodovvyk Sforce*, he banished out of *Lyons*, not the generall marchauntes, but onely the factors and bankers of *P. de medicis*, to the ende that they might iudge at *Florence*, that he acknowledged this iniurie particularly vpon *Peter*, and not vpon the body of the state.

The french king angry with the Florentyns aunswere.

The

The other Potentats of *Italy* being diuided amongeſt them ſelues, ſome bearing fauor to the french, and ſome fearing calamities and extreme fortunes, the *Venetians* onely determined to remaine newters, and with an idle eye to behold the yſſue of all thinges, perhaps they were not much troubled that *Italy* ſhould fall into garboyle, hoping that the long warres of others would giue them oportunitie to enlarge their eſtate: or perhaps the opinion of their greatnes would not ſuffer them to be dowtfull of perills: And therefore not fearing that the victors could haue any fortune ouer them, they iudged it a folly to make proper tō them, the warres of others, & had no apparant neceſſitie. And yet *Ferdinand* ceaſſed not to ſolicite them continually, and the french king the yeare before, and euen then had ſent to them Embaſſadors who forgat not to declare that betwene the houſe of *Fraunce* & that common weale, was alwayes amitie and good will, and as occaſion offered mutuall effectes and offices expreſſed. The which diſpoſicion, the king ſeeking to augment and ratifie, he deſired of that wiſe Senate councell and fauor in his enterpriſe, whereunto they aunſwered with this moderacion and breuitie: that the king for him ſelfe was ſo wiſe & foreſeeing, & enuironed with a councel ſo graue and ripe, that it could not be without too much preſuming to ioyne to him their opinions and councells. They would be alwayes glad of his proſperities & good fortunes for the obſeruances which they had alwaies borne to the crowne of *Fraunce*: They were not a litle greeued, that they could not accompany the readines of their mindes with thoſe effectes they deſired, for that by the ſuſpicion wherein the Turke kept them continually wanting neither deſire nor oportunities to vexe them: Neceſſitie compelled them to keepe alwayes with great charges many yles and coaſt townes fronting vppon him, the ſame being the cauſe that they could not make them ſelues parties to the warre of an other But the preparacions which were made on all ſides as well by lande as ſea, were of farre greater importance then eyther the orations of thembaſſadors, or the aunſweres made to them: for, king *Charles* had ſent *Peter d' Vrſe* his great Eſquier, to *Genes* (ouer which citie the duke of *Myllan* commaunded by the ayde of the faction of *Adorne* and *I.L. de fieſco ſigno*) to rigge vp a mighty armie of ſhippes and gallies, cauſing alſo to be armed other veſſells in the portes of *Ville Franche* and *Marſelles*. This was the cauſe of the brute in his court, that he determined to enter the kingdom of *Naples* by ſea, as had done afore time *Iohn* ſonne of *Rene* againſt *Ferdinand*: In *Fraunce* albeit many beleued, that what for the youth of the king, and the baſe condicion & ſlender conduct of ſuch as ſtirred him to this expedicion, togither with the want & neceſſitie of money, theſe preparacions in them would diſſolue & vaniſh into ſmoke: yet, to ſatisfie the deſire of the king who by the aduiſe of his fauorits had newly taken vpon him the title of king of *Ieruſalem* and both *Cycylyes* (then the title of the kinges of *Naples*:) There was generall and diligent order giuen on all partes for the prouiſions of the warre: as making of muſters, gathering of money, remouing of men, with other induſtries due to ſuch expedicions: And no councell had but with *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, who held incloſed in his mind all the ſecrets & purpoſes of *Lodovvyk Sforce*: Of the other ſide *Alphonſo* in whom had wanted no pollicie or diligence to fortifie him ſelfe by ſea and by land (iudging now there was no more time to ſuffer him ſelfe to be mocked with the hopes of *Lodovvyk Sforce*, and that it ſerued better for him to amaze and vexe him, then to trauell to aſſure or appaiſe him) commaunded thembaſſador of *Myllan* to retyre out of *Naples*, and reuoked his that was reſident at *Myllan*: he ſequeſtred alſo and tooke into his poſſeſſion the reuenues of the Duchie of *Bary*, which *Lodovvyk* had enioyed many yeares by the gift of *Ferdinand*. And not

The french king prayeth amitie of the Venetians.

The aunſwer of the Venetians.

content with theſe thinges, which were rather demonſtracions of open hatred, then wronges or offences, he diſpoſed all his witts, to turne from the Duke of *Myllan*, the citie of *Genes*, A matter of right great importance for the preſent affayres, for that by the reuolt and chaunge of that citie, would happen many meanes to trouble *Lodovvyk* in his gouernment of *Myllan*, and from the french king ſhould be taken away all oportunities to moleſt the realme of *Naples* by ſea: Therefore hauing made ſecrete pact with Cardinall *Pavvle Fregoſe*, afore times Duke of *Genes*, & ſtill followed with many of the ſame familie: and with *Obietto de fieſquo*, two principal men both for the towne and ſea, togither with ſome particulars of the *Adorneys*, all baniſhed out of *Genes* for diuerſe occaſions: he determined to aſſaie with a ſtrong armie at ſea, to ſett them all in the towne againe (following that he was wont to ſay, that warres are ouercomen either in preuenting thennemie, or diuerting him: he determined in like ſort to goe him ſelfe into *Romagnia* with a mighty armie, and to make ſuddeine inuaſion vpon the landes of *Parma*, where publiſhing the name of *Iohn Galeas*, and diſplaying his banners, he hoped that the peoples of the Duchie of *Myllan* would riſe againſt *Lodovvik*: And be it that in this were found many difficulties, yet he iudged it profitable that the warre ſhould beginne farre from his realme: he eſteemed it alſo to great importance for the ſubſtance of the warre, that the french men ſhould be ſurpriſed with the winter in *Lombardye*: wherein hauing greate experience in the warres of *Italy*, (whoſe armies attending the riping of graſſe and forrage for the feeding of horſes, were not wont to take the fielde afore the ende of Aprill:) he iudged that to eſchew the ſharpnes of winter, they would be conſtrayned to ſtay in a countrey of their frendes till ſpring time: In which intermiſſion and reſpite of time he hoped that ſome occaſion for his benefit might happen. Beſides, he ſent Embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, to demaund ſuccors as in a common daunger of *B. Ottoman* Prince of the Turkes, for that it was reſolued in the french kinges intencion to paſſe into *Greece* after he had wonne *Naples*, which daunger he knew wel the Turke would not deſpiſe, for that by the memory of the warres made in times paſt againſt the Infidels in *Aſia* by the french nation, the feare which the Turkes had of their armes was not litle.

Whileſt theſe thinges were thus ſolicited on all partes, the Pope ſent his men to *Oſtia* vnder the gouernment of *Nicholas Vrſin Counte* of *Petillane*, to whom *Alphonſo* ſent ſtrength and ſuccors both by ſea and land: he tooke the towne without difficultie, and then beganne to batter the caſtell, which (by the meane of *Fabrice Colonne*, and conſent of *Iohn de la Rouere* prefect of *Rome*, and brother to Cardinall *S. P. ad vincula*) was eaſily rendred to him by the caſtell keeper, with this condicion, that the Pope neither with cenſures of the Church, nor temporall armes, ſhould purſue the Cardinall nor the prefect, if they gaue him no new occaſions: And it was ſuffered to *Fabrice*, in whoſe handes the Cardinall had left *Grotta Ferrara*, to continue the poſſeſſion of the ſame with the ſame rights, paying to the Pope ten thowſand duckatts. But *Lodovvyk Sforce* (to whom the Cardinall when he paſſed by *Sauonne*, had made knowen that which *Alphonſo* by his meanes and councells negociated ſecretly with the exiles of *Genes*) declared to king *Charles* what a great impediment that would giue to his enterpriſe, & therfore induced him to ſend to *Genes* two thowſand *Svviſſers*, & diſpatch into *Italy* with ſpeede three hundreth launces to be ready vnder the gouernment of *Monſ. d'aubigny*, (who returning from *Rome*, ſtayed by the kings commaundement at *Myllan*) both to aſſure *Lombardye*, and to paſſe further according to occaſions and neceſſities: To theſe ſhould be ioyned fiue hundreth men at armes, *I-*

talians

talians enterteyned at that time in the Kinges pay vnder *Iohn fr. de S. Seuerin Counte* of *Gaiazze*, *Galeot Pico Counte* of *Myrandola*, and *Radolphe* of *Gonſague*, togither with fiue hundreth which the Duke of *Myllan* was bound to furniſh: who not leauing his olde ſhiftes and ſuttleties, continued to confirme in the Pope and *Peter de medicis* his inclinacion to the peace & ſewertie of *Italy*, nouriſhing them with varietie of hopes which were not without their apparant demonſtracions.

It can not almoſt be, but that which men make great ſewertie of, ingendreth ſome dowte, euen in the mindes of ſuch as haue determined to beleue the contrary: for albeit there was no great faith giuen to the promiſes of *Lodovvyk*: yet it hapned not for all that, that their determined enterpriſes ſuffered in any ſort ſlowe ſucceſſe or proceedings: And the Pope & *P. de medicis* could haue bene well content that thenterpriſe had bene proued to ſurpriſe *Genes*: But becauſe in the action they ſhould directly offend the ſtate of *Myllan*, the Pope, (*Alphonſo* requiring his gallies & to ioyne his men with him in *Romagnia*,) conſented to the ſeruice of his men for the common defence in *Romagnia*, but not to paſſe further: And touching the gallies, he made difficultie, ſaying it was not yet time to put *Lodovvyk* ſo much in deſpaire. The *Florentyns* being required to receiue *Alphonſoes* armie by ſea in the port of *Lyuorne*, and to refreſh them, remained in ſuſpence vpon the matter, for that making excuſes to the demaundes of the french king, and being acquited vnder the pretence of the confederacion paſſed with *Ferdinand*, they were very vnwillingly diſpoſed to doe more without neceſſitie, then they were bound vnto by that confederacion.

The king of Naples ſendeth out his forces.

Matters being now not able to ſuffer any longer delay, the armie by ſea of *Alphonſo* departed at laſt from *Naples* vnder the charge of th Admirall *Dom Federyk*: & *Alphonſo* in perſon aſſembled his armie in *Abruzze* to paſſe into *Romania*: But afore any further action was done, he thought it neceſſary to communicat with the Pope, who had the ſame deſire, the better to eſtabliſh all thinges that were to be done for their common ſafetie.

The Pope and *Alphonſo* met togither the xiij of Iuly at *Vicouare*, a place apperteining to *Virginio Vrſin*, where after they had ſpent three dayes, they returned well agreed: In this meeting and conſultacion it was determined by the councell of the Pope, that the perſon of the king of *Naples* ſhould paſſe no further: his armie conteined litle leſſe then a hundreth ſquadrons of men at armes, accompting xx. men to a ſquadron: And very neare three thowſand croſ bowe ſhott and light horſemen: Of this armie it was agreed that one part ſhould ſtay with him vpon the frontyers of *Abruzze* for his ſafetie and ſewertie of the ſtate eccleſiaſtike: And that *Virginio* ſhould remeine in the town of *Rome* to make head againſt the *Collonoys*: for dread of whom, alſo it was agreed that two hundreth of the men at armes of the Pope and a part of the light horſemen of the king ſhould not ſtirre out of *Rome*: That thexpedicion into *Romania* ſhould be performed in the perſon of *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*, (that was the title of the eldeſt ſonne to the king of *Naples*) A yong Prince of great hope: leading with him lxx. ſquadrons with the reſidue of the light horſemen, and moſt part of the Popes companies ſuch as he erected for defence: There were ioyned with him (as moderators of his youth) *Iohn Iacques Triuulſo* gouerner of the ſouldiers of the king of *Naples*, and the *Counte Petillane*, who from the Popes pay was become mercynary to the king of *Naples*, both Capteynes of great experience and reputacion: Seeing they ment to leade an armie into *Lombardye*, it was thought good that it ſhould paſſe in the perſon of *Ferdinand*, for the ſocietie of blud and duble parentage which he had with *Iohn Galeas* huſband to *Iſabell* his ſiſter, and ſonne of *Iohn Galeas*,

brother to *Hipollita* who was mother to *Ferdinand:* But touching the actions of this parliament betwene the Pope and *Alphonſo*, that of moſt importance, was, concerning the *Collonois*, for that it was diſcerned by manifeſt ſignes that they aſpired to new intelligences: ſeeing that *Proſper* and *Fabricius* hauing ſerued in the pay of the late king of *Naples*, and by him recompenſed with eſtates and honorable places: *Proſper* (the king being dead) after many promiſes made to *Alphonſo* to reenter into his pay, was by the working of Cardinall *Aſcanius*, entred into the common pay of the Pope and the Duke of *Myllan*, refuſing afterwards to take the Popes pay being much ſolicited: And *Fabricius*, who had continued in the ſeruice of *Alphonſo* hauing regard to the diſdayne of the Pope and the king of *Naples* againſt *Proſper:* made difficultie to goe with the Duke of *Calabria* into *Romania*, if firſt by ſome conuenient meanes were not reeſtabliſhed and aſſured the affayres of *Proſper* and all the familie of *Colonne:* This was the cooler of their difficulties: But ſecretly they both were become mercenary to the french king, (partly drawne by the great amitie they had with Cardinall *Aſcanius*, who forſaking *Rome* a few dayes afore for ſuſpicion of the Pope, was retired to their landes) and partly for hope of larger payes, but much more moued with diſpleaſure that *Virginio Vrſin* chiefe of the contrary faction bare greateſt rule with *Alphonſo*, and participated more then they in his proſperities: But to keepe this thing conceiled vntill they might with ſewertie declare them ſelues his ſouldiers, they treated continually with the Pope and *Alphonſo*, by whom was made great inſtance, that *Proſper* taking pay of them, would leaue the wages of the Duke of *Myllan*, for that otherwayes they could not be aſſured of him: The *Collonoys* made ſhow of deſire to accord with them, but to thende to determine nothing, they moued one tyme one difficultie and ſometimes an other, vpon the condicions that were offered.

In that practiſe, there was diuerſitie of wills betwene *Alexander* and *Alphonſo*, for that *Alexander* deſiring to diſpoyle them of the places they held about *Rome*, cheriſhed the occaſion to aſſayle them: and *Alphonſo* who had no other intencion then to aſſure them, was not inclined to the warre but for a laſt remedie: but he durſt not oppoſe againſt the couetouſnes of the Pope. At laſt they determined to conſtrayne them by armes, and appointed forces and orders howe it ſhould be done, aſſaying notwithſtanding afore, if within few dayes their controuerſies might be accorded.

The beginnig of the warre.

Theſe things, with many others, were debated on all partes, mens witts wandring and their mindes vnreſolute, their feares generall, but their hopes full of ſuſpicions and incerteinties, in their wills no conſent or vnitie, and all their conieCtures and iudgements full of error, no, none that could moderat their expectacion, and much leſſe iudge what woulde be the ende of thoſe tragicall preparacions: but at laſt the warre of *Italy* tooke beginning by the going of *Dom Federyk* to the enterpriſe of *Genes* leading an armie no dowt of greater proporcion and better prouiſion, then had bene ſeene of long time before ronne ouer the ſtreames and ſea of *Tyrrennum:* it conteyned xxxv. light or ſuttle galleyes, eighteene ſhippes, with many other leſſer veſſells, great quantitie of artillerie, and three thowſand footemen to put on lande: By reaſon of which great equipage, and leading with them the exiles, the armie departed out of *Naples* with great hope of the victorie: But their lingring and ſlow departing, cauſed by thoſe difficulties which commonly follow great enterpriſes, & partly abuſed by the conning hopes which *Lodovvyk* gaue them, and partly for that they ſtayed in the portes of *Sienna* to leuye to the number of v. thowſand footemen, made hard and daungerous, that, which being aſſayed one moneth afore, would haue ben eaſie and without perill: for, the enemies (by their ſlow proceedings) had leaſure to

The king of Naples ſendeth out an armie to take the citie of Genes.

dreſſe

dreſſe a ſtronge prouiſion, putting within *Genes* the baylif of *Dyon*, with two thowſand *Svvyzzers* leuyed and payed by the french, and already ordered and rigged a great part of the ſhippes and galleyes which were armed in that port, and one parte of the veſſells furniſhed at *Marſeilles*, being there arriued alſo: Beſides, *Lodovvyk* for his part ſpared for no expēſes, but diſpatched thether *Gaſper de S. Seuerin*, called *Fracaſſe*, with *Anthonie Maria* his brother, with many footemen: And becauſe he would compound his ſtrength no leſſe vpon the good wills & hartes of *Genes*, then of forreine forces, he confirmed with giftes, penſions, and promiſes of many recompenſes the courage and intencion of *John Loys de Fieſquo*, brother to *Obietto*, the *Adornes*, and many other gentlemen and populars much importing to keepe that citie in his deuocion: he had alſo called to *Myllan* many factions of the baniſhed men aſwell of the towne as riuers of *Genes*: To theſe prouicions mighty enough of them ſelues, did giue great reputacion and ſewertie the perſon and preſence of *Lovvys* Duke of *Orleance*, who about the ſame tymes that the *Aragons* flete was diſcouered in the ſea of *Genes*, entred that citie by commiſſion of the french king, hauing firſt communicated in *Alexandria* vpon the common affayres with *Lodovvyk Sforce*, who (as the doings of mortall men are full of thicke darknes) had receiued him with great gladnes and honor, but as a companion, not knowing howe ſoone his whole eſtate and life would fall into his power.

Lowys Duke of Orleans entreth Genes, and preſerues it.

Theſe accidentes were the cauſes why the *Aragons* (determined before to preſent their fleete afore the port of *Genes*, vnder hope that the parties and confederats with thexiles would draw into ſome inſurrection) chaunging now councell with the occaſion, reſolued to aſſayle the riuer: And after ſome diuerſitie of opinions, whether in the riuer of *Leuant* or the Weſt, were beſt to beginne: the aduiſe of *Obietto* preuayled, who promiſing him ſelfe much vppon them of the waters of *Leuant*, they adreſſed them ſelues to the towne of *Portouenere*, to the which they gaue aſſault for many howers in vayne, for that it was refurniſhed from *Genes* with fowre hundreth footemen, and the courages of thinhabitants well reſolute and confirmed by *Iohn Lovvys de Fyeſquo* lately come thither: Being out of hope to carie the towne by aſſault, they retyred to the porte of *Lyuorne*, to reuittell their ſhippes, and refurniſh their companies of footemen: for, when they vnderſtood that the townes and peeces vppon the riuer were in good condicion of defence and prouicion, they iudged that to that action was neceſſary a greater ſupply of force: At *Lyuorna*, *Federyk* being aduertiſed that the french armie inferior to his in galleyes, but mightier in ſhippes was in preparacion to fall out of the port of *Genes*: ſent backe agayne to *Naples* his ſhippes to be able with more readines by the ſwiftnes of his galleyes to keepe aloof from thennemie, if with their ſhippes and gallyes togither they ſhoulde ſett on him, hoping notwithſtanding to vanquiſh them, if their gallyes were ſeparate from their ſhippes, eyther by aduenture, or by will.

In the ſelfe ſame ſeaſons, the Duke of *Calabria* marched towardes *Romania*, with the armie by lande, with intencion to paſſe afterwardes into *Lombardye*, according to the firſt reſolucions: But to haue his paſſage more free and eaſie, and to leaue no impediments or perills behind his backe, it was needefull to ioyne to him the ſtate of *Bologne*, and the cities of *Gmola* and *Furly*: for *Ceſene* a citie immediatly ſubiect to the Pope and the citie of *Faenſe*, belonging to *Aſtor de Manfreddi*, a young gentleman, penſionary and gouerned vnder the protection of the *Florentyns*, were to giue willingly all commodities to the *Aragons* armie. *Octauyan* ſonne to *Ieronimo de Riare*, was Lord of *Furly* and *Gmola*, with a title of vicaire of the Church, but in mi-

The Duke of Calabria marcheth towards Calabria.

noritie & vnder gouernment of *Katthern Sforce* his mother, with whom many monethes before, the Pope and *Alphonso* had practised to enterteyne *Octauyan* in their common pay, with condicion to defend his estates: but the matter remeyned imperfect, partly by the difficulties she alleaged, to the ende to get better condicions: And partly for that the *Florentyns* dwelling still in their former purpose not to exceede the bondes they had with *Alphonso* to the preiudice of the french king, could not be resolued to be concurrant in this practise, to the which their consent was necessary, because the Pope & the king would not alone susteyne the charge: but much more for that *Kattherne* would not put in daunger that citie, onles with the others, the *Florentyns* would be bound to the gard and defense of the estates of her sonne: These difficulties were taken away by the meting and speaking togither, which *Ferdinand*, (drawing his armie by the way of *Marrechia* into *Romania*) had with *Peter de medicis* in the village of *S. Sepulcher*: where he offered him in the name of his father king *Alphonso*, franke power to dispose of him and his armie in all the seruices which he had intencion to execute for the affayres of *Florence*, *Siena*, & *Faensa*: these offers giuing a newe life to the auncient courage of *Peter*, as soone as he was returned to *Florence*, he ordeyned (notwithstanding the disswasions of the wisest Citisens) that thaccord should be subsigned, for that *Ferdinand* had instātly desired him. This being dispatched at the common charges of the Pope, *Alphonso*, and the *Florentyns*, not many dayes after, they had the citie of *Bolognia* at their deuocion, enterteyning *Iohn Bentyuole* (vnder whose authoritie and direction the citie was gouerned) in the same maner the Pope promised, hauing withall the faith of king *Alphonso* and *P. de medicis*, to create Cardinall *Anthonie Galeas* his sonne, then pronotorye of the sea.

These thinges gaue to the armie of *Ferdinand* a great reputacion, which yet had bene more great, if with those successes he had sooner entred into *Romania*: But by his slow speede to march out of the kingdom, and the diligent care and watching of *Lodouvyk Sforce*, *Ferdinand* was no soner arriued at *Cesena*, then *Monsr. D'aubygny*, and the *Count Caiazze*, gouernor ouer the companies of *Sforce*, togither with a great part of the armie appoynted to make heade against the *Aragons*, being passed without let by *Bolognia*, entred the countrey of *Ymola*: by meanes whereof, *Ferdinand* hauing lost his first hopes to passe into *Lombardie*, was compelled to setle the warre in *Romania*, where (other cities following the partie of *th Aragons*) *Rauenna* and *Ceruia*, cities of the *Venetian* iurisdiction, bare fauor to neither side. This litle countrey stretching along the riuer of *Pavv*, & in the possession of the Duke of *Ferrara*, spared no one cōmoditie to the companies of the french & *Sforce*. Touching *P. de medicis*, neither the difficulties hapning in thenterprise of *Genes*, nor thimpediments occurring in *Romania*, could bridle his rashnes: for, being bownd by a secret cōuencion without the knowledge of the common weale, made with the Pope and *Alphonso* to oppose him self openly against the french king: he had not only cōsented that the *Neapolytan* armie at sea should be receiued & refreshed in the hauē of *Lyuorne*, with power to leuye footemē through the whole territory of *Florence*: but also restraining his rashnes to no limit, he wrought so, that *Anniball Bētiuole*, sonne of *Iohn*, mercenary to the *Florentyns*, wēt with his charge, & the cōpanies of *Astor de Manfreddi*, & ioyned with the campp of *Ferdinand*, as soone as he entred into the contrey of *Furly*, & sent besides, to the sayd *Bentyuole*, a thowsand footemen with artilleries. Such a like disposicion was alwaies diserned in the Pope, who, besides the prouisions of warre, not contented to haue exhorted by writing the yeare before, king *Charles* not to passe into *Italy*, but to pro-

proceede by way of iuſtice and not armes, reinioyned him eftſoones by an other ſigneture, the ſelfe ſame thinges vppon payne of the Church cenſures: And by the biſhop of *Calagorre* his Nuncio at *Venice*, (whether for the ſame effect were gone thē baſſadors of *Alphonſo*, & they of *Florence*, who notwithſtanding made not ſuch open demaundes) he perſwaded much that Senate, that for the common benefite of *Italy*, they would proteſt publike reſiſtance againſt the french purpoſes, or at leaſt to giue *Lodovvyk* roundly to vnderſtand, that he was much diſcontented with this innouacion: But the Senate aunſwered by the Duke, that it was farre from the office of a wiſe Prince, to pull the warre vpon his owne howſe, and take it from an other, nor to conſent to doe either by demonſtracions or effects, any thing that may diſpleaſe either of the parties: And becauſe the king of *Spaine*, ſolicited inſtantly by the Pope & *Alphonſo*, promiſed (for the ſuccors of *Naples*) to ſend into *Scycile* an armie by ſea well furniſhed, and at laſt made excuſe that it could not be ſo ſoone ready for want of money: the Pope gaue conſent (beſides a certeine porcion which *Alphonſo* ſent him) & power, that he might conuert into that vſe, the moneyes gathered in *Spaine* by the Apoſtolike authoritie vnder coler of the *Croyſade*, which ought not to be employed againſt others then thennemies to the faith Chriſtian: *Alphonſo* alſo, beſides thoſe he had already ſent to the great Turke, diſpatched of new *Camylla Pandon*, with whom was ſēt ſecretly by the Pope *George Bucciardo* a *Genovvay*, whoſe ſeruice Pope *Innocent* had vſed there afore, who being receiued with great honor of *Baiazet*, & diſpatched with no leſſe expedicion, brought home large promiſes of ſuccors: which albeit was confirmed a litle after by an Embaſſador ſent by the Turke to *Naples*, yet either for the diſtance of places, or for the diſtruſt he had of the Chriſtians, thoſe promiſes brought forth no effect: In this time, *Alphonſo* & *P. de medicis* ſeing their armies ſucceeded not happily by land nor ſea, they labored to beguile *L. Sforce*, vſing his owne craftes & connings, but their induſtrie brought forth no better yſſue, then their forces. It was thopinion of many, that *Lodovvyk*, for the conſideracion of his proper daunger, was not content that the french king ſhould conquere *Naples*: but his plot was, that aſſoone as he was made Duke of *Myllan*, and that the french armie had paſſed into *Tuſcane*, to worke ſome accorde, by the which *Alphonſo* ſhould acknowledge him ſelfe tributarie to the crowne of *Fraunce*, with aſſurance to the king of office and obſeruancie, and ſo the king (the places which the *Florentyns* helde in *Lunigiane*, reuerting perhaps out of their hands) to returne into *Fraunce*: So that the *Florentynes* by this meane ſhould remeyne battered, the king of *Naples* diminiſhed of force and authoritie, and he become Duke of *Myllan*, ſhould haue got for his ſewertie ſo much as was ſufficient, without feare to fall into the daungers which might happen by the victorie of the french: he had hope alſo that the winter comming on, the king would ſuffer ſuch difficulties as would let the courſe of his victorie: Laſtly he iudged that waighing with thimpacience of the french, the kinges ſlender prouicion of money, and the wills of many of his people eſtranged from thenterpriſe, there would not want meanes to worke compoſicion.

The Pope commaunds the french king not to paſſe into Italy.

The Venetians neutors.

Conieſtures againſt the ſutteltyes of Lodowyk Sforce.

This was a groſſe error in his pollecie, to breede the ſtorme, and leaue the defence to poſſibilities dowtefull: it is too daungerous to broach a veſſell of poyſon, and haue the vertue of the antydote vncerteyne: fier ſuffered to ronne, burnes without lymitt, euen to the conſuming of ſuch as firſt kyndled it. But whatſoeuer was his ſecret intencion, it is certeyne that albeit at the beginning *Lodovvyk* ſtudied to ſeparate *Pe. de medicis* from *th Aragons*, yet after he perſwaded him ſecretly to perſeuere in his opinion, promiſing him ſo to worke that the french Kinge ſhoulde

not march at all, or at leaſt if he did paſſe, he ſhould with the ſame ſpeede returne afore he did any action on that ſide the mountes: this he did often reiterate by his Embaſſador reſident at *Florence*, eyther for that ſuch was his iuſt intencion, or elſe hauing determined to ruinate *Peter*, he deſired that he might bring him to doe ſo much agaynſt the kinge, as there might be no meane to reconcyle them. But *Peter* determining by the conſent of *Alphonſo* to make theſe behauiours knowen to the french king, called one day into his howſe, the embaſſador of *Myllan*, vnder couler of being ill diſpoſed of his perſon: afore he came, he cauſed to hyde ſecretly the french Embaſſador reſident at *Florence*, in a place where he might eaſily heare their communication. There *Peter* repeated to the embaſſador plainly, diſtinctly, and at large, the perſwaſions and promiſes of *Lodovvyk*, and that for his authoritie he was vnwilling to conſent to the demaundes of the french king: taking occaſion to complayne greeuouſly, for that with ſo diligent inſtance he ſolicited the king to paſſe: he concluded, that ſeeing the effectes aunſwered not his wordes, he was conſtrayned to ioyne him ſelfe to the enterpriſe, to auoyd his proper and preſent perill: The *Myllanoys* Embaſſador aunſwered, that he ought not to dowte of the faith of *Lodovvyk*, if for no other reaſon, at leaſt for this, that in compariſon and conſideracion of thinges, it was no leſſe daungerous to *Lodovvyk* then to any other, that the french ſhould enioy *Naples*: And therefore with all the councell, courage, and reaſons that he could, he perſwaded him to perſeuere in his firſt opinion, leaſt by ſuch hurtfull alteracion of his minde, he were not the cauſe to bring him ſelfe and all *Italy* into perpetuall ſeruitude: This diſcourſe with all his actions and circumſtances, the french Embaſſador with preſent ſpeede communicated with the kinge his maiſter, aſſuring him that he was betrayed by *Lodovvyk*, whoſe deuiſe tended all to his particular purpoſſe and profite, and all his intencions diſſembled and diſguiſed.

This pollicie and priuate manner of *Peter* bredd not the effect which *Peter* and *Alphonſo* hoped for, but, of the contrary, the matter and manner being reuealed to *Lodovvyk*, euen by the french them ſelues, the diſdayne and hate conceaued afore againſt *Peter*, redobled and tooke a ſtronger qualitie, and *Lodovvyk* with a new diligence and quicknes, ſolicited the french king to conſume no more time vnprofitably.

Foreſhowes of the calamities of Italy.

But now not onely the preparacions that were made in ſo great plenty both by ſea and lande, but alſo the conſent of the heauens and of men, pronounced to *Italy* their calamities to come: for that ſuch as made profeſſion, to haue iudgement eyther by ſcience or diuine inſpiracion in the thinges to come, aſſured with one voyce that there were in preparing, both more great mutacions and more ſtraunge & horrible accidents, then for many worldes before, had bene diſcerned in any part or circuit of the earth. There were ſeene in the night in *Pouylle* three ſunnes in the middeſt of the firmament, but many clowdes about them, with ryght fearefull thunders and lightninges: In the territorie of *Aretze*, were viſibly ſeene paſſing in the ayre, infinite numbers of armed men vpon myghtie horſes, with a terrible noiſe of drommes and trumpettes: The Images and figures of Saincte did manifeſtly ſweate in many partes of *Italy*: In euery place were brought forth many monſters of men and other creatures, with many other thinges againſt the order of nature concurring all at one time, but in diuerſe places: by meanes wherof the people were caried into incredible feares, being already amaſed with the brute of the french powers & fury of that nation, with the which according to the teſtimonie of hiſtories, they

they had afore tyme ronne ouer all *Italy*, sackt and made desolate with fire and sword the citie of *Rome*, and subdued in *Asia* many prouinces, and generally no part of the world which had not felt the vertue of their armes: But albeit these iudgements are often tymes fallible, and rather coniectures vncerteyne, then effectes hapning, yet the accidents that drew on, brought to them, in the spirites of frayle men, an absolute fayth, credit, and religion: for, king *Charles*, holding his first purpose, was now come to *Viena* in *D'auphine*, and would not suffer him selfe to be stayed from his personall expedicion into *Italy*, neither by the iust and generall peticions of his whole realme, nor with the consideracion of his vniuersall wants of money, which were such as he had no meane to furnish the necessities present, but by pawning for a great summe of money, certeine iewells lent him by the Duke of *Sauoye*, the Marquiss of *Mountferat*, and other great Lordes of the Court: of the summes he had gathered before of the reuenues of *Fraunce*, and such as were lent to him by *Lodovvyk*, he had employed a great quantitie vppon the armies at sea, wherein at the beginning was reappосed a great hope of the victorie: and of the residue, he had made many indiscreete liberalities to diuerse persons before he went from *Lyons*: And his Princes and noble men hauing at that tyme not so ready wayes to exact money vpon their peoples, as their immoderat couetousnes hath brought them since, without regard to God or men, it was not easie for him to leuye new tributes: so slender were the prouisions and groundes of so great a warre, furie and rashnes guiding the king more, then wisedom and councell.

But as it often hapneth in the execucion of things new, great, and difficult, that albeit all thinges are ordeyned and foreseene: yet the reasons that may be considered in the contrary come then to appeare in thunderstanding of men, when the enterprise is toward his action and beginning: So, the king being vppon the poynt to depart, yea his soldiers marching towardes the mountes, there arose a great murmure thoroughout the court: some brought into consideracion the difficulties ordinarie in so great an enterprise, and some disputed of the generall daungers and infidelitie of *th Italians*, but specially there was an vniuersall ielowsie of *Lodovvyk Sforce*, both for thaduertisement lately come from *Florence*, and also certeyne money expected from him, remeyned yet behind: So that not onely such as had alwayes reproued this enterprise, rose vp eftsoones to resist it with more audacitie (as hapneth in those cases when councell is confirmed by the euent of thinges) but euen those that had bene the principall workers, as chiefly the Bishop of *S. Mallo*, beganne so to shake, that the brute comming to the eares of the king and the whole Court inclyning to murmure and confusion of opinions, caused such an inclynacion in the king to passe no further, that suddeinly commaundement was giuen to make staye of all the bandes and companies of souldiers: by meane whereof many that were already on their way, returned with willing speede to the Court, following a reaport published, that it was a resolucion sette downe, that the campe shoulde not passe into *Italy*: it was then beleeued that all had turned into alteracion and chaunge, if the Cardinall of *S. P. ad vincla*, (the fatall instrument both at that tyme, before, and after, of all the miseries of *Italy*) had not with his authoritie and vehemencie giuen a newe life to thexpedicion, recomforted the heartes of the noble men, and brought agayne the spirite of the king to his first determinacion: he layed before him not onely the reasons that had first styrred him vppe to so glorious an enterpryse, but also with a sharppe and quicke eloquence, willed him to looke into thinfamie which myght ronne throughout all the worlde for so lyght a mutacion of so

The french king dowtfull to goe thorow with thenterprise of Naples.

Cardinal S. P. ad vincla, „ giues a new „ life to thex „ pedicion.

" noble a councell: he aſked his maieſtie for what occaſion, in reſtoring the places
" in the countie of *Artoys*, he had weakened on that ſide, the frontyers of his realme:
" why had he with ſo great diſpleaſing of his nobilitie and populars, made open to the
" king of *Spayne* one of the portes of *Fraunce*, in giuing him the countie of *Ruſsillon*: o-
" ther kinges his predeceſſors, had not wont to conſent to thoſe thinges, but either to
" be deliuered from great and imminent perills, or at leaſt, in counterchaunge of pro-
" fitts more importing: he made not thoſe reſtitutions by any neceſſitie, his perills
" were but reaſonable, And for frute or recompenſe, there was no other expectacion,
" then that with a great price, he had bought a preſent loſſe, which would perpetually
" nouriſh greefe, diſhonour, and infamie: what newe accidents haue appeared, (ſayth
" he) or what ſtraunge daungers and difficulties are diſcloſed ſince the enterpriſe hath
" bene publiſhed throughout all the world? No, rather the hope of the victorie is en-
" creaſed, the foundacions being ſhaken wherupon the enemie had built all the hopes
" of his defenſe, for that if both the armie at ſea of *th Aragons* ſhamefully retyted to
" the port of *Liuorne* after they had giuen a vaine aſſault to *Portouenere*, was able to at-
" tempt no further action againſt *Genes* ſo well defended with ſouldiours and a nauie
" more mightie then theirs, And alſo in their armie by lande ſtayed in *Romania* by the
" reſiſtance of ſmall numbers of the french, was left no courage to paſſe further: what
" would be their feares, when they heard by all the countreyes in *Italy*, that the king was
" to paſſe the mountes with an armie royall: townes would fall into tumultes, men
" would draw into mutinie, hauing their mindes amaſed, how could they be ſtayed or
" conteined? The Pope would not be a litle amazed when he ſhould ſee from his pro-
" per pallaice, the armes of the *Collonoys* at the gates of *Rome*: No leſſe would be tha-
" ſtoniſhment of *P. de medicis*, who hath for his enemies his owne blud, knoweth what
" affection the towne of *Florence* beareth to the name of the french, & is not ignorant
" how deſirous it is to recouer the libertie which he holdes oppreſt: That there was
" no impediment, no difficultie, no daunger to ſtay the furious deſcending of the king
" vpon the confins of *Naples*, which he ſhould no ſooner approch, then he ſhould find
" all things diſpoſed to flight or to rebellion: he told him the feare was vayne to dowt
" want of money, for that his artillerie ſhould be no ſooner hard thunder, then *th Itali-*
" *ans* with a ſwift liberalitie, would ſupply him from all partes: And if he ſhould finde
" any reſiſtance or defenſe, the ſpoiles, the booties, the riches of the vanquiſhed would
" ſuffice to nouriſh his armie, for that *Italy* for many yeares, hauing bene more ac-
" cuſtomed to apparances of warre, then trayned in the true experience of warres,
" there was no ſtrength, foundacion, nor power to ſuſteyne the furie of the french.
" In a matter debated with ſo long councell, and prepared ſo neare to his action: in an
" enterpriſe ſo poſſible, and bringing ſo many profits: in an expedicion ſo hawtie and
" glorious, and giuen ouer, ſo vile and infamous: he aduiſed him to be firme and reſo-
" lute, & for feares, ſuſpicions, and ielowſies, he willed him to thinke them as dreames
" riſing vpon ſome ſuperfluous humor, or as ſhadowes to whome can be aſſigned no
" bodies: he tolde him it became iuſtely his name and greatnes to march on with the
" ſame magnanimitie and courage, wherewith not iiij. dayes ſince, he vaunted to be
" able to vanquiſh *Italy* being vnited all togither: he ſayd, he had to conſider that his
" councells were now no more in his owne power, and that thinges had gott to great
" forwardnes by reaſon of the alienacion he had made of many landes and territories,
" for them baſſadors he had heard, ſent, and baniſhed, for the great charges he had ſu-
" ſteyned, for ſo many and mighty prouiſions, and laſtly for the renowne that ronne
" thorow the world, and his perſon being brought almoſt to the toppe of the *Alpes*:

And

And finally saith he,albeit the enterprise were neuer so perillous,yet necessitie constrayned him to follow it,seeing betwene glory and infamie,betwene dishonour and triumph,betwene thopinion to be estemed a king,and a man vile,priuat,and abiect, there remeyned no meane. These speches in substance deliuered by the Cardinall, but according to his nature,in more graue & vehement gesture,kindled such a new life and courage in the king, that without hearing any,then such as perswaded him to the warre,he departed the same day from *Vyena* accompanied with all the barons and capteynes of the realme, except the Duke of *Burbon*,to whom in his absence,he left thadministracion of the king lom,& the Admirall,with certeine others appointed to the gouernment and gard of prouinces most importing: Him self with the armie passing into *Italy* by the mount *Geneura*, which yeldes a farre more easie passage then the mount *Ceuis*,and by the which (but with incredible difficulties) *Hannibal* of *Carthage* made his way into *Italy*: entred into the towne of *Ast* the ix. of September, a thowsand fowre hundreth lxxx. and fowreteene, leading with him into *Italy* the seedes of innumerable calamities,& most horrible accidents,with a chaunge almost and innouacion of all thinges:for,of his passage did not onely take beginning mutacion of estates,subuersion of realmes,desolacion of countreys,destruction of cities, and murders ciuill and most cruell: but also he brought with him newe fashions of habytes,new customes,new and bluddy maners of making warres, and diseases till those tymes vnknowen, yea he did so disorder thinstruments of peace and concord in *Italy*,that being neuer able since to reorder & reduce them,other nations straunge & barbarous,haue had good meane to oppresse them miserably: And fot thincreasing of thinfelicitie(becaus: their shame and dishonour shoulde not be diminished by the valour and vertues of the victor) he whose comming brought all those calamities, (albeit he lackt nothing of the liberalities & fauours of fortune,) was voyde almost of all the giftes of nature & the mind: for,it is most certeine that king *Charles* from his infancie was of complexion very delicat,and of body vnsownde and diseased,of small stature,and offace (if thaspect and dignitie of his eyes had bene taken away) fowle and deformed,his other members bearing such equall proporcion,that he seemed more a monster then a man: he was not onely without all knowledge of good sciences,but skarcely he knew the distinct carecters of letters: his mind desirous to commaund, but more proper to any other thing, for that being enuironed alwayes with his familiars & fauorits, he reteyned with them no maiestie or authoritie: he reiected all affayres and busines, and yet if he did debate and consider in any, he shewed a weake discression and iudgement: And if he had any thing in him that caried apparance of merit or praise,yet,being thorowly waighed and sounded, it was found further of from vertue then from vice: he had an inclinacion to glory, but it was tempered more with rashnes and furie then with moderacion and councell: his liberalities were without discression, measure, or distinction: immouable often tymes in his purposes, but that was rather an ill grounded obstinacie then constancie, and that which many call bowntie, deserued more reasonably in him the name of coldnes and slacknes of spirite.

The french king in Ast.

The french king discribed.

The same day the king arriued in the towne of *Ast*,the fauours of fortune began to appeare to him with a ioyfull token or prediction: for, there came from *Genes* glad newes,that *Dom Federyk* (who after his retyre from *Portouenere* to the hauen of *Lyuorne*, and that he had refreshed his armie by sea, and leuyed new companies of landmen,was eftsoones returned into the same riuer) had put on land *Obietto de Fiesquo*,with iij. thowsand footemen,who without difficultie had made him selfe Lord

of the towne of *Rapalle* which is xx. miles from *Genes*, and then ſent companies to eſpie and ſpoyle the countrey there about: That ſuch a beginning being of no litle importance, for that touching the affayres of the towne of *Genes*, all emotions howe litle ſo euer they were, would be daungerous conſidering the contagiouſnes & multitude of parties and factions, thoſe within the towne eſteemed it not good that the enemies ſhould haue further aduantage: And therefore, leauing part of their companies to the gard of *Genes*, the ij. brethern *S. Seuerins* and *Iohn Adorne* brother to *Auguſtyn* gouerner of the towne, with thItalian footemen, putte them ſelues on the way to goe to *Rapalle*, the Duke of *Orleance* with a thowſand *Svvizzers* leading thither tharmy by ſea, which contained xviij. galleyes, vj. gallions, and ix. great ſhipps. And being all ioyned nere to *Rapalle*: they furiouſly gaue vpon the enemies that made head againſt the bridge which was betwene the ſuburbes of *Rapalle* and a litle ſtraite plaine that ſtretched to the ſea: That beſides, the proper forces of *th Aragons*, the ſeate of the place fought with aduantage for them, by whoſe ſteepenes & ſharpnes more thē other munition or art, the places of that riuer are wel fortified: the beginning of the ſkirmiſh ſemed proſperous to thēnemie, the *Svvizzers* being in a place very vnproper to beſtow their ordenāce, beginning almoſt to retyre: but by the cōtinual cōcurſe & flocking of the peaſants ronning after the faction of the *Adornes*, for their agilitie & experience in thoſe ſtonie & mountenous places, men of ſpeciall merit in ſeruice, and the *Aragons* beaten in flanck with the artilleries of the gallies of *Fraunce* which were brought as nere the banks as could be: they begā very hardly to ſuſteine the charge: And that laſtly, as they were beaten from the bridge, *Obietto* was aduertiſed (in whoſe fauour his pertakers did not yet ſtirre) that *Iohn Lovvys de fieſquo* was at hand with a great trowpe of footemen, And therefore fearing to be charged on the backe, they fledd to the mounteynes, *Obietto* being the firſt according to the cuſtom of rebells: That there was ſlayne of them in this encounter partly by fighting, and partly by fleeing, more then a hundreth bodies: A ſlaughter not litle, conſidering the maner of the warre in *Italy* in thoſe tymes: with theſe aduertiſements came accompanied the reapport of the priſoners taken, amongeſt whom was *Iulius Vrſin*, who with xl. men at armes and certeine croſbow ſhott on horſ backe, had followed the ſea armie of *Alphonſo*, in whoſe pay he was: *Fregoſin* ſonne to the Cardinall *Fregoſe* and *Orlandin* of the ſame familie, remeyned alſo priſoners. This victorie aſſured altogither thaffayres of *Genes*, for that *Dom Federyk* (who as ſoone as he had put his footemen on land, ſpred him ſelfe vpon the mayne ſea, as not to be conſtrayned to fight with thennemie in the gulphe of *Rapalle*) deſpairing to doe any profitable ſeruice at that time, retyred his armie once againe to the port of *Liuorne*: where albeit he refurniſhed his numbers with new ſouldiers, & had many plots to aſſayle the riuers in ſome other place: yet (by infortunate beginnings of enterpriſes often tymes men loſe both courage & councells) he attempted no other action of conſequence, leauing a iuſt occaſion to *Lodovvyk* to vaunt, that with his induſtrie and his councells, he had giuen the baye to his aduerſaries, ſeeing there was no other thing that ſaued the ſtate of *Genes*, but their too ſlow ſpeede to depart, whereof *Lodovvyk* was the cauſe by his conning and vayne hopes breeding their deceitfull ſecuritie.

Lodo. Sforce goeth to viſit the french king in Aſt.

At this time went *Lodovvyk Sforce* to viſit the king at *Aſt*, whether he caried with him *Beatrix* his wife, followed with great pomp and a trayne of the moſt honorable and ſingular fayre Ladies within all the Duchie of *Myllan*: he was alſo accompanied with *Hercules*, Duke of *Ferrara*. There they debated of their common affayres, and by generall councell it was reſolued that the armie ſhould march with as much ſpeede

as was possible, wherein for the more diligence and expedicion of things, *Lodovvyk* who had not a litle feare, that the hard season of the yeare hapning, they would soiorne all the winter in the territories of his Duchie, lent eftsones to the king a great quantitie of money, wherof he had not a litle necessitie and want: Notwithstanding, the king falling into the disease which we call the small pockes, he remeyned about a moneth within the towne of *Ast*, the armie being dispersed into quarters and places thereabowts: Touching the numbers of his armie, (as may be truely gathered out of so many diuersities) it conteined, (besides the two hundreth gentlemen for his gard, and reckoning the *Svvyzers* gone before to *Genes*, and the companies interteyning the warre in *Romania*, vnder *Monsr D'aubygny*) xvj. hundred men at armes, allowing to euery of them according to the custom of *Fraunce*, two Archers, so that vnder euery launce (for so they call their men at armes) are comprehended vj. horses: of the *Svvyzzers* vj. thowsand footemen, and vj. thowsand of the realme of *Fraunce*: whereof the one halfe were *Gascoine* souldiers, for their furniture gallant and well appoynted, and for their naturall aptnes to the warres, a people aboue all others, soonest traynd to seruice. And to ioyne to this armie, there was caried to *Genes* by sea, a huge proporcion of artilleries of sundry natures, both for batterie and seruice of the field, but of such sortes as *Italy* neuer saw the like.

The number of the french kings armie.

This hell or torment of artillerie being deuised many yeares since in *Iermanie*, was brought first into *Italy* by the *Venetians*, hauing warre about the yeare 1380. with the *Genovvaies*: wherin the *Venetians* vanquished by sea, and much afflicted by the losse of *Chioze*, were ready to receiue such cõdicions as it pleased the victors, if in so good an occasion, there had not bene want of moderate councell: The greatest sort was called bombardes, which, after the inuencion was spred thorow *Italy*, were employed to the battering of townes: some of them were of yron, and some of brasse, but conteyning such grosse and huge proporcion, that for their waight and ignorance of men, and instruments vnapt, they were caried slowly, and with great difficultie: And being with intollerable trauels planted afore townes, yet there was so much respitt betwene one shott and an other, that in comparison of their vse at this day, they gaue litle frute or succesſe to the seruice, but left to the defenders leasure and oportunity at wil, to reenforce their rampiers and fortifications: And yet, by the violence of the saltpeter, with the which their powder had his mixture, the bulletts flew into the ayre with such horrible noyse and furie, that that instrument (yea afore he had his perfection) put to skorne and silence all those engynes and deuises, wherewith the auncients were wont to pull downe townes, to the great fame of *Archymedes*, & other notable enginistes: But the frenchmen fordging peeces of farre greater facilitie, and of no worse mettall then brasse, which they called cannons, vsing bulletts of yron, in place of those of stone of the first inuencion, vsed to drawe them vppon wheeles, not with oxen (as was the custom in *Italy*) but with horses, and with such agilitie of men & instruments appointed to that seruice, that they almost kept march with the armie: And being brought afore townes or walls, they were braked and planted with an incredible diligence, and with a very small intermission betwene the shotts, they battered with such violent furie, that, what before was wont to be done in *Italy* in many daies, they dispatched it in few howers: These deuillish instruments they vsed also in the field, making some times the cannon seruiceable there, & some times peeces of lesser fordge, haled according to their proporcion, with the self same speede and nymblenes. Those artilleries were the cause, that all *Italy* stoode in great feare of the kinges armie, which was also holden more redowted and dreadfull, not

How & when great shot came first into Italy.

by the numbers, but for the valour of the ſouldiers: for, the men at armes, being almoſt all of the kings ſubiectes, gentlemen and not of the popular ſort, were not ſimply vnder the direction and diſcipline of capteynes, nor payed by them, but by the kinges officers: by which meane, companies and bandes had not onely their compleate numbers, but they were men of choyce, and in good point for horſe and armor, (being well able to make their owne furnitures) and contended in ſeruice, aſwell for the deſire of honor (which naturally is nouriſhed in the hartes of men of noble race) as alſo that by their actions in armes and fight, they might aſpire to recompenſe aſwell out of warre as the warre during, and by degrees, riſe worthely to the name and places of capteyns: The ſame reſpectes puſhed forward the capteines Barons, and great Lordes, or at leaſt ſuch as did communicat in honorable diſcent and bludd, for the moſt part ſubiectes of the crowne of *Fraunce*, who hauing their numbers ſet & limited, (for according to the warres of that realme, there is no companie aboue a hundreth launces) had no other intencion, then by ſeruice to meritt well of their king: So that there was not amongeſt them any humor of inconſtancie, either by ambicion or couetouſnes to chaunge their Lord, or for enuie to exceede other Capteynes in numbers of men at armes: cuſtoms meare contrary to the ordering of the men at armes in *Italy*: where many of the men at armes, are either peaſantes, or populars, ſubiectes of an other Prince, and depending wholy of their Capteines, with whom they contract fot their pay, and ſerue vnder their arbitracion: they haue neither by nature nor by accident, any extraordinary ſpur or prouocacion to ſerue well: The Capteines are very rarely vaſſalls of him that enterteynes them: they haue for the moſt part diuerſe intereſts, purpoſes, and endes: full of enuy and hatreds: And being bound to no tearme fixed for their payes, & abſolute commaũders ouer their companies, they oftentimes beguile the ſeruice with leſſe numbers then they are payed for: And ſometimes not contented with honeſt condicions, they put their patrons vpon euery occaſion to raunſom: At their pleaſures they will paſſe from the ſeruice of one, and enter into the pay of an other, ambicion, couetouſnes, or other particular intereſts, making them not onely inconſtant, but alſo vnfaithfull: There was alſo ſeene no leſſe difference betwene the footemen of *Italy*, and thoſe that ſerued vnder king *Charles*, for that *thItalians* fought not in ſquadrons ſet and ordered, but in trowpes, and diſperſed in the field, and oftentimes retyring to the aduauntages of hills and ditches: But the *Svvyzzers*, a nation warlike, and by the long vſe of warre and many victories, had renewed their auncient glorie and hardines, vſed to feight with bandes ordered, and diſtinct in numbers certeine: And neuer forſaking their rankes, they vſed to ſtand againſt their enemies as a wall, firme, and almoſt inuincible, ſo farre forth as they fought in a plaine or place large to ſtretch out their battell: euen with the ſame diſcipline and orders, but not with the like courage and vertue, did fight the footemen of the french and *Gaſcoynes*.

The Colõnoys for the french king.

Whileſt the king by reaſon of his ſicknes, ſoiorned in the citie of *Aſt*, there happened a new tumult about the borders of *Rome*: for, the *Colonnoys* (notwithſtanding *Alphonſo* had accorded to all their immoderat demaundes) as ſoone as *Monſr D'aubygny* was entred *Romania*, declared them ſelues for the french king without more diſſembling, & tooke the rocke of *Oſtia* by intelligences they had with certeine ſpaniſh footemen left there in garriſon. This raiſed the Pope into paſſion, & made him bitterly complaine to all Princes in Chriſtendom, of the iniuries done to him by the french: he addreſſed his complaintes chiefly to the king of *Spayne*, and Senate of *Venice*, of whom (but in vaine) he prayed ayde and ſuccors according to the contract

of

of confederacion made betwene them the laſt yeare before: And turning alltogither his witts,authoritie and courage, to the prouiſions of the warres, after he had cited *Proſper* and *Fabricius*, (whoſe houſes he cauſed to be raſed in *Rome*,) and aſſembled his companies with part of thoſe of *Alphonſo*, vnder *Virginio*, at the riuer of *Tyuerone*,neare *Tyuoly*: he ſent them all vpon the landes of the *Collonnoys*,whoſe ſtrength was no greater then two hundreth men at armes,and a thowſand footemen: But afterwards the Pope dowting leaſt the french armie at ſea ſuppoſed to come from *Genes* to the ſuccors of *Oſtia*,ſhould be receiued into the port of *Neptune*,belonging to the *Collonnoys*: *Alphonſo* after he had gathered at *Terracina* all the companies that the Pope and he had in thoſe quarters,eſtabliſhed his campe there,hoping to haue it eaſily.Notwithſtanding the *Collonnoys* defending it with great franknes of courage, & being alſo paſſed into their contreyes without impediments, with the companies of *Camylla Vitelli*, of the citie of *Caſtello*, and the bandes of their brethern which the french king had newly taken into his pay: The Pope reuoked to *Rome*, part of his people which were in *Romania* with *Ferdinand*, whoſe affaires continued not with that felicitie and fortune which they ſeemed to ſhow in the beginning:for,as he was arriued at *Villefranche*,betwene *Furly* and *Faenze*, and from thence was entred into the highway of *Ymola*: the armie of thennemie encamped neare to *Villefranche*, ſeeing their forces inferior,retyred betwene the forreſt of *Lugo* and *Columuare*,neare the forde of *Geniuola*: A place very ſtrong by nature, and apperteining to *Hecules d'Eſte*, out of whoſe contreyes they were vittelled: So that *Ferdinand*, ſeeing that by the ſtrength and ſituacion of the place,he could not charge them, but with manifeſt & generall perill,iſſued out of *Ymola*,and went to incampe in *Toſkanella*, neare the village of *S.Peter* in the contreyes of *Bolonia*: for,being deſirous to fight, by the ſhowe he made to goe towards *Bolonia*, he ſought to put thennemies (to whom he would not leaue libertie to paſſe further) in neceſſitie to incampe in places not ſo ſtronge: But they,approching certeine dayes after neare *Ymola*, pitched their campe vppon the riuer of *Santerne*,betwene *Lugo* and *S.Agathe*,the place being well fortified, and had for their backe,the riuer of *Pavv*: The ſame day *Ferdinand* incamped ſix miles from them vpon the ſame riuer neare *Mordane* and *Bubane*, preſenting his armie the day after in battell ringed within a mile of them:where,after he had looked for them in vaine for certeine howers,the place miniſtring all commodities to fight, by reaſon of his ſkope,largenes,and plainnes, and ſeeing he could not ſet vpon them in their trenches without abſolute daunger, went to incampe at *Balbiana*, not holding any more the way of the mounteyne as he had done till then, but accoaſting the ennemie,he marched alwayes with this intencion,to conſtraine them, if he could, to forſake their trenches ſo full of aduantage and ſtrength.

It hath ſeemed till now that thaffaires of the Duke of *Calabria* caried good eſtate and fortune,and a gouernment with reputacion,ſeeing the ennemies had apparantly refuſed to fight, defending them ſelues more with the ſtrength and ſituacion of their trenches,then with actions of armes, and in all encounters of the light horſemen,*th Aragons* caried away alwayes the beſt: but the campe of the french & *Sforce*, receiuing continuall ſtrength by ſupplies of companies, which at the beginning remeyned behind,the eſtate of the warre began to chaunge: for that,the Duke,whoſe heate and forwardnes was moderated by the councell of thoſe capteynes that followed him, to thende he would not commit all to fortune without aduantage: retyred to *S.Agathe*,a towne of the Duke of *Ferrara*,where, finding diminucion of his footemen,and of that part of the horſemen of the Church,which the Pope had cal-

led backe, and lastly in the middest of the contreyes of the Duke of *Ferrara*, began to looke to fortefie him selfe: But after he had remeyned there certeine dayes, he vnderstoode by espiall that there was expectacion in the ennemies campe, of two hundred launces, and a thowsand *Svvyzzer* footemen, which the french king had caused to march as soone as he entred into *Ast*: And therefore he retyred to the wast of *Faenza*, a place betwene the walls of the same towne, and a ditch which reculeth about a thowsand passes from the towne, and inuyroning it round about, makes that situacion very strong. And by reason of his retraite, thennemie came to *S. Agatha*, which he had abandoned. Sewerly both these armies showed great tokens of courage, when they saw their ennemie inferior: but when things were brought to an equallitie, the place apt, their forces indifferent, & all other oportunities consenting, either one eschewed to assay the fortune of battell, and in them both was approued that which very rarely hapneth, that one councell was pleasing to two armies, being ennemies: For, the french thought they shoulde accomplish their intencion, for the which they were come out of *Lombardie*, if they hindred *th Aragons* for passing further: And *Alphonso* iudged it greatly to his benefit, if he could amuse & hold thennemies bridle vntill winter: And therefore gaue expresse charge to his sonne, and *Ioh Iacques Tryuulso*, with the *Count de Petillane*, that without great occasion, they should not put in the power of fortune, the realme of *Naples*, which was vtterly lost, if that armie were defeated: But these remedies sufficed not for his sauetie, for that king *Charles*, whose forwardnes could not be restrained, neither by the season of the time, nor any other difficulties, marched into the field with his armie as soone as he had recouered his health: And becawse *Iohn Galeas* Duke of *Myllan*, & his cosin iermayne, (for the king & he discended of two sisters, daughters to *Lovvys* the second, Duke of *Sauoye*) lay sore sicke in the castell of *Pauya*, he went with great humanitie to visit him, making his way by the towne, & lodging in the same castell: The speches he vsed to him were generall for the presence of *Lodovvyk*, onely expressing howe much greeued he was for his sicknes, and perswaded him to take hope and courage to recouer his health: But touching the effect of the minde, the king with all those that were with him, had great compassion of him, euery one iudging for certeyne, that the yong gentleman, by the wickednes of his Vncle, had not long to liue. This compassion was much encreased by the presence of *Isabell* his wife, who not onely full of many sorrowes for thinfirmitie of her husband, and estate of her litle sonne borne by him, but also much afflicted for the perill of her father and his adherents, she fell with great humilitie, in the publike presence, at the feete of the king, recommending to him with pitifull teares, her father, and his howse of *Aragon*: towardes whom, albeit the king, for her age, for her bewtie, and her present fortune, expressed an apparant inclinacion to pitie, yet, being not able to staye the course of so great a matter, for so light occasion, he aunswered her with signes of will to doe that he could not, saying, thenterprise being so farre aduaunced, he was constrayned to prosecute and continue it.

The french king visites Iohn Galeas, duke of Myllan.

From *Pauya* the king marched to *Plaisance*, and during the aboade he made there, newes came of the death of *Iohn Galeas*, by which occasion *Lodovvyk*, that had followed him thether, returned in no small diligence to *Myllan*, where by the principals of the councell, which the Duke had subborned, it was propownded, that in regarde of the greatnes of that estate, and the daungerous times that prepared now for *Italy*, it would be a thing preiudiciall, that the sonne of *Iohn Galeas*, (hauing not v. yeares in age) should succeede his father: And therefore, aswell to keepe the liberties of the

The death of Iohn Galeas.

The manifest aspiring of Lodowyk Sforce, to the dukedō.

the ſtate in protection, as to be able to meete with thinconueniences which the time threatneth: they thought it iuſt and neceſſary (derogating ſomewhat, for the publike benefite, and for the neceſſitie preſent, the diſpoſicion of the lawes, as the lawes them ſelues doe ſuffer) to conſtraine *Lodovvyk*, for the better ſtay of the common weale, to ſuffer that into him might be tranſported the title & dignitie of Duke, a burden very waighty in ſo conſpiring a ſeaſon: with the which couler, honeſtie giuing place to ambicion, the morning following (vſing ſome forme of reſiſtance) he tooke vpon him the name and armes of the Duchie of *Myllan*, hauing ſecretly proteſted before, that he receiued them as apperteining to him, by thinueſtiture of the king of *Romaines*: It was publiſhed that the death of *Galeas* hapned by immoderat cohabitacion, but the vniuerſall iudgement of *Italy* was, that he dyed not of infirmities naturall, nor by incontinencie, but by poyſon and violent compulſion, wherof *Theodor de Pauya*, one of the Phiſicions, aſſiſting when the king viſited him, aſſured the king to ſee moſt apparant & manifeſt ſignes: And if he were diſpatched by poyſon, there was none that dowted that his Vncle was innocent either directly or indirectly, as he, who not content with an abſolute power to be gouerner of the ſtate, but aſpiring according to the common deſires of great men, to make them ſelues glorious with titles & honors, and ſpecially he iudged that both for his proper ſewertie, and the ſucceſſion of his children, the death of the lawfull Prince was neceſſary, and therfore ſought to eſtabliſh in him ſelfe the power and name of Duke, wherin ambicion and couetouſnes preuailed aboue conſcience and law of nature, & the ielous deſire of dominion, enforced his diſpoſicion, (otherwayes abhorring bludd) to that vile action: It was beleued of many wiſemen, that he hath had that intencion euer ſince he began to ſolicite the french kinges iorney into *Italy*, iudging thoccaſion and the time would well concurre to aduaunce theffect, for that the french houering vppon the borders of that ſtate with a mayne armie, it would alter mens coniectures and humors, and cary their witts from remembrance of an act ſo wicked: But ſome hauing opinions more particular, ſuppoſed both for the ſuddainnes of his death, & diligent transferring the imperie to the other, that it hapned by a new thought proceeding of feare, leaſt the king (the councells of the french are ſuddain) would turne him ſelf with a contrary courſe to deliuer his coſin *Galeas* from ſo great a ſubiection, being induced thereunto, either for reſpect of parentage and compaſſion of his age, or that he might thinke it was a thing more ſure for him ſelfe, that the Duchie of *Myllan* were in the power of his coſin, rather then commaunded by *Lodovvyk* whoſe fidelitie many of his great Lordes laboured continually to make ſuſpected with him: But becauſe *Lodovvyk* had gott the yeare before thinueſtiture of the Duchie of *Myllan*, and a litle before the death of his nephew, had diſpatched with diligence thimperiall priuiledges, it makes a congruent conſtruction, that it was a deliberacion voluntary and foredeuiſed, and not ſuddeine, nor in reſpect of the preſent daunger: The king ſtayed certeine dayes at Plaiſance, not without inclinacion to returne into *France*, for that aſwel the want of money, which being the more generall, was ſo much more intollerable, as not ſeeing any new thing in *Italy* diſcouer in his fauour, he had many dowtes of his ſucceſſe, hauing withall no litle ſuſpicion of the new Duke of *Myllan*, who notwithſtanding when he parted, ſayd he would returne, yet the iudgement was, that he would not come againe at all: it is not out of all likelihood, that being vnknowen to the nations on thother ſide the mountes that wicked cuſtom to poyſon men, which is a practiſe very common and familiar in all partes of *Italy*: but that the king and all his court, beſides the ſuſpicion they

Lodo. Sforce Duke of Myllan by vſurpacion.

The french king in mind to returne into Fraunce.

had conceyued againſt the faith of *Lodovvyk*, had his name in honor, yea the king eſteemed it an iniurie done to his owne honor and greatnes, that he had ſolicited his comming into *Italy*, to be the better able without daunger to execute an act ſo abominable: yet in the ende, the reſolucion was to march on, *Lodovvyk* continually laboring him thereunto, with promiſe to returne and viſit the king within few dayes, for that both the kinges aboade in *Lombardie*, & his haſtie returne into *Fraunce*, were wholly contrary to his intencions.

Laurence and Iohn de medicis with the french king.

The ſame day the king departed from *Plaiſance*, *Lavvrence* and *Iohn de medicis* came to him, who being ſecretly fledd from their howſes in the contrey, made great inſtance that his maieſtie would come neare *Florence*, promiſing him much of the affections and goodwill of the people towardes the howſe of *Fraunce*, and no leſſe of the hate againſt *P. de medicis*, againſt whom the king was aggrauated by occaſions new and greene: for, the king ſent from *Aſt* an Embaſſador to *Florence*, to propound many offers, if they would graunt him paſſage, and abſteyne hereafter from ayding of *Alphonſo*: and of the other ſide to pronounce threatnings to them, if they perſeuered in their former councell: wherein to aſtoniſh them the more, he gaue expreſſe charge to his Embaſſador to returne immediatly, if they would not giue ſpeedy reſolucion: he was aunſwered with excuſes to deferre and expect, for that the chiefeſt Citiſens of the gouernment being withdrawne to their howſes of ſolace in the contrey, according to the cuſtom of the *Florentyns* in that ſeaſon, they could not with ſuch ſpeede giue him an aunſwere certeine, but would with all diligence aduertiſe the king of their intencion by a particular Embaſſador: it is moſt certeine, that it was agreed in the kinges councell without contradiction, that the armie ſhould rather take the way that leades thorow *Tuſkane*, and the territories of *Rome* directly to *Naples*, then that, which, lying along *Romania*, & *la marque*, paſſing the riuer of *Troute*, entreth into *Abruzze*, not for that they did diſtruſt to giue the chaſe to the bandes of *th Aragons*, which with difficultie reſiſted *Monſr D'Aubygny*: But for that it ſeemed a thing vnworthy of the greatnes of ſuch a king, and no leſſe infamous to the glorie of his armies, (the Pope and *Florentyns* being declared againſt him) to giue occaſion to men to thinke that he eſchewed the way for diſtruſt, that he was not able to force them: But much more becauſe they eſteemed it daungerous to make warre in the realme of *Naples*, and leaue as ennemies at their backes, the ſtate eccleſiaſtike and *Tuſkane*: And therefore the armie turning to the way of *Tuſkane*, it was determined to paſſe rather the *Appenyn*, by the mountaine of *Parme*, then to march the direct way to *Bolonia*: This was *Lodovvyks* direction, when he was at *Aſt*, for that he had a deſire to make him ſelfe Lord of *Pyſa*.

The way that the french armie tooke to Naples.

M. Montpenſier leader of the vaũtgard.

So that the vauntgard, ouer whom was gouerner and leader, *Gilbert de Montpenſier*, of the houſe of *Burbon*, and Prince of the bludd: And the king following, with the reſidue of the armie, paſſed to *Pontreme*, a towne of the Duchie of *Myllan*, ſett at the foote of *th Appenyn*, vpon the riuer of *Magre*, which diuides the contrey of *Genes*, (aũciently called *Liguria*) from *Tuſkane*: from *Pontreme M. Montpenſier* entred the contrey of *Lunigiana*, a part of which obeyd the *Florentyns*, certeyne caſtells belonged to the *Genovvays*, and the reſidue were ſubiect to the Marquis of *Maleſpine*, who mainteyned their ſmall eſtates vnder the protection ſometimes of the Duke of *Myllan*, ſometimes of the *Florentyns*, and ſometimes of the *Genovvays*. About thoſe quarters ioyned with *M. Mountpenſier*, the *Svvyzzers*, which had ben at the defence of *Genovvay*, togither with thartillerie which was come by ſea to *Spetia*: And being come neare the towne of *Finizana*, belonging at that time to the *Florentyns*, whether they

wére

were guided by *Gabriell Malespina*, Marquiss of *Fodisnoue*, who was recommended to them, they tooke it by force, and sackt it, making slaughter of al the souldiers straungers that were within, and many of thinhabitants: A maner of making warre very newe, and so much the more terrible to all *Italy* accustomed for many yeares past to warres, rather flourishing in pompes and fine furniture like to warres showed by maskers in a stage playes, then to skirmishes bluddy and daungerous: The *Florentyns* were determined to make their principall resistance at *Serezana*, which they had greatly fortified, but not with strength sufficient and necessary to resist so mighty an ennemie, because they had not furnished it with any Capteine of warre, that had authoritie to minister discipline, nor yet souldiers, neither resolute nor seruiceable, other then such as lost hart at the first voyce of thapproch of the french armie: yet they of *Florence* were of opinion that it coulde not be easiely taken, specially the castell, and much lesse the rocke *Serazana*, both wel furnished, and bearing his situacion vpon the hil aboue the towne: Besides, it was not possible that tharmie should remeyne long time in those places, the contrey being barreine and straite, & being inclosed betwene the sea and the mountaynes, was not sufficient to nourish so great a multitude, and their vittells comming farre of, could not obserue such iust tyme & oportunitie, as to serue their present necessities: by reason whereof it seemed the kinges affayres began to fall vpon hard tearmes, and that his armie stoode possible to many daungers & distresses: for, albeit he could not with conuenient impediments be let from assaying *Pysa*, leauing behind him the towne and castell of *Serazana*, and the rocke, nor kept by the contrey of *Lucques*, (which citie, by the working of the Duke of *Myllan*, had secretly determined to receiue them) that he entred not an other part of the territorie of *Florence*: yet he could hardly be brought to that deliberacion, and much lesse condescend to it, because he had a perswacion in his secrete fancie, that if he wonne not the first towne that resisted him, it would diminish much his reputacion, and leaue a daungerous example to others to vse insolencie against him.

But so it was ordeyned, that eyther by the grace and blessing of fortune, or by an ordenance of more high power, (if at the least thindiscressions and faults of men deserue such excuses) to such an impediment hapned a suddeine remedie: seeing that neither the courage nor constancie of *P. de medicis*, were greater in his aduersities, then had bene his modestie and discression in his prosperities: By this must be vnderstanded that the displeasures which the citie of *Florence* had receiued from the beginning, for thimpediments which were giuen to the king, were continually multiplied, both for a new chase and banishment of their marchauntes, out of all partes of the realme of *Fraunce*, and also for feare of the power of the french, which did so much the more grow rising in the harts of men, by how much they heard that tharmy had begon to passe *th Appenyn* mountes: but specially they fell all into dread and feare, by the crueltie showed at the taking of *Finizana*: for these causes euery one did publikly detest the rashnes of *P. de medicis*, who, without necessitie, beleuing more in his owne weening, & the councels of certeine rash ministers, men arrogant in times of peace, and vnprofitable, and cowardes in times of warre: then following the directions of those Citisens that were friends to his father, and had alwayes instructed him with no lesse graue councells: had so indiscreetely prouoked the armes of so mightie a king, assisted with the Duke of *Myllan*: seeing withall, he was ignorant in thaffayres of warre, leauing the citie, and other places of their obedience not fortefied, but ill furnished with souldiours and municions necessary to make defense a-

gainſt ſo great a force: Beſides that, there had as yet appeared none of thoſe *Aragons*, for whom they had expoſed them ſelues to ſo great daunger: So that their cõtrey abandoned of euery one, remained in the deepe hatred of ſo mighty a king, and was ready to fall as a manifeſt pray to him, who with ſo great inſtance, had ſought not to fall into occaſion and neceſſitie to hurt it.

This diſpoſicion which was almoſt in all thoſe of the towne, was further kindled by many noble Citiſens, much diſpleaſed with the preſent gouernment, & that one onely familie had riſen ſo much in preſuming, as to appropriat to him ſelfe the rule of the whole common weale: in ſo much as one increaſing the feares of an other, and all laboring in one common dreade, and miniſtring ſtomacke and courage to ſuch as deſired new thinges, they had ſo ſtirred the braynes & ſpirites of the people, that there was generall feare of ſome tumult in the towne, whereunto the multitude was the rather prouoked by the pride & immoderat behauiors of *Peter*, who, in many thinges forſaking the ciuil cuſtoms and modeſtie of his aunceſtors, had bene followed from his infancie with a perpetuall hatred and ill wil, by the generalitie of the Citiſens: his father ſeemed to haue a great ſpeculacion in his vices and vile condicions, for that he would often ſay to his ſecret friendes, that thindiſcreſſion and arrogancie of his ſonne, would one day be the cauſe of the ruine of his houſe. It is a
" good propertie of wiſedom in fathers, to find out the diſpoſicions of their children,
" but it is a principall effect of their iudgementes, to cutte of with diſcipline all courſe
" of humors, that feede and miniſter to their naturall corrupcions, which is an office
" no leſſe iuſt in parents, then it belongeth to the art of the Phiſicion, firſt to ſeeke out
" the humor that offendes, and then to apply the remedie proper to cure, and not to
" leaue the body to a ſetled infection.

Peter being now amaſed with the peril, which with raſhnes he contemned afore, and ſeeing he fayled of the ſuccors and aydes which were promiſed by the Pope & *Alphonſo*, who as well for the loſſe of *Oſtia*, ſeege of the port *Neptune*, as for feare of the french armie by ſea, had euen their handes and heades full: determined with a councell ſuddeine and particular, to goe ſearch of thennemie that ſafetie, which he hoped no more to finde in his friendes, following therein the example of his father, who, in the yeare 1479. being brought to deſperat tearmes of daunger, by a warre which Pope *Sixtus* and *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, managed againſt the *Florentyns*, went to ſeeke *Ferdinand* in the towne of *Naples*, from whom he brought to *Florence*
" publike peace and priuat ſewertie. But it is a thing very daungerous for men to go-
" uerne them ſelues by examples, if there be not a concurrance of the ſelfe reaſons,
" not onely in generall, but euen in all particularities: and if thinges be not ruled with
" the ſame wiſedom: And if laſtly, ouer and beſides all other foundacions, the ſelfe
" ſame fortune haue not her part. Being parted from *Florence* in this deliberacion, & not farre of his way, he had aduertiſement that the horſemen of *Pavvle Vrſin*, and 3. hundreth footemen ſent by the *Florentyns* to enter *Serezana*, were broken by certein companies of the french, which were come ſkowring euen on this ſide the riuer of *Magre*, the moſt of them either ſlaine or made priſoners. This made him tary for the kinges ſafe conduct at *S. Peters*, whether went for his conduct and ſewertie the Biſhop of *S. Mallo*, with certeine Lordes of the Court, in whoſe companie he ariued at the campe the ſame day that the king, with the reſidue of his ſtrength ioyned him ſelfe to the vauntgard, which incamping before *Serazanella*, battred that rocke, but not with ſuch ſucceſſe as there was hope to cary it: After he was preſented to the king, who enterteyned him with good countenance, but more in apparance, then in affection:

P. de medicis comes to the french king.

affection: he appaiſed immediatly all his diſpleaſures, in conſenting to his whole demaundes, which were great and immoderat: namely, that the fortereſſes and caſtells of *S. Peter, Serezana* and *Serezanella*, which were (as it were) the keyes of the dominions of *Florence* on that ſide: and the fortreſſes of *Pyſa*, and the port of *Lyuorne* (members principall of their eſtate) ſhould be all putte into the handes of the king, who, for his part, ſhould bind him ſelfe by promiſe and by his proper ſigniture, to redeliuer them, as ſoone as he had conquered the kingdom of *Naples*: That *Peter* ſhould do ſo much, that the *Florentyns* ſhould lende to the king two hundreth thowſand duckats, and that then he would receiue them into his alliance and protection: Touching the ratificacion of which promiſes, made with ſimple wordes, it was ſayd there ſhould be letters diſpatched to *Florence*, by the which the king ment to paſſe: but the conſignacion of the caſtells and fortreſſes was not deferred: for, *Peter* ioyning meaning to his wordes, cauſed to be deliuered without tarying, to the king, thoſe peeces *Serezana, S. Peter, and Serezanella*, and not many dayes after, according to the agreement, the like was done of the peeces of *Pyſa*, and port of *Lyuorne*.

Peter de medicis accordes with the frēch king.

The frenchmen wondred, that *Peter* with ſo great facilitie accorded to thinges of ſo great importance, for that there was no dowt but the king would haue bene contented with farre meaner condicions: I will not let paſſe in this place without reapport, that which was ſuttelly aunſwered to *P. de medicis*, by *Lodovvyk Sforce*, arriuing the day following at the campe: As *Peter* in going to meete him to doe him honour, excuſed him ſelfe that he had miſcaried, for that *Lodovvyk*, was ſome what gone out of the way: he aunſwered very properly: That the one of them two went out of the way, but perhaps (ſayth he) it light vpon your ſelfe, as reproching vnto him that he was falne into ſo great difficulties & daungers, for not giuing faith to his councells: But the euents of thinges falling out afterwardes, did well declare, that they both had gone out of the right way, but it was with a greater infamie and calamitie to him, who rayſed into greater degree, made profeſſion with his wiſedom, to be the guide of all others.

This reſolucion and accord of *P. de medicis*, did not onely aſſure the king of the things of *Tuſkane*, but it tooke out of his way all blockes and obſtacles in *Romagnia*, where the *Aragons* beganne now much to declyne: for, as it is a thing very hard to him that ſkarcely defendes him ſelfe from daungers imminent, to prouide in one ſeaſon for the perills of an other: So, whileſt *Ferdinand* remeyned in ſewertie within the ſtrong fort of *Faenza*, the ennemie returned to the contrey of *Ymola*, where, after they had with a part of tharmie aſſailed the borow of *Bubane*, but in vaine, becauſe by his litle circuite a ſmall ſtrength ſufficed to defend it, and for his baſe ſituacion, the contrey ronne ouer with waters: They tooke by force the towne of *Mordane*, notwithſtanding it was very ſtrong, and plentifully furniſhed with ſouldiers to defend it: But ſuch was the furie of thartillerie, and ſuch the deſperat hardines of the french in thaſſalt, (many being drowned as they paſſed ouer the waterie ditches) that there was no abilitie of reſiſtance by thoſe that were within, againſt whom the victors accompanied their fortune with ſuch bluddy crueltie, without regard to age or ſex, that they filled all *Romania* with generall feares and aſtoniſhments: By reaſon of this accident, *Kathern Sforce* deſpairing of ſuccors, accorded with the frenchmē, to avoid the perill preſent, and promiſed to their armie all commodities of the eſtates ſubiect to her ſonne: the ſame being the cauſe that *Ferdinand* (now dowting of the wills of them of *Faenza*, yea & held it ſo much the more daungerous, to remeyne in the middeſt of *Ymola* and *Furly*, by how much he was wel aduertiſed of the going of *P. de me-*

dicis to *Serazana)* retyred neare to the walls of *Cesena*, showing so great a feare, that because he would not passe neare to *Furly*, he led his armie by the hills, (a way more long and combersom) neare to *Castrocare*, a borow of the *Florentyns*. And within few dayes after, hearing of the conuencion which *Peter* had made with the french, for which cause the bandes of the *Florentyns* forsooke him, he tooke the way to *Rome*: Like as also *Dom Federyk* being parted from the port of *Lyuorne*, retyred with his armie towards the kingdom of *Naples*, where begonne to be necessary for *Alphonso*, those armies which he had sent abroad with so great hopes to inuade the estates of others: for, his affayres were ful of many aduersities on his side, seeing that the seege of the port of *Neptune* not succeeding, he had ledd backe his armie to *Terracina*. And the armie by sea for the french, whereof were leaders the Prince of *Salerne*, and *M. de Serenon*, were discouered aboue *Ostia*, but yet giuing it out that they would not offend the states of the Church, they put no men on lande, nor showed any token of displeasure to the Pope, notwithstanding their king many dayes before had refused to heare *Frauncis Piccolhomini*, Cardinall of *Siena*, Legat, sent by the Pope to his maiestie.

The Florentyns discontented with P. de medicis.

But to returne to *P. de medicis*, after the *Florentyns* were aduertised of the conuentions he had made, so greatly to the diminucion of their territories, & with so slaunderous and daungerous a wound and gall to the common weale, there was no litle displeasure and discontentement through out all the citie: besides their great losses, their hartes were moued against him, for that with a newe forme and order of dealing, and contrary to the examples of his predecessors, he had alyened without the councell of his citie, and solemne decree of the Magistrates, so great a parte of the state of *Florence*: in so much, that to the bitter complaintes made against him, were ioyned the murmures and secret grudgings of the people, incensing one an other to rise and recouer their libertie, without that any of those that in their hartes bare fauors to the doings of *Peter*, durst either with force, or perswacion, set them selues against so great an inclinacion: Albeit the *Florentyns* hauing no strength to defend *Pysa* and *Lyuorne*, had also no hope to turne the kinges will from hauing them: yet because they would separate the councells of the common weale, from the councels of *Peter*, or at least that that should not be attributed to one in particular, which apperteyned to them all in publike, they addressed to him many Embassadors of those families, which were ill contented with the *Medicis*: But *Peter* knowing that that was a beginning of a mutacion of estate, to thende to prouide for his affayres afore greater disorders hapned, applyed his deliberacions to the time, & tooke leaue of the king, vnder couler to giue perfection to that he had promised: At this tyme also the king parted from *Serazana*, to goe to *Pysa*, and *Lodovvyk Sforce* returned to *Myllan*, hauing obteyned for money that thinuestiture of *Genes*, graunted by the king a few yeres before to *Iohn Galeas* for him and his yssue, should be transferred to him and his posteritie: he went away very much discontented, for that the king woulde not leaue in his keeping (as he sayd he had promised) *S. Peter* and *Serazane*, which places seruing him as a ladder to rayse him to the citie of *Pysa*, he demaunded as vniustly taken from the *Genovvays*, a fewey eres before by the *Florentyns*. But when *Peter* was returned to *Florence*, he found the citie estraunged from him, and the minds of his chiefe friendes in suspence, for that against their councell, and against thoportunitie of the time, he had vndiscreetly gouerned all thinges: The communaltie also was drawne into such an vprore & mutinie, that as the next day after his returne, he would haue entred into the pallace, wherein rested the authoritie and great magistracie

giſtracie of the common weale,it was forbidden him by certeine Magiſtrats which kept the gate armed,of whom the chiefeſt was *Iacques de Nerly*,a yong man of equal nobilitie and riches: This being ſpred abroad thorow the citie, the people ronne with ſwift tumult to armes, being the more moued to this vproare, for that *Pavvle Vrſin*,whom *Peter* had ſent for,was at hand with his band of armed men: The aſpect and conſideracion of theſe daungers,cauſed *Peter* (eftſoones returned to his houſe) and hauing loſt both courage and councell, and whileſt the ſtate declared him rebell,to flee in great haſt out of *Florence*,following him *Iohn* Cardinal of the Church of *Rome*,and *Iulyan* his brethren, vppon whom in like ſort were impoſed the paynes ordeyned againſt Rebells: he went directly to *Bolognia*,where *Iohn Bentyuole*,deſiring in an other that conſtancie and reſolucion of courage, which he could not ſhowe ſince in his owne aduerſities, reproued him bitterly at the beginning, for that not onely to his owne preiudice, but alſo to the ill example of all that oppreſſed the libertie of their contreyes,he had ſo cowardly without the death of one man, abandoned ſuch a greatnes.In this ſort,by the raſhnes of one yong man, did at that time fall the houſe of *Medicis* from that rule and power, which,vnder the name and apparance almoſt of a ciuill adminiſtracion, it had obteyned in *Florence* lx. yeares: it began in *Coſmo* his great grandfather,a citiſen of ſingular wiſedom,& infinit wealth, and for thoſe regardes very notable through all the parts of *Europe*: But much more was he recommended,for that with a wonderful magnificencie and hart truely royall,regarding more theternitie of his name,then the profit of his poſteritie: he employed more then fowre hundreth thowſand duckats,in building of Churches, erecting of Monaſteries,with other buildings of ſumptuous coſtes, not onely in his owne countrey,but alſo in many partes of the world: And his ſonnes ſonne *Lavvrence*, a man for vnderſtanding and iudgement, excellent, in councell graue and ſingular,in liberalitie equall with his grandfather,and for greatnes of hart, nothing inferior,for miniſtracion in the common weale,of authoritie more abſolute,but for wealth,of leſſe abilitie,and of life farre more ſhort: gat generall reputacion through out *Italy*,& with many ſtraũg Princes,which after his death,was turned into a cleare monument and memorie,for that it hath ſemed euer ſince, that the concord and felicitie of *Italy* ended with his life.

A tumult in Florence.

P. de medicis fleeth out of Florence.

The ſame day the ſtate of *Florence* fell into chaunge, the french king being in the citie of *Pyſa*, the towneſmen in popular trowpes with cryes and ſhowtinges, ronne to him and demaunded libertie, complayning greeuouſly of the oppreſſions and wrongs which they ſayd they had receiued vnder the gouernment of the *Florentyns*: certeyne of the kinges councell aſſiſting, aſſured him that their demaund was iuſt, for that the *Florentyns* held them in to hard ſeruitude. The king not ſeing into thimportance of their requeſt,nor how farre it was contrary to the contract of *Serazane*, told them, they ſhould haue libertie: with the which aunſwere the *Pyſans* ronne to armes, and throwing downe to the earth all the enſeignes and armories of the *Florentyns*,they put them ſelues into an abſolute libertie ſo long deſired: Notwithſtanding,the king,contrary to him ſelfe, and no leſſe ignorant in the thinges he had accorded, would that the *Florentyn* officers ſhould ſtill adminiſter their accuſtomed iuriſdictions,and of the other part, left the olde citadell in the handes of the *Pyſans*, and kept to him ſelfe the new,of farre more importance: In theſe accidents of *Pyſa* and *Florence*,may be wel diſcerned a true experience of the olde ſaying,or common prouerbe as we call it: That men when their aduerſities approche, loſe chiefly that wiſedom,with the which they might haue hindred or auoyded the ills that happen:

The Pyſans offer to reuolt.

" And this is common to men and kingdoms, that draw towardes their deſtinies, that " when their ill fortune comes, it blyndes their eyes that they can not diſcerne it, and " bynds their hands, that they can not help it, making them inſtruments againſt them " ſelues in the execucion of their miſhaps: for, both the *Florentyns*, who in all tymes haue held the fidelitie of the *Pyſans* ſuſpected, ſeeing ſo daungerous a warre at their gates, forgat to reuoke to *Florence* the principall Citiſens of *Pyſa*, as for their better ſewertie they had wont to call home a great number of them, vppon neuer ſo light occaſions, or litle accidents: And *P. de medicis*, ſeing a concurrance of ſo many great difficulties togither, was to much ouerſeene, that he did not arme the place & publike pallaice with ſuch ſtrength of ſtraungers, as he had often tymes done before in farre leſſer ſuſpicions: That foreſight had kept him ſtil in his eſtate and rule, & ſuch prouiſions had much hindred thoſe great mutacions: But touching the affayres of *Pyſa*, it is manifeſt, that that which gaue them greateſt incouragement to make this commocion, (naturally hating the name of the *Florentyns*) was the authoritie of *Lodovvyk Sforce*, who to that ende had interteyned certeyne intelligences and practiſes with ſome Citiſens of the place baniſhed for priuat offences: And the day preſent of the reuolt, *Galeas de S. Seueryn*, whom he had left to be alwayes about the king, incenſed the people to the tumult, by which meane *Lodovvyk* perſwaded him ſelfe, that the dominion of *Pyſa* would fall ſpeedely into his handes, not knowing that a litle after in ſuch a matter, was wrought the cauſe of all his miſeries: But it is alſo manifeſt, that certeyne of the Citiſens communicating the night before with the Cardinall *S. P. ad vincla*, what they had deſire and reſolucion to doe: The Cardinall, who, perhaps till that day had neuer bene author of peaſible councells, admoniſhed them with wordes graue and well inſtructing, that they ſhould not conſider onely the ſuperficiall and beginning of thinges, but ſee deepely that which with time, and in tyme may happen: he told them libertie was a thing precious, and of very vehement deſire, well meriting that men ſhould oppoſe them ſelues to all daungers, hauing a true & ſenſible hope to be able to defend it on all ſides: But as touching their citie, naked of peoples, and mearely drayned of wealth and ſubſtance, he ſawe very weake poſſibilities to iuſtefie it againſt the power of the *Florentyns*: and to promiſe to them ſelues that thauthoritie of the french king ſhould be turned to their protection, were hopes deceitfull, and an expectacion too full of inceterynties & dowtes: for that albeit the moneyes and treaſors of *Florence* ſhould doe litle with him, (as it is like they may preuayle a great deale, ſpecially looking into the contract of *Serazana*) yet his armies would not be alwaies in *Italy*, according to the experience & iudgement of examples paſt: Beſides, it were too great an indiſcreſſion to bind them ſelues to a perpetuall perill, vnder foundacions frayle, and not perpetuall: And for moſt vncerteyne hopes, to leuye againſt ennemies farre more mighty then they, a warre certeyne and abſolute, wherein they could promiſe them ſelues no ſuccors, ſeeing they depended vpon the will of an other, and that which more is, of very diuerſe accidents: yea, be it they ſhould obteyne ſuccors, much leſſe were that to auoyde or ſhake of, but rather to redouble and make greater, the calamities of the warre, being vexed at one tyme by the inuaſions and ſouldiers of the ennemie, and tormented with thoppreſſions & inſolencies of the men of warre that come to their ſuccors: Which miſeries (he ſayd) would be ſo much the more greeuous to them to beare, by how much in the ende they would come to ſee and know that it was not for their proper liberty, they tooke armes, but for thimperie of a ſtraunger, chaunging one ſeruitude for an other: for that this is proper to all Princes, not to enter into the trauells and

Cardinal S. P. ad vincla, perſwades the Pyſans not to reuolt.

expenſes

expenſes of a warre, but to raigne ouer thoſe for whom they fight: And yet your warre (ſayth he) ſeeing the great wealth and neighbourhedd of the *Florentyns*, (by whom you ſhall find many and perpetuall vexacions) you can not be able to ſuſtein, but with vety great difficulties.

In this generall confuſion of thinges, the king departeth from *Pyſa* towardes *Florence*, and is not reſolued what forme he would giue to thaffayres of the *Pyſans*, he ſtayed in a place called *Signa*, vij. myles from *Florence*, to be aduertiſed, afore he entred the citie: whether the tumult of the people were in any ſort reappayſed, who had not diſcontinued their vproares, ſince the day that *P. de medicis* was chaſſed out of the citie: he had withall this intencion to giue tyme to *M. D'aubygny*, whome he had ſent for, (to thende his entrey might ſo much the more aſtoniſh the *Florentyns*) with direction to leaue thartillerie at *Caſtrocare*, and giue leaue to the fiue hundred men at armes *Italians*, which were with him in *Romagnia*, togither with the men at armes of the Duke of *Myllan*, except the Count *Caiazze*, which followed *M. D aubygny* with three hundreth light horſemen: it was ſuppoſed by many tokens and coniectures, that thintēcion of the king was, to draw the *Florentyns* by feare of his power, to yeld vnto him the dominion abſolute of the citie: A thing which him ſelfe could not diſſemble with their Embaſſadors, hauing often recourſe to *Signa*, to make perfect thaccord that was contracted: it was without dowt, that the king bare a minde inflamed againſt them, and nouriſhed many ill diſpoſed meanings againſt their citie, for that they ſought to hinder him in his enterpriſe: And albeit it was manifeſt, that that reſiſtance proceeded not of the will of the common weale, which in reaſonable ſort had iuſtefied them ſelues: yet he could not ſo eaſily forget & diſſolue thimpreſſion of the offence, being (as it was ſuppoſed) much induced to their disfauors, by many of his councell and Lordes: who, iudging it not meete to let paſſe thopportunitie to make him ſelfe Lord ouer the citie, or perhaps puſhed forward with their proper ambicion & couetouſnes, were loth to loſe thoccaſion to ſacke a citie, aboūding in ſuch treaſors & wealth: inſo much as there ronne a brute thorow the camp, that the citie had deſerued to be puniſhed, to ſerue as an example to others, being the firſt towne in *Italy* that had preſumed to oppoſe againſt the power and armie of *Fraunce*: There were alſo of the chiefeſt of his councell, that ſolicited him to reſtore *P. de medicis* to his former degree: for whom with a peculiar diligence aboue all the reſidue, did labor *Phillip* Lord of *Breſſe*, brother to the Duke of *Sauoye*, being induced to that office by the priuat friendſhipps & promiſes that had paſſed betwene them: in ſo much, that eyther by the perſwaſions of them that could doe moſt, (notwithſtanding the Biſhop of *S. Mallo* councelled the contrary) or by a hope to make the *Florentyns* more inclyned to his will by this feare, or laſtly to haue occaſion to take vpon the ſuddeine what parte or way he would: the king wrote to *Peter*, cauſing alſo the L. *Phillip* to doe the like, and aduiſed him to come neare to *Florence*, for that for the auncient friendſhip that had bene betwene their howſes, & for his owne particular readines and good will ſhowed in the conſignacion of the fortreſſes: he was determined to readdreſſe him, and reſtore him to his firſt authoritie: But theſe letters found him not at *Bolonia*, according to the kinges weening, for that what by the rough wordes of *Iohn Bentyuole*, & dowte he ſhould be purſued by the Duke of *Myllan*, and happly alſo by the french king, he was for his misfortunes retyred to *Venice*, whether they were ſent to him by his brother, the Cardinall remayning then at *Bolonia*. At *Florence* they dowted much of the kinges will: & yet, not ſeeing with what force, or with what hopes they might reſiſt him, they agreed as a councell leaſt daū-

The french king drawes toward Florence.

gerous,to receiue him into their citie, hoping there would ſome meane ariſe to appeaſe him. And yet making the beſt of their perills, and becauſe they would be prouided for all fortunes,they ordeyned that the houſes of moſt of the Citiſens ſhould be ſecretely repleniſhed with men naturall of the dominion of *Florence*, and that the Capteynes which were in the pay of the common weale,(diſſembling notwithſtanding thoccaſion)ſhould enter the citie with many of their bandes and ſouldiers, and that euery one within the towne and places about it, ſhould ſtand vpon ready garde to take armes at the alarme of the great bell of the publike pallaice. After this the king marched to *Florence* with his armie,wherein was expreſſed no litle pompe, aſwel by the glorie & magnificencie of thoſe of his Court,as by them of the towne: he entred in ſigne of victorie,armed him ſelfe and his horſe, with his launce vppon his thigh,and immediatly began to ſpeake of compoſicion, but that was not without many difficulties: for, beſides the immoderat fauors which ſome of the french Court bare to *P. de medicis*, and the demaundes of money intollerable made by the king,he demaunded openly the imperie of *Florence*,alleaging that according to the orders of warre in the realme of *Fraunce*,he had lawfully wonne it,ſeeing his entrey was armed according to the cuſtoms of Conquerors: from which demaund,albeit he went in the ende, yet ſought he to leaue at *Florence* certeyne men of the longe coate, (ſo are called in *Fraunce* lawyers, doctors, and men of iuſtice) as his Embaſſadors,with ſuch authoritie, that according to thinſtitucions of *Fraunce*, he might pretende to be giuen to him for euer no litle iuriſdiction: But of the contrary, the *Florentyns* were obſtinat to preſerue their full libertie, hapning what perills ſo euer, in ſo much that communicating togither with ſuch a contrarietie of wills,albeit the mindes of both partes were continually kept in hoat and angry moodes, yet neither faction ſhewed readines to determine the difference by armes: for, the people of *Florence* giuen of long to the following of marchaundize, and not to thexerciſe of warre,ſuffered no ſmal feares,hauing within their owne walls one ſo mightie a king with his armie full of nations vnknowen and furious: And to the french men was no litle amaze the conſideracion of the great multitude of peoples, who, ſince the dayes that the gouernment changed, had gathered boldenes and audacitie aboue expectacion: They were aſtoniſhed beſides at the common brute, that at the alarme of the great bell, there would flocke infinite trowpes of people from all the partes confining: In which common feare on both ſides,at the noyſe of euery falſe alarme that was heard,eyther part for his proper ſewertie,tooke armes, but not one did aſſayle or prouoke an other. The foundacion which the king ſought to worke by *P. de medicis*,was ſupplanted, for that *Peter* wauering betwene the hope that was promiſed him,and the feare that he ſhould be giuen vp as a pray to his aduerſaries, aſked councell of the Senat of *Venice*,touching the kinges letters: Truely there is nothing more neceſſary in great deliberacions, and on the other ſide nothing more daungerous,then to demaund councell: And albeit councell is leſſe neceſſary to men diſcreete,then to ſuch as are not tempered,yet no dowt the profits are not fewe which wiſe men reape by councells, ſeeing no man hath that perfect wiſedom to conſider alwayes and know all thinges of him ſelfe,and in reaſons contrary or different, is able alwayes to diſcerne the better part. But what aſſurance hath he that aſketh coũcell,to receiue councell according to the faith he reappoſeth: ſeeing if there be no equall fidelitie nor affection,but regard to particular intereſts, as profit,reuenge, or ſome other mocion: he that giueth the councell, dreſſeth it to that ende which beſt aunſwereth his purpoſe: So that thoſe endes being for the moſt part vnknowen to him

The french king entreth Florence.

him that comes to aſke councell, he perceiueth not (if he be not wiſe) the treaſon and infidelitie of the councell: The experience was ſeene in the condicion of *P. de medicis*: for, the *Venetians* iudging, that if he returned into his countrey, it would be a cauſe to giue the king a greater facilitie to his demaundes and deſires of the *Florentyns*, (A thing preiudiciall to them, and contrary to the courſe of their affayres) perſwaded him by many liuely reaſons, (councelling rather for them ſelues then for him) that he ſhould not put him ſelfe in the power of a king of *Fraunce*, holding him ſelfe iniuried by him: Wherein the better to encourage him to thymitacion of their councell, they offered him to embrace his affayres, and as time and neceſſitie required, to miniſter to him all meanes and fauors conuenient for his reſtitucion, wherein the better to be aſſured that he ſhould not then depart *Venice*, they ſet vpon him, (if the common brute be true) very ſecrete eſpiall and guard. But now for *Florence*, in this meane while mens hartes were inflamed on all partes, and almoſt caried into manifeſt contencion: the king would nothing abate of his later demaundes, nor the *Florentyns* be bownd to ſummes of money ſo intollerable, and much leſſe conſent to any iuriſdiction or preeminence in their eſtate: All which difficulties not being able almoſt to be diſſolued without armes, were euen preſently decided by the vertue of *Peter Capponi*, one of the fowre deputed to treate with the king: This *Capponi* was a man of ſpirite and great courage, and of ſpeciall reputacion in *Florence*, aſwell for his partes and qualities, as for that he was of an honorable familie, and diſcended of perſonages, who had borne great rule in the common weale. As he and his companions were one day in the preſence and audience of the king, & that one of the kings Secretories redde the vnreaſonable capitulacions offered by the king, at the laſt, he, in a great furie ſnatched the articles out of the Secretories hands, and tare them before the eyes of the king, ſaying with a hart reſolute, and a voyce framed, ſeeing you demaund of vs thinges ſo diſhoneſt, ſound you vp your trompets, and we will ringe our bells, let all thinges be ruled by the ſentence of the ſworde, and in the ſame heate flinges with great ſuddeines out of the chamber, being followed with his companions: The wordes of this Citiſen whom the king and his court had already knowen, for that a fewe monthes before he had bene in *Fraunce* in legacion for them of *Florence*, aſtoniſhed them all in ſuch ſort, ſpecially for that they could not beleue that ſuch a boldnes was without occaſion: that they called him backe againe, and without ſpeaking more of demaundes, whereunto the *Florentyns* had no will to condiſcend: the king and the citie fell to compoſicion in this ſort: That all quarrells and iniuries forgotten and cancelled, the citie of *Florence* ſhould be friend, confederate, and in the perpetuall protection of the crowne of *Fraunce*: That for the ſewertie of the king, the citie of *Pyſa* and towne of *Lyuorne*, with all their caſtels, ſhould remeine in his hands: And that he ſhould be bownd to reſtore them to the *Florentyns*, without any expēſes or charges, as ſone as he had brought to end his enterpriſe of the kingdom of *Naples*, the which ſhould be cōſtrued to be at an end whenſoeuer he ſhoulde haue cōquered the citie of *Naples*, or accorded the warre by meane of peace or truce for leſſe then two yeares, or that for any other occaſiō his perſon ſhould be gone out of *Italy*: That thoſe that had the keeping of the ſayd caſtells, ſhould be ſworne from the preſent to render them in the caſes aforeſayd: That in the meane while the imperie, the iuriſdiction, the gouernmēt, & the reuenue of the townes ſhould be in the adminiſtraciō of the *Florētyns*, as they were accuſtomed: That the like ſhould be of *S. Peter*, *Serezane*, & *Serezanelle*: But (for that the *Genovvays* pretēded right to them) the king ſhould procure either by cōpoſiciō or iuſtice ſome reaſōable end betwene thē, & if within the time afore ſaid he could not determine the titles, that then he ſhould

A reſolut part of a Coūceller

Capitulacions betwene the french king and the Florentyns.

reſtore them to the *Florentyns*: That the king might leaue at *Florence* two Embaſſadors, and that during his expedicion for *Naples*, there ſhould be nothing debated concerning that action, without their priuitie and calling them to it: And that during the ſayd tyme, they ſhould not chuſe a capteine generall ouer their companies, without communicating with the ſayd Embaſſadors: That all the other peeces taken away or reuolted from the *Florentyns*, ſhould be immediatly rēdred, & that they might be ſuffred to recouer them by armes, where deniall was made: That, to ayde the king in his enterpriſe, they ſhoulde giue him fiftie thowſand duckats within fifteene dayes, forty thowſand in the month of March, & thirty thowſand in Iune next comming: That the *Florentyns* ſhould pardon the *Pyſans* their rebellions, and all other faults committed during their reuolt: That they ſhould deliuer *Peter de medicis* and his brethern from condemnacion and confiſkacion, with this condicion notwithſtanding, that *Peter* ſhould not come by an hundred miles neare the confines of the dominion of *Florence*, (that was becauſe he ſhould not remaine at *Rome*) nor his brethern nearer then a hundred myles of the citie of *Florence*: Theſe were tharticles of moſt importance in the capitulacion made betwene the king and the *Florentyns*, which, after they were lawfully paſſed & contracted, were, in great ceremonie publiſhed in the great Church at diuine ſeruice, where the king in perſon (at whoſe requeſt this was done) & the Magiſtrates of the citie, promiſed by ſolemne othe vpon the high altar, in the preſence of the Court and the whole face of *Florence*, to obſerue the contents of the ſame. Within two dayes after, the king left *Florence*, and went to *Siena*, which citie being confederat with the king of *Naples*, & with the *Florentyns*, had followed their authoritie, vntil the going of *Peter de medicis* to *Serezana* warned them to looke to their proper ſafetie.

The french king at Siena.

Siena, a citie well peopled and planted in a region very fertill, and which (of antiquitie) had bene the moſt renowmed & mighty towne of *Tuſkane* next to *Florence*, was gouerned by a peculiar pollecie proper & particular to it ſelfe, but ſo, as it knew rather the name of libertie then theffects: for that being diuided into many factions or members of Citiſens, which they cal orders, it obeyde that part which according to the accidents of tymes, and fauors of forreyne Potentates, was more ſtronge then the others: At that tyme helde moſt rule and authoritie the order of *Mont None*: After the king had taried a very fewe dayes at *Siena*, he planted a garriſon there, (for that hauing bene alwaies at the deuocion of the empire, he held it ſuſpected) & tooke his way to *Rome*, riſing euery day more inſolent then other, for his ſucceſſe and fortunes, which were alwayes greater then euer were his hopes: And being alſo fauored with the ayre, and wether more then the natural temperature of that ſeaſon had wont to ſhow, he determined to put diligence to his fortune, and vſe thoſe proſperities, not as terrible to his enemies manifeſt and profeſſed, but euen to thoſe that were conioyned with him, or at leaſt had not prouoked him in any thing: therefore, the Senat of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Myllan*, no leſſe aſtoniſhed with theſe ſucceſſes, then dowtfull that the kinges thoughtes would not be at reſt by the conqueſt of *Naples*, (ſpecially ſeing him poſſeſt of the fortreſſes of the *Florentyns*, and to leaue a garriſon at *Siena*) began for a remedie of their common daunger, to common to make a new confederacion, whereunto, they had with more ſpeede and eaſe giuen perfection, if there had bene made that reſiſtance to the king at *Rome* that was hoped for, the intencion of the Duke of *Calabria* (with whom were ioyned in one ſtrength the bandes of the Pope, and *Virginio Vrſin*, with the reſidue of *th Aragons* armie) being to incampe at *Vicerba*, to giue impediment to the king for paſſing further: To this he

was

was drawne,besides many occasions by thopportunitie of the place inuironed with townes of the Church,and neare the states of the *Vrsins:* But all the circumference and contreyes about *Rome*,drawing into tumult by thincursions which the *Colonnoys* made beyond the riuer of *Tyber*,and for thimpediments of the vittells (by meane of *Ostia*) which should come to *Rome* by sea, he durst not abide there: he dowted with all,of thintencion of the Pope, for that since he vnderstoode that *P. de medicis* was turned,he had begonne to open his eares to the demaundes of the french, for the which,and the reasons of them,Cardinall *Askanius* went to him, after, in pledge of his sewertie,the Cardinall of *Valence* was come to *Marina*,a towne of the *Colonnoys:* And albeit *Askanius* was gone without resolucion certeine,for that *Alexander* distrusted much thintencion of the king,and of the other side was in great feare of his forces,which bredd no small torment and conflict in his hart: yet after the king was parted from *Florence*,,they returned eftsoones to common of thaccord: wherein for the more diligent accomplishment of thinges, the Pope dispatched to the king the Bishops of *Concorde*,and *Terny*,and *M.Gratian* his confessor, with commission that they should compownd aswell for the affayres of *Alphonso*, as for his owne: But the king was of a contrary meaning, hauing setled his resolucion to accord onely and particularly with the Pope: And for that cause he sent to him the *L.de la Trimouille*, and the President of *Ganiuy* being there also for the same occasion: the Cardinal *Askanius* and *Prosper Collonne*, who were no sooner come to *Rome*, then the Pope (for what cause I know not) chaunging aduise, bestowed the Duke of *Calabria* within *Rome*,with all his armie: he caused to be arested *Askanius* and *Prosper*, & restrayning them within the tower of *Adrian*,of olde called the castell of *Crescence*, and now named the castell *S.Ange*,he demaunded of them restitucion of *Ostia:* In this tumulte also the frenche Embassadors were made prisoners by the *Aragons:* But the Pope caused them with a present speede to be redeliuered, and within a few dayes after, restored to libertie *Askanius* and *Prosper*,constrayning them notwithstanding to depart suddenly out of *Rome:* After this,he sent to the french king, lying then at *Nepi* Cardinall *Federyk* of *S.Seuerin*,beginning to treate onely of his proper affayres, and yet in great dowt and declyning of mind,for that some times he determined to stand to the defence of *Rome*,and therefore gaue sufferance to *Ferdinand* & the capteines to looke to fortefie it in the partes most weake: and earste againe,he iudged greate hardnes and impossibilitie to defend it, for thimpediments of vittells restrayned by those of *Ostia*: In which respectes,waighing also with the infinit numbers of straungers,being of mindes and of wills different,the diuersitie of factions euen amongest the *Romaines*,he began to thinke to goe from *Rome*, requiring in the colleage that euery Cardinal would promise by a writing subsigned,to follow him: And euen standing amased with the daungers and difficulties imminent,vpon euery one of his deliberacions he turned his mind to accorde: But whilest his minde wauered in these ambiguities, the french men forbare not to ouerronne the whole contrey on this side *Tyber*,making them selues Lordes of one towne after an other, no place offering resistance to their incursiōs,No,not one peece or fort which gaue not place to their importunat furie, according to thexample of the others, no, not such as had good occasion to oppose them selues against them, as *Virginio Vrsin*, drawne by so many bondes of faith,office, and honor to the house of *Aragon*, Capteine generall of tharmie of *Alphonso*,grand Constable of the realme of *Naples*, and very neare parent to *Alphonso*, for that *Iohn Iordan* his sonne had maried a bastard daughter to the late king *Ferdinand*.But he turning all these thinges into forgetfulnes,& as vnthank-

The Pope is ielous of his owne safetie.

full for the ſtates and fauors he had receiued in the kingdom of *Naples*, as vnmindfull that the calamities of the *Aragons* were firſt kindled for his occaſions, and nouriſhed chiefly in his particular intereſtes: conſented that his perſon continuing ſtill in the pay of the king of *Naples*, his children ſhould compownd with the french, and be bound to giue them paſſage and libertie of vittells and othet friendſhips, through all the eſtates which he held of the dominions of the Churche, leauing the french men not a litle amaſed with his example and forme of dealing, being not acquainted with theſe ſutle and vnaccuſtomed diſtinctions of the ſouldiers of *Italy*: he ſuffered withall that *Campagnane*, and certeine other places were put in deputacion into the handes of the Cardinall of *Gurcy*, who promiſed to reſtore them ſo ſoone as the armie was out of the territories of *Rome*: This forme of agreement was vſed alſo by the *Count de Petillane*, with all the reſidue of the familie of the *Vrſins*: immediatly vpon theſe accordes, king *Charles* went from *Nepi* to *Bracciane*, a chiefe towne of *Virginio*, and ſent to *Oſtia Lovvys* the L. of *Ligny*, and *Tues* L. of *Alegre*, with fiue hundred launces, & two thowſand *Svvyzzers*: to thende that paſſing *Tyber*, and ioyning with the *Collonnoys*, they might make a ſtrength to enter *Rome*, and that ſo much the better, by how much the *Collonnoys*, by the meane of their factions and partakers within *Rome*, had a reſolute hope to make their entrey in what ſort ſo euer it were, notwithſtanding by the ſeaſon of the tyme being rough and ſtormie, the difficulties were much increaſed. By this tyme *Ciuitaueche Cornette*, and in the ende almoſt all the territorie of *Rome* were brought to the deuocion of the frēch, when a man might haue ſeene all the Court amaſed, all the Cardinalls dowtfull, and all the communaltie of the citie full of feares & emocion, demaunding vehemently peace: in ſo much that the Pope driuen to daungerous tearmes, ſeeing the foundacions which he had layd for his defence, ſhaken on all ſides, was not reteyned with any other thing, then with the remembrance that he was one of the firſt that ſtirred the french king to thenterpriſe of *Naples*: And had ſince without occaſion giuen, obſtinatly reſiſted him with authoritie, with councells, and with force, the ſame making him iuſtly dowt, that the faith which he ſhould receiue of the king, ſhould be like to that the king had receiued of him: To theſe feares he felte an other torment nothing inferior, vnderſtanding the Cardinall *S. P. ad vincla* was very gracious in the kinges ſight, with many other Cardinalls, his ennemies bearing no litle authoritie and rule in the kinges doings: By the perſwaſions of whom, and for the regard of the title of right Chriſtian which the kinges of *Fraunce* beare, and for the auncient name, which that nacion hath to be very religious, and laſtly for that in ill men the conſcience giltie and infected, ſuſpecteth not onely the worſt, but alſo their mindes caried in ſhadowes, they expect and dread great thinges of thoſe that are knowne to them, but by name onely: he feared leaſt the king would turne his witts (according to a vayne brute) to reforme the gouernment of the Church: the ſame being a right trembling thought & coniecture to him, when he remēbred with what infamie he was come to the Popedom, performing his miniſtracion with maners of life & meanes not differing from ſo fowle and vile a beginning: But he was cleared immediatly of theſe ſuſpicions, by the diligence and promiſes of the king, full of efficacie and deſire to aduaunce aboue all things his going to the realme of *Naples*: And for that cauſe letting nothing paſſe that might take out of his way the blockes and impediments of the Pope, ſent to him eftſoones as Embaſſadors the Seneſchall of *Beucaire*, the Mareſhall of *Gie*, & the ſayd Preſident of *Gannay*: they labored to perſwade the Pope that the kinges intencion was not to medle with any thing that apperteined to thauthoritie of Popes,

and

and that his demaundes ſtretched not but to thinges reaſonable and neceſſary for the ſewertie of his paſſage: They required him inſtantly to agree with good will to the kinges entrey into *Rome*, aſſuring him that it was a holy and peculiar deſire in his maieſtie: Not that it was not in his power to make his entrey by armes, but becauſe he would not be conſtrayned to forbeare to vſe thoſe actions of reuerence, which had bene alwayes done by his elders to the Popes of *Rome*: They aſſured him that aſſoone as his maieſties perſon were poſſeſſed of the preſence of the Pope within *Rome*, all thoſe quarells that had bene rayſed betwene them, would be conuerted into reconcilement, vnitie, and coniunction: It ſeemed to the Pope a hard compulſion, to deſpoyle him ſelfe afore all thinges of the ayde of his friendes, and committing his eſtate and life into the power of an ennemie, to receiue him within the walles of *Rome*, afore he had compownded or aſſured his affayres: Notwithſtanding, making election of the daunger that was of leaſt qualitie, he conſented to all their demaũds, and cauſed to depart out of *Rome* the Duke of *Calabria*, for whom albeit he obteyned of the french king a ſafe conduit for his ſafe paſſage through all the dominions of the Church, yet the Duke, accompting it a diminucion of his reputacion and courage, refuſed it, and iſſued out of *Rome* by the gate *S. Sebaſtian*, the laſt day of the yeare 1494. at the ſame hower, that at the gate *de S. Maria de Popolo* entred with the armie of *Fraunce*, the french king armed, with his launce vppon his thigh as he entred *Florence*: At the ſame tyme the Pope full of incredible feares and perplexities, was withdrawne to the caſtell *S. Ange*, and not accompanied with other Cardinalls then *Baptiſta Vrſin*, and *Oliuer Caraffe* a *Neapolitan*: But now began the Cardinalls *ad vincla*, *Aſkanius*, *Collonne*, and *Sauelle*, with many others, to ſolicite the king with vehement inſtance, that taking from the ſea a Pope ful of vices, and abominable to all the world, he would create and ſet vp an other: they told him it would be no leſſe vertuous in him to deliuer the church of God from the tyrannie of a wicked Pope, then it was great glorie to *Pepin* & *Charlemain* his predeceſſors, to take the Popes of holy life out of the perſecucions of thoſe that did vniuſtly oppreſſe them: that the action was no leſſe neceſſary for his ſecuritie, then greatly concurring for his glorie: for, there was no expectacion of faith or truſt in the promiſes of the Pope, being a man naturally full of fraude, inſatiable in ambicion, ſhameles in all his doings, and according to the teſtimonie of experience, extremely hating the french, with whom the reconciliacion that now he made, was more by neceſſitie and feare, then of inclinacion or good will: partly by theſe perſwacions, and partly for that the Pope in the condicions that were debated, refuſed to let the king haue the caſtell of *S. Ange*, for the ſewertie of thoſe thinges he promiſed him: thartilleries were drawne twiſe from the pallaice of *S. Marke* where the king was lodged, to be planted before the caſtell: But the king bearing no inclinacion to offend the Pope and the preſentes, and promiſes of *Alexander* working much with ſome of thoſe that gouerned moſt the kings councells: they fell to accord in this ſort: That the Pope ſhould giue to the king, to hold for his ſewertie till he had conquered the kingdom of *Naples*, the Cytadells of *Ciuitauechia*, *Terrachine*, and *Spolete*, and yet this laſt was not put into his hands: That the Pope ſhould keepe no remembrance of any offence or iniurie of the Cardinalls or any Barons ſubiectes to the church that had followed the kinges partie: That the Pope ſhould inueſt him in the kingdom of *Naples*: That he ſhould giue to the king *Gemyn Ottoman* brother to *Baiazet*, who, after the death of their father, had bene perſecuted by the ſayd *Baiazet*, according to the barbarous cuſtomes of the *Ottomans*, ſeeking to eſtabliſh their ſucceſſion in the Empire, with the bludd of their brethren

The french king entreth Rome. 1494.

Perſwaſions of ſome Cardinalls to the french king to depoſe the Pope.

Capitulacions betwene the Pope and the french king.

their neareſt kinne, and competytors: In which perill for ſafetie of his life, he was fledd to *Rodes*, from whence he was brought into *Fraunce*, & laſtly paſt ouer into the power and cuſtodie of Pope *Innocent*: By which occaſion *Baiazet*, ſeruing his turne of the couetouſnes of the Vicaires of Chriſt as inſtrumentes to holde in peace the Empire ennemie to the Chriſtian faith, payed euery yeare (vnder the name of allowance towardes his norriture and keeping) forty thowſand duckats to the Popes, to thende they ſhould be leſſe ready to deliuer him into the handes of other Princes to ſerue their turnes againſt him: The king was ſo much the more deſirous to haue him, by how much he ſuppoſed to turne him to many vſes & oportunities for thadauancing of his pretended enterpriſe againſt the Turkes, (being greatly caried into glorie by the vayne flatteries of many of his fauorits) which he ment to beginne as ſoone as he had accompliſhed the conqueſt of *th Aragons*: And becauſe the laſt xl. thowſand duckats ſent by the Turke, were taken at *Sinigalle* by the Prefect of *Rome*, he required that the Pope would remitte both the puniſhment and reſtitucion: To theſe capitulacions were added that the Cardinall of *Valence* ſhould follow the king three monthes as Legat apoſtolike, but in meaning it was to ſtande as oſtage for the promiſes of his father: The accord thus made and paſt, the Pope returned to the Vatican, where is his pallaice pontificall: And after, with pompes and ceremonies accuſtomed at the receiuing of great kinges, he receiued the king in the Church of *S. Peter*, and there (according to the maner) hauing kiſſed his feete kneeling, was afterwards receiued to kiſſe his cheeke: An other day he aſſiſted in preſence the Popes maſſe, where he had his place the firſt after the firſt Biſhop Cardinal, and according to the auncient cuſtom, gaue water to the Pope celebrating maſſe: which offices, humilities & ceremonies, the Pope, to continue the memorie to all poſterities, cauſed to be curiouſly drawn in a table purtraied, & honge vp in a gallerie of the caſtell *S. Ange*: In this action, the Pope to gratifie the king, created & publiſhed Cardinalls the Biſhop of *S Mallo*, & the Biſhop of *Maus*, of the nation of *Luxumburg*, forgetting nothing that might expreſſe how ſincerely and vnfaynedly he was reconciled.

Cardinall Valence the Popes ſonne.

The french king kiſſeth the Popes feete.

The king remeyning in *Rome* about a month, forgat not to ſend bandes & trowps of ſouldiers euen vppon the confins of the kingdom of *Naples*: where was already ſuch generall commotion, that *Aquila*, and almoſt all *Abruzza*, diſplayed enſeignes afore he parted from *Rome*, as alſo *Fabricius Collonne* occupied the quarters of *Albe* & *Taille coſſe*: The whole reſidue of the kingdom was almoſt in no more peaſible eſtate, for that as ſoone as *Ferdinand* was parted from *Rome*, the frutes of the hatredes which the people had long borne to *Alphonſo*, began to appeare, helping much the remembrance of many rigors which his father *Ferdinand* had vſed againſt them: vpon theſe they rayſed ready occaſions to complayne vehemently of the iniquities of the gouernments paſſed, togither with the cruelties and pride of *Alphonſo*, expreſſing in theſe humors apparant deſire that the french might come, and that in ſuch ſort, as the contemplacion of the auncient relykes and monuments of ſuch as held with the houſe of *Aniovv*, albeit they were ioyned to the memorie of ſo many Barons as had bene chaſſed and empriſoned at ſundry tymes by *Ferdinand*, (thinges of them ſelues of great conſideracion and of no litle power to worke a chaunge) did litle in this tyme in regarde of the other occaſions: ſo vehemently were the hartes of all the kingdom inflamed againſt *Alphonſo* who for his part, as ſoone as he vnderſtood that his ſonne was gon out of *Rome*, entred into ſuch preſent feares & aſtoniſhmēts, that, turning all memorie or regard to the great renowme and glorie which with ſo long experience he had got in many warres in *Italy*, into a preſent deſpaire not to be able

The king parteth from Rome, and draweth towards Naples

The kingdom of Naples beginneth to conſpire.

able to reſiſt this fatall ſtorme, determined to abandon the kingdom, and leaue to *Ferdinand* the name and authoritie royall: In this deuiſe perhaps he had hope that taking away with him ſelfe the generall hatred, and leauing to the people for their king a yong Prince of great expectacion, not yet hauing offended any of them, but gracious and plawſible to the vniuerſall multitude, he ſhould make leſſe in his ſubiectes their deſire to haue the french: which councell if it had bene ſooner taken, would happily haue wrought to better purpoſe, but being differred, till things were not onely in motion and ſhaking, but euen beginning to fall, it was not able to ſtay ſo great a ruine: It was ſayd alſo (if it be lawfull not to deſpiſe ſuch thinges altogither) that the ſpirite of *Ferdinand* appeared three tymes in ſundry nightes to *Iames* chiefe Surgeon of the Court, charging him firſt with ſoft and mild words, and after with many threatnings, to warne *Alphonſo* from him not to hope to be able to reſiſt the french king, becauſe it was a reſolucion in deſtinie that his race trauelled with infinit aduentures and fortunes, and depriued at laſt of ſo large a kingdom, ſhoulde now ende and determine: he ſayd their enormities began now to appeare in iuſtice, and the many tyrannies by them committed were the cauſes, but aboue all others that, which by his perſwaſion he had done in the church of *S. Leonard* in *Caiaia* neare *Naples* comming from *Pozzolo:* for that he expreſſed them no more particularly, men ſuppoſed that *Alphonſo* had in that place perſwaded *Ferdinand* to put to death ſecretly many Barons, whom he held priſoners long time before: But of what nature ſo euer was thoccaſion, it is moſt certeine, that *Alphonſo* vexed with his proper conſcience, liued day and night in a diſcontented ſpirite, for that in his ſleepes the ſhadowes and Ghoſtes of thoſe dead Lordes were liuely afore him, and on the dayes he beheld the people prepard greatly to inſurrections, for reuenge of his rigorous dealinges: In which perplexitie of mind applying his councells to his fortunes, he communicated onely his intencion with the Queene his mother in law, keeping it from his brother or his ſonne, and departed from *Naples* accompanied with fowre light gallies loaden with implements rich and precious: he was ſo afflicted with dread & confuſion, that at the earneſt inſtance of his mother he would not ſtay two or three daies (a time to ende the whole yeare of his reigne) And at his departing expreſſing ſuch tymerous diſpoſicion of mind as if he had bene enuironed with the french mē: he ſayled to a towne in *Sicile* called *Mazare*, which *Ferdinand* the king of *Spayne* had giuen him the yeare before: but his feares left not to followe him no more then his fortunes, ſhowing at euery brute or ſmall noyſe no leſſe perplexitie and terror, then if the heauens and elements had conſpired againſt him.

As the french king departed out of *Rome*, he receiued aduertiſement of the fleing of *Alphonſo*: And aſſoone as he was arriued at *Vellitre* the Cardinall of *Valence* fledd ſecretly from him: with the which albeit the Pope ſhowed him ſelfe much diſcontented, offering to giue the king ſuch aſſurance as it pleaſed him: yet wiſe men beleued that it was not without his practiſe and commaundement, as one that ſought to haue in his power to obſerue or not obſerue the conuencions he had made with his maieſtie: an action agreeing with his ambicion, which moſt gouerned him, but farre from the office of his profeſſion which he leaſt eſteemed, making nothing vnlawfull, for that he challenged to him ſelf to haue power to diſpenſe with all things: from *Vellitre* the vauntgarde marcheth to *Montfortyn*, a towne of the Church ſeated in *la Campagnia*, and ſubiect to *Iacques* a gentleman *Romayne*, who had at firſt followed the pay of the french king, But ſince (the hate he bare to the *Collōnoys* preuailing more with him then his proper honor) he was become mercenarie to *Alphonſo:*

The place being well ſhaken with the great artillerie, was taken (notwithſtanding his ſtrong ſituacion) within few howres by the french, who executed by the ſworde all that were found within it, except his three ſonnes, and certeine others that retyred into the caſtell, but made priſoners aſſoone as they ſaw thartillerie planted: from thence tharmie marched to *Mont S. Iohn*, a towne of the Marquiſſ of *Piſcaire*, ſeated in the ſayd *Campagnia*, vpon the confins of the kingdom: this towne, beſides it was ſtrong by nature and induſtrie of men, yet it was well furniſhed with ſouldiors to defende it, hauing in it three hundred footemen ſtraungers, and fiue hundred of thinhabitants well appoynted for all daungers: In ſo much as it was not thought pregnable but by a hard and long ſeege: But after the french men had ſomewhat ſearched the walls with their cannons, they gaue in the preſence of the king then come from *Veruue*, ſo hoat and violent aſſault, that vanquiſhing all difficulties, they tooke it by force the ſame day, And following their naturall furie, as alſo to warne others by this example not to be ſo obſtinate to reſiſt, they made lamentable ſlaughters, wherein ſparing no ſort of barbarous crueltie, they followed the deſolacion of the place with ſetting fire on houſes: A maner of making warre not vſed in *Italy* in many ages before, and therefore filled the whole realme with more generall feares and terrors: for, in *Italy* in all victories obteyned in what order ſo euer, the moſt extreme and laſt action wherein the Victor would ſtretch out his crueltie, was to diſarme & ſpoyle the ſouldiors, and ſo let them goe vanquiſhed: and for townes taken by force, to put them to ſacke and pillage, and thinhabitants to raunſom, pardoning alwayes the life of men not ſlayne in the heate and furie of the fight.

This was all the reſiſtance, the payne, and impedimentes which the french king had to conquere ſo large, ſo rich, and ſo populous a kingdom, for the defence wherof, there was not ſhowed in any ſort any vertue, any courage, any councel, any force, any faith, nor any deſire of honor: for, after the Duke of *Calabria*, (after his going out of *Rome*, retyred to the borders of the kingdom, and from thence called to *Naples*, by the flying of his father) had taken vpon him thautoritie and title of king, (but more with ſolemnities, then with pompe and ioyes accuſtomed) and that he had aſſembled his armie contayning fiftie ſquadorons of horſemen, and ſix thowſand footemen of choyſſe, and ledd by the beſt reputed Capteynes in *Italy*: he incamped him ſelfe at *S. Germayn*, to ſtoppe thennemie for paſſing further, being drawne thither by thoportunitie of the place, inuyroned on the one ſide with high and rough mountaynes, and of the other with a contrey full of mareſhes and waters, and had in the front the riuer of *Garillan*, which the Auncients called *Liri*, albeit it was not ſo deepe in that place but at ſome tymes it was paſſible at a forde, by reaſon whereof, and that the paſſage is very narrow and ſtraite, they ſay with good reaſon that *S. Germayn* is one of the keyes of the kingdom of *Naples*: he ſent alſo bandes and trowpes to the next mounteynes to keepe the way of *Cancella*: But all was in vayne, and in theſe doinges he did no other thing then keepe his minde in languiſhing, like as the Surgeon torments his patient by applying varietie of medicines to a wound that reſiſtes all cures and remedies: for, his armie already ſtricken with a generall terror with the onely name of the french men, declared apparant tokens of puſillanimitie and faintnes: And the Capteynes and leaders, partly tendring the ſafetie of them ſelues and their owne eſtates, diſtruſting already of the defenſe of the kingdom, and partly deſiring innouacions and new thinges, began to wauer no leſſe in faith then in courage: Laſtly, all the kingdom being in inſurrection, it was not without feare, that at their backes ſhould happen ſome perillous diſorder: Therefore councell giuing place to cowardnes,

cowardnes, and frayle feares ouerruling reſolucion and conſtancie of minde, vnderſtanding after the taking of *Mount S. Iohn* that the Mareſhal *de Gie* was at hand with three hundred launces, and two thowſand footemen, they diſcamped with ſhame from *S. Germain*, and retyred to *Capua* with ſuch confuſion and feare, that they lefte by the way viij. great peeces of artillerie without garde, giuing thennemie a meane to helpe forwarde their deſtruction with their owne weapons. This citie, the newe king, reappoſing much in the amitie of the towne towards the houſe of *Aragon*, and in the ſtrong ſeate of the place, he hoped to defend and to keepe alſo *Naples* and *Caietta*, not making diſtribucion of his forces to other places: The french men went after, but diſperſed and out of order, marching more after the manner of trauellers, then like men of warre, and without all regard either to keepe vnder their enſeignes, or to be ruled by the direction of their Capteynes, they tooke libertie to goe where ſo euer they thought to find pillage: And ſo neare was the encounter of theſe two armies, that one part of them moſt often lodged the nightes in places where the *Aragons* were diſlodged in the mornings: Neither in *Capua* was any greater demonſtracion of vertue or fortune, for that after *Ferdinand* had there beſtowed his armie, much diminiſhed in numbers ſince the retraict from *S. Germain*, he was ſent for by letters from the Queene, expreſſing that ſince the loſſe of *S. Germain*, there were ſuch murmures and mutinies within *Naples*, as without his preſence, there was manifeſt daunger of a generall tumult: for which cauſe he went thither with a ſmal company, by his preſence to giue impediment to the perill preſent, promiſing to returne eftſoones to *Capua* the day following. *Iohn Iacques Triuulce* to whome he had left the garde of the citie, had ſecretly ſent to the french king for a Heralde, to come vnder ſewertie to ſpeake with him, which being graunted, *Triuulce* with certeine gentlemen of *Capua*, went to *Calui* where the ſame day the king was entred: This did *Triuulce* notwithſtanding that many others of the citie wel diſpoſed to keepe their faith to *Ferdinand*, did ſpeake againſt it with many braue and hawtie wordes: But being preſented to the king all armed as he came in, he tolde him in the name of the *Capuans* and ſouldiers, That they ſeeing their forces, defence, and ſtrength, to fayle in *Ferdinand*, whom they had faithfully ſerued whileſt there remayned any apparance of hope: were now come to make offer of their ſeruices to him, bringing mindes to follow his fortunes where ſo euer he will employ them vnder honeſt condicions, adding withall, that he dowted not to bring him *Ferdinand* him ſelfe, ſo that he would enterteyne and acknowledge him as apperteyned: The king made him this gracious aunſwere, that he accepted the offers of the *Capuans* and the ſouldiers, as alſo the comming of *Ferdinand* ſhould be no leſſe welcome: onely that he ſhould retein no porcion of the kingdom of *Naples* how litle ſo euer it were, but that he would indue him with eſtates and honors in the realme of *Fraunce*.

Iohn Iacques Triuulce goeth to the french king.

It may be dowted with what maner of inducements this *Triuulce*, a capteyne valiant and particular in the profeſſion of honor, was drawne to reuolte and leaue his king: Touching him ſelfe, he affirmed, that he went by the wil and direction of *Ferdinand* to ſolicit ſome compoſicion with the french, And being altogither excluded from all hopes, and the iudgement manifeſt that the kingdom of *Naples* could be no longer defended by armes, he thought it not onely lawful, but alſo allowable to prouide at one tyme for the ſafetie of the *Capuans*, and ſecuritie of the ſouldiers: But the common opinion of men made an other conſtruction, referring his reuolt to a deſire he had that the french king might be Victor, for that he hoped when he had made a conqueſt of *Naples*, he would looke into the meanes by the which he might

in like sort make him selfe maister of *Myllan*: In which citie, he being borne of a most noble familie, and because for the priuie fauors which the house of *S. Seuerin* had with *Lodovvyk Sforce* & with other occasions, he had not place according to his vertues and merits: he was wholly estranged from *Lodovvyk*: for those occasions many wise men iudged, that he had councelled *Ferdinand* to proceede in the actions & seruice of *Romania*, more temperatly then perhaps thoccasions required: But in *Capua*, afore the returne of *Triuulce*, all began to declyne to reuolt, the souldiers had sacked the pallaice, armories, and stables of *Ferdinand*, the men at armes made diuisions of them selues, and were bestowed in sundry quarters: And *Virginio* and the *Count Petillane* were retyred with their companies to the citie of *Nola*, belonging to the sayd *Count* by the donation of the *Aragons*, sending first to the french king to demaund safeconduct for them and their people: *Ferdinand* returned according to his word and promise, hauing somewhat appeased according to the tyme the humors of the *Neapolytaines*, by giuing them hope of the defense of *Capua*: he was come within two myles of the citie all ignorant of the chaunge that hapned since his departure: But the towne hearing of his returne and so neare approach, and the people wholly exclayming against his reentrey, drew into armes, and by a common voyce and councell sent forth to meete him certeyne of the nobilitie, to aduertise him to passe no further, for that the citie seeing he had left it abandoned, that *Triuulce* gouerner of the men of warre was gone to the french, his owne souldiers had made a spoyle of his pallaice, and *Virginio* and the *Count Petillane* left them to their fortunes, and that almost all his armie was broken: they were constrayned for their proper safetie to giue place to the conqueror: with these newes no lesse heauy thē troublesom, *Ferdinand* (after he had made vayne instance euen with teares to be receiued) returnes to *Naples*, being wel assured that the example of *Capua* would draw the residue of the kingdom to reuolt, as the citie of *Auerse* seated betwene *Capua* and *Naples*, drawne into emotion dispatched present Embassadors to offer them selues to the french king: And the *Neapolytans* consulting also manifestly to doe the like, the infortunat king determined not to resist so obstinat a will of fortune, and therefore assembling vpon the place of the new castell many of the nobilitie and people, he deliuered to them this last and lamentable speech.

The yong king Ferdinand speakes in great sorow to the multitude.

I may call God to witnesse and the consciences of all those men, that heretofore haue had any informacion of my thoughtes and conceites, that no desire made me more to aspire to the crowne, then to expresse to the world with what greefe I misliked the rigorous gouernments of my father and grandfather, and with a recompense more iust & plawsible to reclayme by moderacion and benefits those hartes and affections which they had lost by their hard dealing and crueltie: But the infelicitie of our house would neuer suffer that I shoulde receiue this frute, which I esteeme more excellent and honorable then the kingdom it selfe: seeing that to be a king, is a thing that often tymes dependes vpon fortune, but to be such a king as to turne all his cares and endes to the welfare and felicitie of his peoples, that depends onely of him selfe and his proper vertue. These be hard tearmes in nature to detect my parentes, and chalenge their abuses to those to whom nothing is more welcome then thoccasion of reuenge, nor any thing further of, then hartes and affections to forgiue or forget. I could say enough to iustifie my selfe, for that it is easie for innocents to finde wordes to speake, but seeing there is so litle comparison betwene their offences past, and the merit of my innocencie present, it were but in vayne to vrge a hatefull remembrance of them, and yet nothing the more acquite you of the calamities

mities that approach: No, in cases of aduersitie it is a better temperance to prouide for the ill that is comming, then to amuse the tyme in complaintes against the Authors supposed, leauing the consideracion of the cause to God, with whom no mortall creature hath familiaritie in the vnderstanding and ordering of his iustice: I see our affayres suffer hard fortunes, and the extremitie wherein they are falne is of that nature, that we may complayne more to haue lost the kingdom by thinfidelitie and feares of our armies and Capteynes, then our ennemies can vaunt to haue wonne it by their proper vertue: And yet our fortune leaueth vs not altogither without hope, if we susteyne yet a litle tyme, for that both by the king of *Spayne*, and all the Princes of *Italy*, is preparing a mighty succor, their eyes being now opened that afore could not consider, that the fire which burnes our realme must in like sorte (without prouidence) cast his flames into their seuerall estates: And for me, at the least, courage shoulde not want to determine to gether the kingdom and my life, both with that glorie which becomes a yong king descēded by so long succession of so many kings, and also aunswering the expectacion which hetherunto you haue had of my meritts and vertues: But because thinges can not be put to triall, without committing the common patrimonie to desperat perill, I am determined rather to giue place to fortune and keepe hidd my vertue, then in striuing to lose the kingdom, to be the causer of effectes contrary to those endes for the which I haue alwayes desired to be king: Therefore with teares I giue you this councell, that standing no more against the furie of the time, you send with speed to make your accord with the french king: And to thend you may be in better power, to do it without stayne to your honors, I absolue you willingly of the homage and othe which you made to me a few dayes past: wherein I exhort you according to the necessitie of your fortune, not to deferre your obedience, humilitie, and readines to receiue him, as by that meanes to stay the course of your proper aduersities, and helpe to moderat the naturall pride of that nation: If at any tyme their barbarous customs and manners cause you to hate their rule and imperie, and desire my returne, I will remeyne in place apt to minister ayde to your will, and be ready to offer vp my life for the redresse of your oppressions and harmes: But if their gouernment content you, this realme shall neuer receiue vexacion or trauell by me, your well doing and benefit seruing as a perpetuall consolacion to my miseries: and that so much the rather, if I may knowe that there remayne in you any memorie, that neither in the person of an eldest sonne to a king, nor in the power of a king, I haue done no wronge to any creature: My thoughtes were neuer subiect to mocions of ambicion, my mind neuer defiled with inclinacion to crueltie, myne owne sinnes bring me not this affliction, but by a diuine iustice I suffer for the wickednes of my parentes: I am determined not to be the cause that, either to preserue the realme, or to recouer it, any subiect of the same be oppressed: No, it is more sorow to me to lose the meane to make amendes for the transgressions of my parentes, then to forgoe the royall dignitie and kingdom it selfe: for, albeit I shall be estranged from you, and banished from my patrimonie, yet I will not holde my selfe altogither wretched, if to the memorie of these thinges, you ioyne a stedfast beleefe, that I would haue bene king rather like to old *Alphonso* my great grandfather, then to *Ferdinand*, or the last *Alphonso*: It can not be that these wordes were deliuered without great compassion: But albeit they wrought many sorowfull impressions in the hartes of the hearers: yet, it did nothing to the stay of the tumult, so hatefull was the name of the two last kinges to the people, and so sweete the desire of the french gouernment to the nobilitie: he was no sooner retyred into the castel,

then the multitude began to ſacke his pauilions and hales then pitched in the place: which being an indignitie farre vnworthy his meritts and more then he could endure, he returned with great courage to the place to driue them from the ſpoyle, the maieſtie and preſence of a king being yet of ſuch authoritie in a citie rebelled, that the ſouldiers reſtrayning their furie, euery one abſteyned from pillage: But aſſoone as he was returned to the caſtell, and had ſet on fire and ſonke moſt of the ſhippes in the hauen (hauing no other way to depriue the ennemie of thē) he began by tokens certeyne tō dowt that the Lanſknightes which were the gard of the caſtell contayning in number fiue hundred, conſpyred to take him priſoner: And therefore the daunger being preſent, he vſed this ſuddeine councell, to giue them his wardropps, goods, and furnitures that were within the caſtell, and whileſt they were buſie to deuide and ſhare them, he ſlipt out of the caſtell by the gate of ſuccors, deliuering firſt out of priſon all thoſe Barons that had bene reſtrayned by the crueltie of his father: he mounted vppon the light gallies that attended him in the hauen accompanied with *Dom Federyk* and the olde Queene wife to his grand father, who caried with her *Iane* her daughter: And being followed with very fewe of his people, he ſayled into the yle of *Yſchia*, called by the auncients *Enaria*, diſtant thirty myles from *Naples*: On his way, ſo long as his eyes were fedd with the proſpect and ſight of the kingdom, he made many repeticions with a pitifull voyce of this verſe of the Pſalme, *that they vvatch in vayne vvhich keepe the citie, if it be not kept by the Lord*: But finding now no more comfort of fortune, then when he was amydd the daungers of *Naples*, it fell to him to make tryall of his vertue in *Yſchia*, togither with an experience of thingratitude and infidelitie of ſuch as riſe vp againſt thoſe wretched perſons that are perſecuted with fortune: for the caſtell keeper of the place refuſing to receiue him but with one man onely, he fell vpon him with ſuch furie, that what by his agilitie and valour, and the impreſſion of a king and maieſtie royall, he brought immediatly vnder his power both the caſtell and the keeper: This aduerſitie albeit was much inferior to the loſſe and priuacion of his kingdom, yet it afflicted him no leſſe, then if the action had bene of higher moment, for that in all miſeries nothing more mitygates the perturbacions of the minde, then to remember that the greateſt miſhapps are paſt, as in ſorowes, it is a ſpeciall comfort to know the vttermoſt: But fortune is infinit in her afflictions, and leaues no expectacion of remedie where a ruine is determined, the ſame making good the experience of the olde ſaying, that to the man vnfortunat one ill neuer hapneth alone, but when they begin to fall they thunder all at once: After *Ferdinand* was gon out of *Naples*, euery one gaue way (as to a violent landflood) to the onely name and renowme of the victors, and that with ſuch cowardnes, that two hundred horſemen of *M. Lignies* went to *Nole*, whether *Virginio* and the *Count Petillane* were retyred with fowre hundred men at armes, and tooke them priſoners without reſiſtance: either they had confidence in the ſafe conduict that was graunted them, or elſe their feares were no leſſe then the others, ſeing without triall or ſhow of valour, they ſuffered them ſelues to be ledd captiues to the rock of *Mondragon*, and all their companies to ſuffer pillage and ſpoyle: In this meane while, th Embaſſadors whom the *Neapolitanes* had ſent to preſent to the french king the keyes of the citie, found him at *Auerſe*, from whence after he had accorded to them with great liberalities, many priuileadges and exemptions, he went to *Naples*, and made his entrey the xxj. of February: he was receiued with generall reioyſing on all ſortes, neither perſon, kinde, age, condicion, quallitie, nor faction of men, ſparing to ronne to behold him, as if he had bene their patrone and firſt founder of the citie:

The french king entreth Naples.

citie: yea, there was a plentifull and willing preſence of thoſe, who either in them ſelues, or in their aunceſtors, had bene rayſed to honors and eſtates by the houſe of *Aragon*: with this affluence and concurſe of people, after he had viſited the great Church, he was ledd (becauſe new caſtell was yet to thennemies) to be lodged in the caſtell *Capua* the auncient reſort and reſidence of the kinges of *Fraunce*, hauing with a wonderfull courſe of felicitie farre aboue the example of *Iulius Cæſar*, rather vanquiſhed then ſeene his enemie, and that with ſo ready fortune and facilitie: that during the whole expedicion, he neuer had neede to diſplay one pauilion or tent, & much leſſe to breake a launce: And touching helpes and prouiſions, he had ſo great plenty and ſuperfluitie, that his armie at ſea prepared with ſo great expenſes, being caried by violence of wether into the yle of *Corſe*, was ſo long in approching the ſhoares of the kingdom, that the king had accompliſhed his conqueſt afore there was neceſſitie of their ſeruice.

Thus by ciuill diſcordes which ſo long hath blinded the Princes of *Italy*, to the great diſhonor and ſkorne of the men of warre of that nation, and common daunger and ignominie of euery region of the ſame, was transferred one of the moſt goodly and mighty partes of *Italy*, and of the Empire of *Italy*, to an Empire and gouernment of a nation beyond the mountes: for, albeit olde *Ferdinand* was borne in *Spaine*, yet, for that from his youth he had his trayning in *Italy*, either king or the ſonne of a king, and holding no other principallitie in any region elſe, where togither that his ſonnes and ſonnes ſonnes were bredd vppe in *Naples:* I may with good right appropper them to the contrey, and call them *Italyans*.

The ende of the firſt booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE SECOND BOOKE.

THE Pysans continue their rebellion against the Florentyns: The french king takes the castells of Naples: The Pope, the Venetians and other Princes make league against the king, who returning into Fraunce is fought withall neare the riuer Taro: Ferdinand wynnes agayne Naples: Nouarre is beseeged by the confederats: The king makes peace with the Duke of Myllan, and returnes into Fraunce.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

IN the booke before haue bene sett downe the foundacions of the french warres in *Italy*, both out of what founteyne they spronge, and with what course and mocions they had their proceedings euen to an action of conqueste farre aboue the memorie and examples of all tymes and ages before. But as in all powers and causes naturall, this is a propertie infallible to haue their reuolucion by the same swift and violent returne wherewith they did rise to their exaltacion and fulnes: So, the french king, rising with his felicitie, into humors of securitie, saw the declinacion of his fortune and great triumphes, in the like measure and proporcion of tyme by the which he aspired to them, And suffering togither the priuacion of the kingdom, with the honor of his new cõqueste, he shewed him selfe more happy to get glorie, then able to keepe it: Then whileste thinges went in this course at *Rome* and the kingdom of *Naples*, there kindled in an other parte of *Italy*, sparkes of a litle fier, wherein was nourished a smothering heate ordeyned to burst out to a great burning, to the hurt of many, but specially to the ruyne of him, who, by too great a desire of dominion and rule, first kindled it and set it on flame: for, albeit the king was bownd by the contract of *Florence*, that *Pysa* remeining in his handes till he had conquered the realme of *Naples*, the iurisdiction & reuenues should be administred by the *Florentyns*: yet, at his departure, he had sett no order for the execucion of his word and promise: In so much that the *Pysans*, presuming much of the Capteynes and souldiers left by the king for the gard of the citie, did determine no more to returne to the obedience of *Florence*: And therefore expulsing some of their officers and others that solicited there for the citie, they made the residue prisonners, with confiskacion of all their goods, and confirmed wholly their rebellion, both by demonstracions and actions: In this reuolte, to be the better able to continue it, they dispatched not onely Embassadors to the king to pray him of defence and protection to their doings, but also, for their stay and strength more assured, they recommended their cause vnder many argumentes of compassion to the cities of *Syena* and *Lucques*, who, being auncient ennemies to the name of *Florence*, could heare of nothing more to their liking and gladnes, then of the reuolt of the

Beginning of the warres of Pysa.

the *Pysans*, to whom in common they sent forthwith a proporcion of money, and *Syenna* a part furnished them with an ayde of horsemen: In like sort the *Pysans* sent Embassadors to *Venice*, to sownde the wills of that Senat, of whom albeit they were graciously receiued, yet they brought away nothing but hopes dowtfull and incerteyne: But they reappposed their chiefest confidence and foundacion in the Duke of *Myllan*, for that as he was the first breeder of their rebellion, so they hoped he would not fayle to support them with succors, countenance and councell: The Duke, albeit he made other showes and demonstracions to the *Florentyns*, yet he solicited secretly the confirmacion of this reuolt, and breathing courage into them with many offers, perswacions & promises, he communicated presently with the *Genovvays* to furnish the *Pysans* with armor and municions, and to sende to them a commissioner, with three hundred footemen: There hath bene auncient quarell betwene the *Florentyns* and *Genovvays*, rising at first by the conqueſt of *Pysa*, and continued by many degrees of displeasures, both for buying the port of *Lyuorne* of their Duke *Tomasin Fregosa* which they possessed, and also the taking away of *Pietra Santa* and *Serazena*: The memorie of these, ioyned to thoccasion offered, was sufficient to arme them with a wonderfull readines to doe all thinges that might annoy the *Florentyns*: occupying euen already many of their places in the contrey of *Lunigiane*, and were become Lords of the borders of *Pietra Santa*, vnder cooller of a letter obteined from the french king for the restitucion of certein goods confisked: The *Florentyns*, complayning of these actions at *Myllan*, were aunswered by the Duke, that according to the contract and capitulacions which he had with them of *Genes*, he could not well doe any thing to the restraint and impediment of them: And laboring to content them with wordes and diuersitie of hopes, he forbare not with a studie more secret and sutle, to practise and execute the contrary, as one that nourished an ambicious expectacion to draw *Pysa* to his obedience, if the *Florentyns* did not eftsoones recouer it, a thing much desired by him no lesse for the qualitie of the citie, then oportunitie of the scituacion: Neither was this desire new, but had bene nourished in him euer since he was expulsed *Myllan*, a litle after the death of *Galeas* his brother for a ielowsie which the Ladye *Bonne*, mother and tutur to the litle Duke had of him, at what time soiorning many monthes vpon the borders of *Pysa*, he cast many plotts & deuises to get the rule and imperie of it: wherein, as touching the title, he was holpen with a recorde and memorie, that *Pysa*, afore it came into the iurisdiction of the *Florentyns*, had bene possessed by *Iohn Galeas Viscounte*, first Duke of *Myllan*: By reason whereof, he thought it would be an increase of his glorie, to recouer that which had beene possessed by his elders, and seemed that he might pretende a cooller of right, in not making lawfull, that *Iohn Galeas* might leaue by testament (to the preiudice of the Dukes of *Myllan* his successors) to *Gabriell Maria* his bastard sonne, the state of *Pysa*, which he had gotten, (albeit with the treasors & armies of the Duchie of *Myllan*: The *Pysans*, not content to haue drawne their citie from the obedience of the *Florentyns*, sought to obtrude vppon all the places and peeces of the generall *de Mayne*, all which for the most part (in a generall sturre examples may doe muche) following the authoritie of the citie, receiued their commissioners euen in the first dayes of the rebellion, the *Florentyns* making no resistance in the beginning, for that they were otherwise busied in affaires of greater importance, not hauing as yet composed with the french king, and did perhaps expect that he would apply remedie to those harmes according to his bonde protested by publike and solemne othe: But finding his order too slow and lingring, & happly aũswering the care he made, they

Two particular causes of quarrell, betwene Florẽce and the Genoways.

The pretended title of the Duke of Myllan to Pysa.

sent thether bandes and companies, who eftsoones recouered partly by force, and partly by composicion, all that was occupied except *Casine*, *Buti*, and *Vicopisan*, into which places the *Pysans* (being not strong enough to make resistance against the whole) had withdrawne their forces: Touching the king, the doinges of the *Pysans* did nothing displease him, and much lesse was the maner of their proceedings disagreeing from the estate of his endes and purposes: Their cause was apparantly fauored of many of his court, induced perhaps by a compassion that they had bene straitely gouerned by the *Florentyns*, the same notwithstanding being more in opinion then in truth: But some of the chiefest both in his councells and of his court, vnder thoccasion to pitie the *Pysans*, obiected them selues against the Cardinall of *S. Mallo* being wholly for the *Florentyns*: of these was principall the Seneshall of *Beaucaire*, with whom the money of the *Pysans* had much preuailed, but much more the discontentment he had of the greatnes of the Cardinall, from whom (according to the variations of Court) he beganne to be estranged & separate, being moued with the selfe same ambicion to embase him, with the which he had raysed him in the beginning: These men not hauing respect to that which concerned the honor & promised faith of so great a king, perswaded that it agreed best with the profit and estate of his other enterprises, to keepe the *Florentyns* in this necessitie, and not to moderat the doings of the *Pysans*, at the least til he had made perfect his expedicion vpon the realme of *Naples*: The king caried with these perswasions, framed him selfe to enterteyne both the one and other partie with seuerall hopes, And therefore whilest he remeyned yet at *Rome*, he called for them bassadors of *Florence* to heare in his presence the complaints made to him by the *Pysans*, for whom spake *Burgundio Loli* Citisen of *Pysa*, and aduocate of the consistorie in the Court of *Rome*: he complayned bitterly that the *Pysans* had bene holden foureskore yeares in such an vniust and cruell seruitude, that that citie, which with many honorable victories heretofore had stretched out her iurisdiction euen to the partes of *Leuant*, & had bene alwayes one of the most mighty and glorious members of all *Italy*, was now by the seueritie and couetousnes of the *Florentyns* come to her last desolacion: That the towne of *Pysa* was almost made naked of inhabitants, for that the most parte of the naturall and free borne Citisens, not able to beare so heauy yokes, had willingly abandoned the place of their patrimonie, possessions, and delites, whose councell hath bene proued wise by the miseries of others, whom the loue of their contrey hath made to abyde to serue as a wretched spectacle to all eyes of pitie, conscience, or humanitie: That they, for the great exactions of the Magistrates, and insolent robberies of persons priuate, were dispoyled almost of all their substance, and yet in no libertie nor way to nourish their liues, for that with a tyrannie and iniustice straunge and barbarous, they were forbidden to manage trades of marchandise, or to exercise any art except of the hande: They had no accesse or function in any office of qualitie, nor in the administracion of the gouernment of *Florence*, no not in thinges which were transferred to persons straunge and forreine: That the *Florentyns* by many arguments exercised all sortes of crueltie against the health and benefite of their liues, And to haue a more ready way to their generall destruction, they haue of late yeares shaked of an auncient and necessary care to preserue the bankes and cawsseyes of the contrey of *Pysa*, menteyned alwayes from age to age by the Lordes of that contrey with no small studie, for that otherwayes it was impossible, (seeing the shallownes of the contrey subiect to inundacions and water fludds) that they should not be euery yere stricken with diuersitie of diseases: That by this decay, were made ruinat euen flat

The complaintes of the Pysans afore the french king.

with

with the earth, churches, pallaices, with many honorable buildings both publike & priuate erected by their predeceſſors with no litle expenſe and charge: That it was no ſhame to particular cities or townes, if, after the raigne and courſe of many worldes they fell into ſeruitude, for that all mortall and earthly thinges beare their proper deſtinie and ſubiection to corruption: But the memorie of their nobilitie & greatnes, alwaies diſpoſed into the maieſtie of a gouernment and common weale ought to breede in the ſpirites of conquerors more compaſſion then rigor, chiefly euery one hauing to conſider that it is not onely in the power of time, but alſo incident to the iuſt courſe and deſtinie of earthly thinges, to bring vppon them the ſelfe ſame ende which is ordeyned to happen to all other cities and Empires: That in the *Pyſans* there reſted no more, wherein the inhumanitie and inſatiable couetouſnes of the *Florentyns* coulde be exerciſed with further ſkoape: And therefore the yoke of thoſe burdens bearing a waight aboue their ſtrength, & the varietie of their miſeries ſo infinit and intollerable, they had with one minde determined, rather to abandon their contrey, to giue vp their liues, and to forbeare the vſe, ſocietie, and delite of their goods, friendes, and kinred, then to returne eftſoones vnder ſo vniuſt, ſo tyrannous, and ſo vile a gouernment: beſeching laſtly the king with teares (which he beſought him to imagine to be the plentifull teares of the whole people of *Pyſa* miſerably proſtrate at his feete) to remember that, with the ſame pietie, with the ſame iuſtice, and with the ſame religion and conſcience, he had reſtored them to that libertie, of the which they had bene ſo vniuſtly deſpoyled: he would eftſoones as a Prince reſolut and conſtant, defend and keepe them in the ſame benefit, ſeeing the election was more honorable, more godly, more worthie his name & greatnes, to beare the name of the father and deliuerer of this citie ſo auncient and innocent, then in redeliuering it vp into a ſeruitude ſo wretched, to become the infamous miniſter of the robberies, oppreſſions, and tyrannies of the prowd *Florentyns*. To theſe accuſements aunſwered, with no leſſe vehemencie, *Frauncis Soderyn* Biſhop of *Volterre*, afterwards made Cardinall, and at that time one of the Embaſſadors for *Florence*: He ſhowed that the title of his common weale was iuſte, for that they had bought *Pyſa* in the yeare 1404. of *Gabriel Maria Viſcounte* the lawfull Lord, by whom they were no ſooner put in poſſeſſion of their purchaſſe, then the *Pyſans* redeliuered them ſelues by force: By which occaſion they were driuen to ſeeke to reconquer it by a long warre, whoſe ende was no leſſe proſperous, then the occaſion was iuſt, and no leſſe praiſe worthy the humanitie of the *Florentyns*, then the victorie glorious: for that hauing in their diſcreſſions to periſh all the people of *Pyſa* (languiſhing already with hunger) when they entred with their armie into the citie, they brought with them a greater quantitie of vittells then of weapons: And ſo in place to take away their liues by iuſt law of conqueſt and victorie, they breathed new liues with their refreſhing and vittells, into bodies miſerable and not worthy of life: That the citie of *Pyſa* at no time had obteyned any greatnes in the firme lande, and much leſſe had bene able in power to winne forreine and ſtraunge peeces, ſeeing they could neuer make them ſelues Lordes ouer *Lucques*, A citie communicating with them in neare neighbourhed and borders: but they ſtoode alwayes reſtrayned and incloſed in a ſtrait territorie, not ſeeking to make their fortune greater then was their vertue: And for their power at ſea, neither hath it bene ſo mighty as there is left any monument of it, nor of ſuch continuance as it hath any preſcription of time: for that, by the iuſt iudgement of God, whom they had prouoked by many actes of prophane impietie, and for a skourge of the longe ciuill diſcordes amongeſt them ſelues, it was

The Embaſſador of Florẽce confuteth thoſe complaintes.

" long time before the purchaſſe of the *Florentyns*, falne from all eſtate and greatnes,
" drayned of all wealth and habitants, and at laſt reduced to ſuch a naked weakenes,
" that one *Iacques d'Appian* a ſimple notarie of the contrey, was of power to make him
" ſelfe Lord ouer them, leauing the citie and territorie as a ſucceſſion to his children:
" That the land and contrey of *Pyſa* was of litle importance to the *Florentyns*, except
" for thopportunitie of the ſcituacion, and conueniencie of the ſea, ſeeing the reue-
" nues that were drawne from thence were of litle conſideracion, the exactions be-
" ing ſo eaſie and light, that they exceeded very litle the neceſſary expenſes, & yet the
" moſt parte were leuyed vpon marchant ſtraungers, and by the meane of the port of
" *Lyuorne*: That touching trade of marchandiſe, artes, and offices, the *Pyſans* were not
" bownde with other lawes, then did regulat all other cities ſubiect to the *Florentyns*,
" who, acknowledging to liue vnder a moderate and eaſie pollicie, had no deſire to
" chaunge Lordes, not hauing in deede that obſtinacie and pride of minde which is
" naturall in the *Pyſans*, nor yet infected with a diſloyaltie ſo notorius, as it is made ge-
" nerall and famous by the auncient prouerbe of all *Tuskane*: And albeit, ſince the *Flo-*
" *rentyns* had gouernment in *Pyſa*, ſundry of the Citiſens tooke a willing baniſhment:
" yet it cõcludes nothing againſt the *Florentyns*, but detectes iuſtly their owne prowde
" ſtomackes and impacience, bearing no mindes to accommodat them ſelues to their
" owne forces nor fortune: And much leſſe that vnder the gouernment of the *Flo-*
" *rentyns*, *Fyſa* is diminiſhed either in treaſor or inhabitants, ſeeing of the contrary
" they haue at a great charge recouered the hauen of *Lyuorne*, without the which
" their citie would be no leſſe vnprofitable then inconuenient: They haue alſo intro-
" duced the publike ſtudie of all ſciences, together with many other benefits, & laſtly,
" diligently continued the reparacions of the bankes, the better to repleniſhe them
" with inhabitants: The truth of which thinges did ſhine with too cleare a light, then
" that the clowdes of falſe complaintes were able to ouerſhadow and darken it: he
" ſayd it was ſuffered to euery one to deſire to aſpire to a better fortune, but withall it
" was an office iuſt in all inferior degrees to beare without grudging the ordenance &
" ſentence of their lott: otherwiſe there woulde be confuſion of all empires and go-
" uernments, if it were ſuffered to euery one that is ſubiect, to aſpire to libertie: Laſtly
" he told the king that to the *Florentyns*, it was neither neceſſary nor any way apper-
" teyning to their office, to perſwade *Charles* a Chriſtian king of *Fraunce* what he had
" to doe, for that being a Prince wiſe and iuſte, they dowted not that he would ſuffer
" him ſelfe to be caried by ſo vaine complaintes and ſlaunders: that of him ſelfe he
" would remember him ſelfe of his promiſe made afore his armie was receiued into
" *Pyſa*, togither with his word and oth of a king publiſhed ſolemnly at *Florence*, for that
" by how much a king is mighty and great, by ſo much is it more meritorious & glo-
" rious to him to vſe his power & greatnes for the preſeruacion of his faith & iuſtice:
" The king hearing the differences thus diſcloſed by both them baſſadors, bare an in-
clinacion partiall to the *Pyſans*, and wiſhed that during the warre of *Naples*, there
might be a ſurceaſſing of armes betwene the two parties, or at leaſt that the *Floren-*
tyns would conſent that he might hold the whole contrey, aſſuring them that aſſone
as the conqueſt of *Naples* were accompliſhed, he would make perfect all his promi-
ſes giuen at *Florence*: This the *Florentyns* refuſed, holding euen now for ſuſpected all
the kinges wordes, and yet they forbare not with great conſtancie to preſſe him to
keepe his promiſe: wherein, to make ſhowe that he would ſatisfie them (his inten-
cion in deede being to haue of them before the time the lxx. thowſande duckatts
which they had promiſed him) he diſpatched at the ſame inſtant he departed from

Rome

Rome, the Cardinall of *S. Mallo* as Embaſſador to *Florence*, making as though he ſent him thether to ſatisfie their demaundes: But in ſecret he charged him that, nouriſhing them with hopes till they had made payment of the money, he ſhould leaue thinges in the ſame eſtate: of which ſhifte of time, albeit the *Florentyns* made ſufficient dowt, yet they aduaunced xl. thowſand duckats afore the tearme, which aſſoone as the Cardinall had receiued, he went to *Pyſa*, promiſing to recontinue the poſſeſſion of the eſtate to the *Florentyns*: But he made a ſpeedy returne without any effect of his promiſe, and leſſe aunſwering thexpectacion of them of *Florence*, afore whom he excuſed him ſelf by the obſtinacie of the *Pyſans*, & that being not able of him ſelf to diſpoſe them, his authoritie was leſſe ſufficient to conſtrayne them, hauing no expreſſe commiſſion from the king: Laſtly it was not conuenient for him being of holy profeſſion, to take or followe any councell whereon might ariſe effuſion of Chriſtian bludd: yet he beſtowed a new garriſon within the new Citadell, and had done the like in the olde caſtell, if he could haue got the conſent of the *Pyſans*, who grewe daily more and more in courage and forces by the ſecret helping of the Duke of *Myllan*, who iudging it neceſſary, that there ſhould be within *Pyſa* a greater ſtrength and a leader of experience & vallour, had ſent to them (couering him ſelfe notwithſtanding as he was wont with the name of the *Genovvays*) *Luke Mavvezze*, with newe bandes and companies: And letting paſſe no occaſion that might keepe the *Florentyns* in buſines the better to holde them from offending the *Pyſans*, he interteyned into pay in common with the *Siennoys*, *Iacques d'Appian* Lord of *Plombyn*, and *Iohn Sauelle*, the rather to encourage the ſayd people of *Sienna* to defend *Montpulcian*, a place newly reuolted from the *Florentyns*, & accepted by them of *Sienna*, without hauing regarde to the confederacion which they had together: At the ſame time alſo the *Florentyns* were in no leſſe care and trauell for ſuddeine buſines newly hapned within the citie: for immediatly after the king was departed from *Florence*, the better to reeſtabliſh their gouernment, they had in their parliament (which in their cuſtom is a congregacion aſſembled of all the citiſens in the place before the townehouſe, who deliberat with free voyce vpon matters propownded by the great Magiſtrat) inſtituted a kind of pollicie, which, vnder the name of a gouernment popular tended in many thinges, more to the power of a fewe, then of euery one in generall: The which being greeuous to many, who faſhioned in their mindes a greater libertie, and hauing the priuat ambicion of ſome one of the principall Citiſens concurring, there was neceſſitie to diſpute vpon a new forme of gouernment, wherin as it was commoned vpon one day amongeſt the principall Magiſtrates and perſons of greateſt reputacion, *Pavvle Anthony Soderyn*, a Citiſen, wiſe and much reſpected, deliuered his opinion in this ſort.

P. Anth. Soderin reaſoneth touching a forme of gouernment for Florence.

Albeit the eſtate popular is leſſe eſteemed then that wherein thinges are referred to one alone, or gouerned by the directions of graue men: yet, for that the deſire of libertie is a deſire auncient and almoſt naturall in this citie, and the condicions and eſtate of our Citiſens are equally proporcioned, which is a neceſſary ground of popular gouernments: I might mainteyne by eaſie and reaſonable diſcourſe, that it ought to be preferred before all other, were it not that the diſputacion would be ſuperfluous, ſeeing in all our aſſemblies ſince the parliament, it hath bene alwayes determined by a conſent vniuerſall, that the citie ſhould be gouerned in the name and with thauthoritie of the people: But the diuerſitie of opinions is riſen vppon this, that certeine particulars, in things ordeyned in the parliament, ſeeke to come neare and reſemble that forme of common weale, vnder the which the citie was gouerned

" before our libertie was oppreſſed by the familie of the *Medicis* and others,(of which
" nomber I confeſſe I am) ſuppoſing that the gouernment ſo eſtabliſhed, bare in ma-
" ny thinges rather the name then theffects of a pollicie popular, and fearing thacci-
" dents which often happen by like gouernments, deſire a forme more perfect and
" more regarding the preſeruacion and protection of the concord and ſewertie of the
" citiſens: A thing which neither by reaſon, nor experience of times paſſed, can be
" hoped for in this citie, but vnder a gouernment depending alltogether vppon the
" power of the people ſo that it be well and duely ordeyned and regulated, which
" thing conſiſtes principally in two foundacions: The firſt is, that all miniſtracions
" and offices aſwell in the citie as thorow the whole demeane, be giuen (for a certeine
" time) by a councell vniuerſall, which according to our lawes may participat in the
" gouernment, without the approbacion of which councell, new lawes can not be e-
" ſtabliſhed: By this meane, not being in the power of citiſens priuate, nor of any par-
" ticular faction or intelligence to diſtribute dignities & authorities, No man ſhall be
" excluded by paſſion or partialitie of others, but offices ſhall be beſtowed according
" to the vertues and merits of men: And vertue bearing this propertie to transferre
" dignities to thoſe perſons to whom her ſelfe is conioyned, it will be a meane & en-
" couragement to euery one to ſtriue by his vertues and good partes, with the ayde
" publike and priuate, to open his way to honors and reputacion: it ſhall be neceſſary
" that euery one abſteyne from vices, and forbeare to hurt one an other, and finally eſ-
" chew both the ſtudy & action of all hateful thinges in a citie wel inſtituted. And it
" can not be in the power of one or a fewe to introduce with newe lawes, or with au-
" thoritie of a Magiſtrate, an other gouernment, this being not to be chaunged, but
" by the will and priuitie of the councell vniuerſall. The ſecond ground is, that the de-
" liberacions and councells of importance, ſuch as apperteyne to peace and warre, to
" the conſtruing and examinacion of newe lawes, and generally to all thinges neceſ-
" ſary for thadminiſtracion of ſuch a citie or empire, be managed by Magiſtrates par-
" ticularly appoynted to that charge, and by a councell more priuate compownded
" of wiſe and experienced citiſens to be deputed and ordeined by the councell popu-
" lar: for that the knowledge and iudgement of ſuch affayres, falling not familiarly in-
" to thunderſtanding of euery one, it is neceſſary they be gouerned by ſuch as are ca-
" pable to them, And requiring oftentymes diligence and ſecrecie, they are not to be
" conſulted or communicated with the multitude, as not being neceſſary for the pre-
" ſeruacion of the publike libertie, that ſuch thinges be handled in too great audience
" and companie, ſeeing the libertie is aſſured as often as the diſtribucion of Magiſtra-
" cies, and deliberacion of new lawes, depende of the vniuerſall conſent: Theſe two
" foundacions thus layed, you haue a true popular gouernment ordeyned, the libertie
" of the citie grounded, and a perpetuall and commendable forme of common weale
" confirmed. There be many other thinges which tende to make this gouernment
" more perfect, but they are referred more conueniently to an other tyme, to thende
" not to confound in this beginning the mindes of men, which both ſuſpicious by the
" memorie of tyrannies paſt, and not accuſtomed to manage gouernments free, can
" not wholly knowe all things neceſſary to be ordeyned for preſeruacion of the liber-
" tie: and there be thinges, which for their litle importance and conſideracion, may
" without daunger be differred vntill a tyme more apt and better occaſion. No dowte,
" the citiſens will embrace more and more this forme of common weale, and being
" by experience, made daily more capable of the truth, they can not but deſire that
" their gouernment be polliſhed and brought to his full perfection: Neither can it

but

but be susteyned and holden vp by these two foundacions, which, how easie it is to lay and establish, and what frute they bring, is not to be proued onely by many reasons, but also appeares plainely by examples: for, albeit the gouernment of the *Venetians* standes properly vpon gentlemen, those gentlemen yet are no other then citisens priuat, and what for their numbers, so many, and for their condicions so diuerse, it can not be denied that it doth not much participat with a gouernment popular, although in many thinges it can not be imitated of vs: and yet it is principally founded vpon these two pillers and bases, by the which hauing bene continued by many ages, together with a libertie, vnitie, and concord ciuil, it is risen to the glory and greatnes which the world seeth: The vnitie & strength of the *Venetians* hath not growen as many suppose, by their scituacion, for that in the same may be and haue bene many discordes and sedicions: But it hath proceeded for that they had a forme of pollicie so wel sorted & proporcioned to it selfe, that necessarily it brought forth precious and wonderfull effectes, agreeable to the firme and sownd foundacions. Our owne examples ought to moue vs no lesse then straungers, if we consider in the contrary, that because our city had neuer a forme of gouernment like vnto this, it was the cause that our estate and affayres haue bene so subiect to ordinary mutacions, sometimes troden vnder feete by the violence of tyrantes, & sometymes rent and dismembred by the ambicious and couetous discordes of certeine particulars, and sometimes confounded by the vnbridled libertie of the cõmunaltie: Insomuch that where cities were built for the rest and happy life of thinhabitantes, our tranquilletie, our felicities, and our ioyes haue bene the confiskacion of our goods, with banishment and execucion of our miserable Citisens: The gouernment brought into the parliament, differeth not from the pollicies heretofore ordeyned in this citie, which being all infected with discordes and calamities, after infinit trauels both publike and priuat, they finally ingendred tyrannies, like as in the time of our aunce-stors for none other then these occasions, the Duke of *Athens* oppressed the libertie and in the times succeeding, *Cosmo de medicis* followed his example, whereof it is not to be maruelled: for, when the distribucion of Magistracies, and deliberacion of the lawes, haue not communitie with the common consent, but depend vpon tharbitracion of the lesser number: then the Citisens not carefull of the publike benefit, but seeking their profits and endes priuate, rise into sectes and conspiracies particular, whereunto are ioyned the diuisions of the whole citie, a plague most certeine to all common weales and Empires: So that it can not but be a greater discression to eschew those formes of gouernment which by reasons and examples in our selues we finde to be hurtfull, and draw neare to those pollicies which with the reasons and examples of others we discerne to be wholsom and happy. And thus much I take boldnes to auouch (the truth and sinceritie of the matter much enforcing me) that the pollicie of our citie ronning alwayes in that order that a fewe Citisens shal haue an vnmeasured authoritie, will proue to be a gouernment of a fewe tyrants, who wil be so much more daungerous then one tyrant alone, by how much the ill is great, & hurtes more, by how much it is multiplied: And if there should be none other ill or mischiefe at all, yet at leastwise, what for the diuersitie of opinions, and for thambicion and different couetousnes of men, there could be no expectacion of longe concorde: And discorde, as it is hurtfull in all seasons, so it would be most daungerous at this time, wherein you haue sent into exile one so mightie a Citisen, and wherein you stand depriued of one of the principallest partes of your estate: And lastly, *Italy* hauing euen in her harte and intralls forreine armies, standes on all sides inuironed

with manifeſt perill: Albeit very ſeldom or poſſible, neuer it hath bene abſolutely in the power of all the citie to put order to it ſelfe according to our owne liking, yet ſeeing by the goodnes of God you haue that power, loſe not thoccaſion to inſtitute a free gouernment and ſo well erected, that not onely you ſhall be made happy by it whileſt you liue: but alſo may promiſe the ſame to your poſteritie, and leaue as an inheritance to your children ſuch a treaſure and felicitie, as your aunceſtors neuer had nor knewe.

Againſt this opinion reaſoneth Guido Anth. Veſpucci.

To the contrary of this, did reaſon *Guid'anthony Veſpucci*, a lawer notable for his iudgment, and no leſſe ſingular for his facilitie and ſharpnes of witt: if the gouernment (ſayth he) inſtituted in the forme of *Pavvle Antonyne Soderyn*, would as eaſily bring forth the frutes that are deſired, as he hath liberally recounted them: ſewer we
" ſhould ſhow great corrupcion in iudgement, reaſon, and diſcreſſion, if we would
" wiſhe to our contrey any other ſort of pollicie, & right vnworthy ſhould we ſeeme
" of the reputacion and benefits of good Citiſens, if we would not embrace a forme
" of a common weale wherin the vertues, merits, and valours of men, ſhould be aboue
" all other thinges honored and recompenced: But I can not ſee how it may be ho-
" ped that a gouernment put wholly in the power of the people, can bring forth ſo
" many benefits: ſeeing no man dowtes but it is a leſſon in reaſon, a trial in experience,
" and an authoritie confirmed by great men, that in ſo great a multitude can not be
" found that diſcreſſion, that experience nor that order, as may be promiſed that they
" will preferre the wiſe afore the ignorant, the good afore the ill, and the experienced
" afore ſuch as neuer knew what it was to manage affayres: for, like as of a iudge in-
" capable and ignorant can be no expectacion of iudgements righteous and iuſt: So,
" in a people full of confuſion and vanitie, is no hope (but at aduenture) of election or
" deliberacion wiſe or reaſonable: That which in publike gouernments wiſe men &
" ſuch as follow the ſtudie of no other affayres, can hardly diſcerne, let vs neuer beleue
" that a multitude vnexperienced, ignorant, compounded of ſo great diuerſitie of ſpi-
" rits, of condicions and cuſtoms, and wholly giuen to thinges that concerne them
" particularly, can diſtinguiſh and know it: Beſides, the immoderat perſwacion that
" euery one will haue of him ſelfe, will kindle in euery one a couetouſnes of honors,
" not ſufficing to men in popular gouernment to enioy the honeſt frutes of libertie,
" but they will aſpire all to the degrees principall, and ſeeke to haue place in the coun-
" cells of things of moſt importance and hardnes, for that leſſe in vs then in any other
" citie, raigneth the modeſtie to giue place to ſuch as knowe moſt, and deſerue beſt:
" And ſo nouriſhing our ſelues with perſwaſion that of right we ought to be all equall
" in all thinges (the power reſting in the multitude) places of vertue, valour, and me-
" rit will be confounded, and this couetouſnes ſtretched out into the greateſt parte,
" will bring to paſſe that ſuch may doe moſt as know leaſt and merit leſſe, for that be-
" ing moſt in number, they wil haue moſt power, opinions being rather compted then
" conſidered. Theſe thinges well waighed, what aſſurance is there, that contenting
" with the forme which now you would bring in, they would not immediatly fall to
" diſorder, and confound with inuentions new and lawes vndiſcreete which wiſe men
" could not reſiſt, the wayes to gouerne a common weale which had bene wiſely deli-
" berated and eſtabliſhed: which thinges being daungerous at all times in ſuch a ſort
" of common weale, would bring farre more peril at this preſent, ſeeing it is the nature
" of men when they come out of one extremitie wherein they haue bene holden by
" force, to ronne with a ſwift courſe to an other extremitie without ſtaying in the
" middeſt: euen ſo, men drawne out of a tyrannie, if they be not reſtrayned, ronne

headlong

headlong into an vnbridled libertie, which iustly may be called a tyrannie: Becauſe in theſe actions a people and multitude is like to a tyrant when he giueth where is no cauſe of meritt, and taketh from him that hath well deſerued, confounding the degrees and diſtinctions of perſons, yea happly their tyrannie is ſo much the more hurtfull, by how much their ignorance (conteyning neither waight, meaſure, nor lawe) is greater then the malignitie, which yet perhapps is gouerned by ſome rule, with ſome bridle, or ſubiect to ſome limit: We ought not much to be moued with the example of the *Venetians*, for that in their behalfe the ſcituacion makes ſome thing, and the forme of gouernment receiued of long time may doe much, togither with the order and diſpoſicion of thinges ruled in ſuch ſort that the councells of importance reſt more in the power of a fewe then of many, and their ſpirits happely not being by nature ſo ſuttle as ours, they are more eaſie to be kept quiet and contented: Beſides, the pollicie of the *Venetians* ſtandes not onely vpon the two foundacions that haue bene conſidered, but for their perfection and firmenes it imports much that they haue a Duke perpetual, with many other ordenaunces, which who would introduce into this common weale, ſhould ſeeme to bring in innouacions & find many reſiſtances, ſeeing our citie takes not nowe her being, nor at this preſent the firſt time of her inſtitucion: And therefore auncient cuſtoms impugning often times common profit, and men ſuſpecting that vnder cooler of preſeruacion of the libertie there would be raiſed a new tyrannie, wholſom councels wil be of litle force, euen as in a body infected & repleniſhed with ill humors, medicines are not of that ſeruice, as in a body purged: for which reaſons, & for the nature of humane things which commonly goe impairing, it is more to be feared that that which in this beginning ſhall be imperfectly ordeyned, will be wholly diſordered with time, then to hope that by time and with occaſions, it may be reduced to perfection: we haue examples of our owne and neede not the iuſtificacion of authorities and experiences of others: for, at what time hath the people gouerned abſolutely this citie, that it hath not bene full of diſcordes, that it hath not ſuffered deformitie & diſmembring, and laſtly that the ſtate hath not immediatly chaunged: And if we ſtande ſo much vpon the examples of others, why do we not remember, that the gouernmēt wholly popular, bredd in *Rome* ſo many tumultes, that had it not bene for the ſcience, diligence, and diſcipline of warre, the life of that common weale had bene ſhort: Let vs remember that *Athens* a moſt floriſhing and mighty citie, loſt not for other occaſion her Empire and ſo fell into ſeruitude of the Citiſens and ſtraungers, then for that they did diſpoſe of great affayres with the deliberacions and councells of the communaltie: But I ſee not for what occaſion it may be ſayd, that in the forme introduced in the parliament the libertie is not there wholly founde, ſeeing all thinges are referred to the diſpoſicion of Magiſtrates, and they not perpetuall, but chaunging, are not elected of few, but approued of many, & ought according to thauncient cuſtom of the citie to be referred to tharbytrement of the lott: then they can not be diſtributed by factions, or by the appetite of citiſens particular: we ſhall haue a farre greater aſſurance when the affaires of moſt importance ſhall paſſe by thexaminacion and direction of the moſt wiſe, the moſt practiſed, and moſt graue men, who are to manage and gouerne them with an other order, an other ſecrecie, and an other iudgement, then would be expreſſed in a multitude or communaltie incapable of ſuch thinges, ſome times when is leaſt neede prodigall in expenſes, and eftſoones in buſines great and waighty, ſo ſparing and reſtrained, that often times for ſauing a very litle, they fall into great expenſes and daungers, euen as men that leaping ouer

" a great blocke, ſtumble vpon a litle ſtrawe: In deede as *P. Anthoyne* hath ſayd, thin-
" firmity of *Italy*, and particularly of our contrey, is great and of no litle conſideracion,
" euen ſo the folly is ſo much the greater, when hauing neede of Phiſicions experien-
" ced and wiſe, we will put our bodies into the handes of ſuch as haue leaſt skill and
" diſcreſſion: Laſtly, you haue to conſider that you ſhall mainteyne your people in
" greater reſt, and leade them moſt eaſily to councells wholſom both for them ſelues,
" and to the benefit of euery one, in giuing them in the common weale a moderate
" part and authoritie, ſeeing if you referre all thinges to their arbitracion, there will be
" daunger that they will become inſolent and wholly diſagreeing from the councells
" of your wiſe, carefull, and affectioned citiſens.

In this councell, whereunto was not admitted the great number of citiſens, the aduiſe then tended to a forme of gouernment not ſo large and popular, had caried it, if amongeſt the deliberacions of men, there had not bene mixed authoritie diuine pronounced by the mouth of *Ieronimo Sauonarola* a religious man of thorder of frear preachers. This man hauing bene continually exerciſed for many yeares in the publike preaching of Gods word at *Florence*, and hauing ioyned to his ſingular doctrine, a generall brute of holines of life, had gotten in the opinion of moſt part of the people, the name and authoritie of a Prophet: for that at times wherein in *Italy* was no other apparance in mans reaſon, then of common tranquillitie, he would in his ſermons prophecie of the comming of forreine armies, with ſo great aſtoniſhment of men that neither walls nor camps were able to reſiſt them: which thinges with many others of other nature, he would aſſure that he did not foretell by diſcourſe humane, or knowledge of the Scriptures, but ſimply did foreſee them by reuelacion diuine: In theſe wonders & warnings he would ſometimes touch the mutacion of the ſtate of *Florence*: At that time he deteſted publikely the forme of gouernment agreed vpon in the parliament, affirming that it was the will and pleaſure of God that they did erect a pollicy mearely popular, in ſort that there ſhould not be power in a few citiſens to alter nether the ſewertie nor the libertie of the reſidue: inſo much that for the reuerēce of one ſo great a name, ioined to the deſire of many, ſuch as were of thother opinion, ſhould not be able to reſiſt ſo great an inclinacion: Therfore this matter being many times propounded and debated, it was laſtly determined, that there ſhould be made a councel of all the citiſens, wherein ſhould haue no acceſſe (ſo it was ſpredd in many places in *Italy*) the dreggs of the people, but onely ſuch as by the auncient lawes of the citie might participate in the gouernment. In this councell ſhould not be hādled nor they ſhould not diſpoſe of other things then of the election of all the Magiſtrates for the city & for the demeane, & of the confirmacion of prouiſions of money, together with all the lawes ordeyned before by the Magiſtrates and other councells more priuat and ſtraite: And to thende that thoccaſions of ciuill diſcordes ſhoulde be taken away, and the ſpiritts of euery one the more aſſured, it was prohibited by decree publike according to the example of *thaueniens*, not to remember the errors and tranſgreſſions committed in the tymes paſt in thaffayres of eſtate: vpon which foundacions, might perhapps haue bene conſtituted a gouernment well regulated and eſtabliſhed, if at the ſame time they had introduced all the ordenances which then came into the conſideracion of wiſe men. But ſuch thinges being not able to be deliberated without the conſent of many who for the memorie of thinges paſt were full of ſuſpicions: it was iudged and determined that for the preſent, the grand councell ſhoulde be eſtabliſhed as a ground and foundacion of the newe libertie, referring to accompliſh that which wanted vntill a better

Iero. Sauonarola eſteemed for a prophet in Florence.

better oportunitie of time,and vntill (by the meane of experience) the publike vtilitie ſhould be knowne of ſuch as had no capacitie to knowe it by reaſon and iudgement: This was the courſe & condicion of thaffayres of *Tuskane*.But in this meane while,the french king,after he had with a ready fortune conquered the citie of *Naples*,to giue a full perfection to his victorie, he had principally to looke to remoue two impediments:The one how he might get new caſtel,and the caſtell of the egge, which are two fortreſſes of *Naples*,holding good yet for *Ferdinand*,but for the towne of *S.Vincent*,builded for the garde of the hauen, he had it without much reſiſtance: his other conſideracion was how he might reduce the whole kingdom to his obedience: In which two thinges fortune ſtill followed him with a full ſayle of her fauors,for,new caſtel,the habitacion of the kinges builded vpon the banke or ſhoares of the ſea, by the couetouſnes and cowardiſe of fiue hundred launceknightes holding garriſon there, was rendred with condicion that they might departe in ſafetie with all the goods and moueables they were able to cary: In this caſtell was founde great quantities of vittells,whereof the king without conſideracion to that might happen,made prodigall liberalities to certeyne of his owne people: And touching the caſtell called the egge, built within the ſea vpon a rocke, afore tymes parcell of the firme lande,but now deuided from it by the operacion of *Lucullus*, was ioyned with a narrow bridge to the next brinkes or ſhoares of *Naples*:they within the rocke, ſeeing them ſelues battered without ceaſing with a perpetuall furie of thartillerie, which might well ſhake the walls, but nothing moue the naturall rocke, agreed to yeld vp the place,if within viij. dayes they were not ſuccored: The Barons alſo and gouernors of communalties, would goe many dayes iorneyes to meete the french capteines and companies of ſouldiers ſent into ſundry partes of the realme: whoſe example in yelding, and the humanitie and inclinacion of the french in receiuing them, bredd ſuch a generall minde of reuolt in cities,fortes,and peeces particular, that almoſt all the places of ſtrength were rendred by thoſe that kept them, either with no reſiſtance at all, or at leaſt without perill or difficultie: yea the rocke of *Caietta* notwithſtanding it was made ſtronge with men, vittells, munition, and other thinges neceſſary for defence,yet after a few light aſſaults,it yelded to the diſcreſſion of the victors: This felicitie of the king followed with ſo full ſtreame,that within a very few dayes,and with a wonderfull facilitie,all the kingdom was brought into his obedience, except the yle of *Yſchia*,the caſtells of *Bronduſia* and *Galipoly* in *Povvylla*, and in *Calabria* the rocke of *Regge*, ſcituate in the poynt of *Italy* right ouer againſt *Sicile*,the citie holding for the king: and except alſo *Turpia* and *Mantia*, who in the beginning diſplayed the banners of *Fraunce*, but refuſing to liue vnder the ſubiection of others then the king, who had already diſpoſed them to certeyne of his fauorits,they chaunged councell, and returned to their firſt Lorde: The like was done within a litle tyme after by the citie of *Bronduſa*,to the which the french king hauing ſent no men, but vſing negligence where was neceſſitie of care and councell, did skarcely heare their Magiſtrates ſent to him to *Naples* to capitulat: by which occaſion ioyning with thoportunitie offered, thoſe that kept the caſtells in the name of *Ferdinand*,had good meane by perſwaſions to draw agayne the citie to the deuocion of the *Aragons*: by which example alſo, the citie of *Otrante* lately declared for the french,& no creature ſent thether to receiue them, continued not long in their affection: All the Lordes and Barons of the realme (except *Alphonſo Daualo* Marquiſſ of *Piſouire*,who left within new caſtell by *Ferdinand*, was gone to him when he perceiued the inclinacion of the launceknightes to yeld:and except two others,who

for that the french king had giuen away their eſtates, were fled into *Sicile)* came to doe homage to the new king: who, deſiring to aſſure wholly ſo great a conqueſt by the way of concorde, called afore him vnder ſafeconduit afore he had wonne the rocke of the egge, *Dom Federyk*, who, aſwell for that he had remeyned many yeares in the court of *Fraunce* in the tyme of the kinges father, as alſo for that he touched his maieſtie in parentage, was much fauored of all the Lordes of *Fraunce*. The king told him, he would indue *Ferdinand* (leauing all that was his in the realme of *Naples)* with eſtates and large reuenues in *Fraunce*: And touching him, to recompenſe him liberally with all that he poſſeſſed there: But *Federyk*, well knowing that his nephew was determined to accept no condicion, except he might haue *Calabria*, aunſwered with a countenance of humilitie and reuerence, and wordes graue and wiſe: That ſeeing God, fortune, and the good wills of men haue concurred in his preſent felicities to giue him the kingdom of *Naples*, *Ferdinand* was not determined to make reſiſtance againſt ſo fatall a diſpoſicion: but, rather eſteeming it no ſhame to giue place to a king ſo happy and mighty, he would no leſſe then others, remeyne in his obedience and deuocion, ſo that his maieſtie would contribute to him ſome parte of the kingdome (touching *Calabria* by a ſecret meaning) to thende that dwelling therein not as king, but in the condicion of one of his Barons, he might honor the clemencie and magnanimitie of the french king, in whoſe ſeruice he hoped to haue once occaſion to ſhowe that vertue which his malicious fortune would not ſuffer him to expreſſe in the action of his owne ſafetie: That, nothing could turne more to the glorie of king *Charles* then that councell, bearing reſemblance and affinitie with the councells of thoſe kinges whom antiquitie doth ſo much recommend vnto vs, who, by ſuch operacions had rayſed their names to immortalitie, and eſtabliſhed amongeſt peoples and nations, diuine honors: That, it was a councell no leſſe for his ſewertie then for his glorie, for that *Ferdinand* brought to his deuocion, the realme would be ſo aſſured to him, that he ſhould not hereafter feare the chaunge of fortune, who had this common propertie: that as often as victories were not aſſured with moderacion and diſcreſſion, ſhe would defile by ſome accident vnlooked for, the vertue and reputacion of the glory gotten. But the king dowting that if he communicated any parte of the kingdome with his competitor, he ſhoulde open a waye to manifeſt perill for the reſidue, *Dom Federyk* parted from him without any thing doing: *Ferdinand*, vnderſtanding of the rendring of the caſtells, ſayled into *Sicile* with xiiij. light gallyes ſlenderly appoynted, wherein he paſſed from *Naples*: This he did to be ready vpon all occaſions, leauing the gard of the rocke of *Yſchia* to *Ianick Daualo* brother to *Alphonſo*, both men of great vallour, and of ſingular faith towards their Lord: But the french king, to take from thennemie that receptacle very conuenient to trouble the realme, ſent thether his armie by ſea, which arriued at length in the port of *Naples*, and finding the towne abandoned, they forbare to aſſaile the rocke, wherein, for his inuincible ſtrength by ſcituacion, they diſcerned many impoſſibilities to preuayle: And therefore, to giue a greater helpe to their vertue, the king determined to aſſemble all the veſſells of *Prouence* and of *Genes*, to take *Yſchia*, and aſſure the ſea which *Ferdinand* vexed ſome tymes: But their councel and diligence were not equall to their fortune, ſeeing, according to thinfirmitie of all their doings, all thinges had a ſlow proceeding, and were guided in moſt great negligence and confuſion: for, the french king turning the proſperitie of his affayres to ſerue his vanities, his companies in like ſort, by ſo great felicitie became more inſolent then of cuſtom, and let goe at aduenture thaffayres of importance, not receyuing

The french king makes offers to Dom Federyk.

Dom Federyk aunſwereth the king.

The french king ſendes an armie to inuade Yſchia.

uing into their thoughts any other impreſſion then of feaſting and pleaſures: And ſuch as were great in the councells and fauors of the king, cared not but for their owne particular, and to draw of the victory all the profit they could, without reſpecting the dignitie or vtilitie of their Prince.

The death of Ge. Otto a Turke, and kept in refuge by the Pope.

About this tyme dyed at *Naples Gemyn Otto* to the great diſpleaſure of the king, who layed vp in him many foundacions and oportunities for the warre he determined to make againſt the Empire of the *Turkes:* It was beleued his death was brued in a cup of poyſon which the Pope had giuen him to worke his ende in a certein tyme: or that hauing deliuered him againſt his wil, and ſo depriued of the xl. thowſand duckats which his brother payed him yearely, he tooke for conſolacion that he that had taken him away, ſhould receiue by him no commoditie or profit: or at leaſt for enuy he bare to the glory of the french king: or laſtly for feare, that thinges ſucceeding happily with him againſt the Infidells, he would not afterwards turne his thoughtes to reforme the abuſes of the Church, which being wholly alyened from the auncient deuocion, cuſtoms, & pietie, made euery day of leſſe authoritie the religion of Chriſt, euery one withall hauing an aſſured expectacion that they would further decline before the ende of his raigne, which being gotten by wicked meanes, was happly neuer in the memorie of men adminiſtred with worſe orders: And there were that beleued (for the corrupt nature of the Pope made credible in him all wickednes) that *Baiazet* after he vnderſtoode that the french king prepared to paſſe into *Italy*, practiſed with him by the meane of *George Bucciardin* corrupted with money, to oppreſſe the life of *Gemyn:* And yet the king (nouriſhing ſtill his inclinacion to the warres of the *Turkes*, more vppon a greene humor of youth and volubilitie of minde, then by maturitie of councell) ceaſed not for his death to ſend into *Greece* tharbiſhop of *Duraz* of the nation of *Albania*, who put the king in hopes by the meanes of certeine factions of the baniſhed and other vayne intelligences, to ſtirre vp ſome commocion in that prouince: But new accidents conſtrained him to turne his ſpirits to new thoughtes.

Lodo. Sforce beginneth too late to feare the greatnes of the french.

It hath bene ſet downe before, how the deſire to vſurpe the Duchie of *Myllan*, ioyned to a feare that *Lodouvyk Sforce* had of the *Aragons* and *Peter de medicis*, induced him to procure the french king to paſſe into *Italy*, by whoſe comming after he had obteined his ambicious pretence, and that the *Aragons* were brought into thoſe neceſſities, that there was no abilitie remeyning to defend their propper ſafetie: A ſecond feare both more great and reaſonable then the firſt, beganne to occupie his thoughtes, his eyes, and all his ſenſes: that was the ſeruitude and thraldom houering ouer him, and all *th Italians*, if the kingdom of *Naples* were ioyned to the power of the crowne of *Fraunce*, deſiring for that cauſe (as hath bene noted) that by the *Florentyns* ſhould be obiected many difficulties and impediments againſt the reſolucion of his enterpriſe. But when he ſaw his maieſtie was eaſily ioyned with that common weale, & with the ſame facilitie had ouercome all thimpediments of the Pope, and laſtly without reſiſtance had preuayled ouer the realme of *Naples*, the daunger ſemed euery day ſo much the greater to him, by how much the courſe of the french victories aduaunced more and more with facilitie, fortune and felicitie: A like feare alſo began to ſtirre in the mindes of the Senat of *Venice*, who in all their councells hetherunto had cõſtantly perſeuered in newtralitie, gouerning their abſtinence with ſo great diſcreſſion no leſſe in action then in demõſtracion, that there was no meane to ſuſpect their inclinacion more to one partie then to an other: They had for Embaſſadors with the king *Anthony Loredan* and *Dominick Treuiſan*, albeit they lingered

ſo long to ſend them, that the king was not onely paſſed the mountes, but arriued at *Florence* afore they were preſented to him: But now looking with iudgement and ſtudie into the violent courſe of ſo great felicities, his armies ronning like a thunder, without reſiſtance thorow all *Italy*, they beganne to eſteeme as their owne, the domage of their neighbours, and to feare that in the ruine of others, their deſtruction were not conſpired, But chiefly the king hauing made him ſelfe Lorde of *Pyſa* and other fortreſſes of the *Florentyns*, leauing garriſon in *Sienna*, and almoſt wonne the like imperie in the ſtate of the Church: they conſtrued all to arguments abſolute, that the ambicion of his thoughtes was not limited within the realme and rule of *Naples*: for theſe cauſes the Senat gaue willing eare to the perſwaſions of *Lodovvyk Sforce*, who aſſoone as the *Florentyns* had yelded to the king, had begonne to ſolicite them to ioyne with him in a common remedie againſt common daungers: wherein it was beleued that if the french king had met with any impedimentes eyther at *Rome*, or at his entrye into the realme of *Naples*, they had together taken armes againſt him: But the kinges fortune preuented their councells, and in his victorie was more ſuddeinnes & expedicion, then in all thimpediments that could be obiected. The king alſo, dowting of the practiſes and factions of *Lodovvyk*, had reteyned in his pay ſince the conqueſt of *Naples*, *Iohn Iacques Triuulce* with an hundred launces vnder a penſion worthy and honorable, and ioyned vnto him with many promiſes the Cardinall *Fregoſa* and *Obietto de Fieſque*: the one for that they were mighty inſtruments to trouble and rayſe emotions in the towne of *Genes*: and the other, for that being a chiefe leader of the *Guelffes* faction at *Myllan*, caried a minde much deuided from *Lodovvyk*: To whom as yet the king refuſed to giue the principallitie of *Tarenta*, ſaying his bonde had no force till he had reduced into his power all the realme of *Naples*: Theſe thinges being bitterly diſpleaſing to *Lodovvyk*, he reſtrayned twelue gallyes which were armed for the king at *Genes*, and denownced the appoynting of any more veſſells there for the french ſeruice, which the king complayned to be the cauſe that he did not eftſoones reaſſayle with a new ſupply the rocke of *Yſchia*.

Thus ſuſpicions and diſdaynes growing on all partes, and the ſuddeine conqueſt of *Naples* repreſenting to the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Myllan* the preſent perill of their eſtates: they were conſtrayned to ioyne vertue to their councells, and deferre no longer to put their thoughtes in execucion: wherein, for the furthering of their reſolucion & courage, they had the conſideracion of the mighty companies of confederats: for that to this the Pope was no leſſe ready (to whom the greatnes of the french was fearefull and ſuſpicious) then *Maximylian* king of *Romaines* wholly diſpoſed, to whome aboue all other for many occaſions of hatred to the crowne of *Fraunce*, and for the many iniuries receiued by the king raygning, the proſperities of *Fraunce* were hatefull: But the chiefe groundes and foundacions whereuppon the *Venetians* and *Lodovvyk* wrought, were the King and Queene of *Spayne*, who being a litle before bownd to the french king (not for other reſpect then to draw from him the earledom of *Roſſillion*) not to hinder him in the conqueſt of *Naples*, had conningly reſerued to them ſelues till that tyme a free power to doe the contrary: for, (if their brutes be true) there was a clauſe annexed to the capitulacions made for the reſtitucion of the Earledom of *Roſſillion*, which bare that they ſhould not be bownd to any thing that touched the preiudice of the Church: of which exception they inferred, that if the Pope, for thintereſt of his chiefe, deſired them to ſuccor the realme of *Naples*, they had good right to doe ſo, without breaking their faith, or corrupting

rupting their promises: To this they added afterwards, that by the same capitulacions they were forbidden to oppose them selues against king *Charles*, in case it appeared that the same kingdom did iudicially apperteyne vnto him: But what difference so euer was betwene the truth and their constructions of thinges, it is certeyne, that hauing got that they desired, they beganne not onely to giue hope to the succors of them of *Aragon*, and secretly to solicite the Pope not to abandon their cause, but also, as they had in the beginning exhorted the french king with wordes moderat as louers of his glory and zealous to religion, to conuert his armies rather against Infidells then the Christian nations: So they continued eftsoones that course, but with so much more efficacie and wordes suspected, by howe much the victorie of the king aduaunced and flourished: And to thende they might couer their doinges with more authoritie, and to nourish in greater hopes the Pope and *th Aragons*, (and of the other parte giuing out a brute that they had regard onely to the gard of *Sicily*) they were ready to sende thether an armie by sea, which arriued there after the losse of *Naples*, but yet with an equipage and furniture more in demonstracions then in effectes, for that it conteyned not aboue eight hundred horsemen mounted vpon iennets, and a thowsand footemen *Spanyards*: They vsed their apparances vntill the taking of *Ostia* by the *Collonnoys*, and the threates of the french against the Pope gaue them a more honest occasion to aduaunce that which they had fashioned and resolued in their mindes: And following their deuise to an action and beginning, they protested openly to the king whilest he was at *Florence* by their Embassadors, that according to the office of Princes Christian, they would take the defence & protection of the Pope, and the realme of *Naples* (A chief of the church of *Rome*) wherein hauing already begonne (assoone as they vnderstoode of the fleeing of the *Aragons*) to negociat with the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Myllan* for confederacion, they eftsoones solicited them with a new instance, to communicat with them for their common sewertie against the french men.

So that, aswell by the solicitacion of the king of *Spayne*, as occasions of the tyme present, threatning indifferent perills to all the principalities in *Italy*: there was at length in the month of Aprill and in the citie of *Venice* where were th Embassadors of all those Princes, contracted a confederacion betwene the Pope, the king of *Romaines*, the king of *Spayne*, the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Myllan*. The title and publicacion of this league was onely for the defence of the states of one an other, reseruing places to whosoeuer would enter it with condicions reasonable: But they all being of opinion that it was necessary so to temper thinges as the french king might not holde *Naples*, it was agreed in capitulacions more secrete, that the bandes of *Spanyardes* arriued in *Sicily* should be a succor for the recouering of that kingdom to *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, who with a great hope in the wills of the people, labored to enter into *Calabria*: That the *Venetians* at the same tyme with their armie by sea, should assayle the sea coastes of the sayd kingdom: That the Duke of *Myllan* (to hinder succors that might come out of *Fraunce*) should doe what he could to get the citie of *Ast* wherein was the Duke of *Orleans* with a very small strength: That to the kings of *Romaines* and *Spayne* shoulde be contributed by the other confederats a certeine quantitie of money, to thende that either of them shoulde make warre vppon the realme of *Fraunce* with a puissant armie: The confederats withall desiring that all *Italy* would be vnited in the same concorde of will, made instance to the *Florentyns* and Duke of *Ferrara* to participat with this league: But the Duke being delt withall afore the league was published, refused to take armes against the french king, and

A confederas league against the french king.

yet,with an *Italian* ſuttlety he conſented that *Dom Alphonſo* his eldeſt ſonne ſhould take pay of the Duke of *Myllan* for cl.men at armes with title of Liefetenant ouer all his companies.

But the cauſe of the *Florentyns* was otherwiſe, hauing no leſſe iuſt occaſion to leaue the french king,then allured to the confederacion with many great offers: for that immediatly after the publicacion of the league, *Lodouvyk* offered them in the name of all the confederats (ſo that they would communicat in the league) all their forces to reſiſt the king, if, in his returne from *Naples*, he would vexe them, and to ioyne with them aſſoone as might be for the recouering of *Pyſa* and *Lyuorne*: And on thother ſide,they ſawe the kinge neither make reckoning of the promiſes he had giuen at *Florence*, and much leſſe had in the beginning reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of their townes, nor ſince the conqueſt of *Naples* redeliuered the caſtells of the ſame: They ſawe him make his fayth and othe inferior to the councells of thoſe, who,fauoring the cauſe of the *Pyſans*,perſwaded him that the *Florentyns*, aſſoone as they were reſtored would vnite with the other *Italians*: They ſaw alſo that notwithſtanding the great ſummes of money & other corrupcions which they had beſtowed vpon the Cardinall *S.Mallovv*,yet he reſiſted coldly ſuch as incenſed the king againſt them,as one that would not for the loue of the *Florentyns* come to contencion with the great ones of the kinges court: Aſwell in theſe cauſes general as in matters more particular,they found in the king by demonſtracions manifeſt, that to the violacion of his faith,he had ioyned a careles eſtimacion of them, their merits,and amities,in ſo much that one day their Embaſſadors complayning of the rebellion of *Montpulcian*,and ſummoning him according to his bonde to compell them of *Sienna* to render it: he aunſwered in ſkorne what he had to doe if their ſubiectes rebelled,becauſe they were ill gouerned.But all theſe notwithſtanding the *Florentyns*, framing their councells according to the termes and neceſſities of their affayres, would not ſuffer diſdayne to cary them againſt their propper profit,eſteeming it to agree beſt with their preſent fortune, not to beare inclinacion to the requeſtes of the confederats: aſwell not to prouoke againſt them of new the armie of *Fraunce* in the kinges returne, as for that they woulde yet expect and temporiſe and hope to haue reſtitucion of their places by ſuch as kept them: and laſtly, for that they reappoſed litle in thoſe promiſes, knowing that they were hated of the *Venetians*, for thimpediments which at ſundry tymes they had giuē to their enterpriſes, & knowing manifeſtly that *Lodovvyk* aſpired to the imperie of *Pyſa*.

But nowe,as all thinges earthly are ſubiect to their ſeaſons of reuolucion, and in mortall felicities can be no aſſurance nor perpetuitie: So, about theſe tymes the reputacion of the french began to diminiſh in the kingdom of *Naples*, for that making their proſperities ſerue to their pleaſures,and gouerning thinges at aduenture, they looked not to chaſe the ennemie out of theſe fewe places yet holden by them, which they might eaſily haue done, if they had followed their fortune: They litle conſidered that armes doe litle aduaunce, where pollicie is not concurrant,and victory bringes a very ſhort glorye, where the gouernment is vnperfect: But much more began they to decline in opinion,affection,and friendſhip: for,albeit the king expreſſed many honorable aſpects and liberalities towards the people in graunting thorow out the realme ſo many priuileages and exempcions as they amounted to more then two hundreth thowſand duckatts by yeare: yet other thinges were not redreſſed nor gouerned with that order and diſcreſſion that apperteyned: for that the king,holding it an action inferior to his authoritie & greatnes to heare the complayntes

The french king vſeth negligence in ordering the thinges of Naples.

plaintes and ſutes of men, referred ouer the whole charge of thaffayres to ſuch as gouerned him ſelfe, and they partly by incapacitie, and partly by particular couetouſnes confounded all thinges: for, the nobilitie were not embraſed with that humanitie they looked for, and much leſſe had recompenſes equall to their merits, yea they founde many difficulties to enter into the chambers and audience of the king: There was made no diſtinction of perſons: the merits and ſeruiſes of men were not conſidered but at aduenture: The mindes of ſuch as naturally were eſtraunged from the houſe of *Aragon* were not confirmed: many delayes and difficulties were ſubborned touching the reſtitucion of the ſtates and goods of thoſe that were of the faction of *Aniovv*, and of the other Barons that had bene baniſhed by the olde *Ferdinand*: fauors and graces were imparted to ſuch as procured them by corrupcion & meanes extraordinary: from many they tooke without iuſtice or reaſon, and to many they gaue without occaſion or deſeruing: Almoſt all offices and dignities were transferred to the french, in whom were alſo inueſted (to the great greeſe of the naturall Lordes) all the townes of the demayne (ſuch they call thoſe that are wont to obey immediatly the king) thinges ſo much the more greeuous, by how much the king had promiſed there ſhould be no alteracion of nature, eſtate, or poſſeſſion of thoſe gouernments. The diſcontentment of theſe things was much increaſed by the inſolencie and naturall arrogancie of the french aggrauated much by the facilitie of the victorie, which caried them into thoſe opinions and weenings, that they eſtemed nothing of the whole Monarchie of *Italy*, attributing that to their proper vertue and vallour which chaunced by their fortune and felicitie: And theſe publike & generall inſolencies were made more intollerable by many priuat and inferior abuſes, as the armie being furried in many partes of the realme, and the bandes diſperſed more at aduenture then by diſcreſſion, liued in ſuch vnbrideled incontinencie, that thoſe wiues and daughters that had eſcaped their diſſolucion in the tyme of hoſtilitie, were violently diſhonored bearing the name of their hoſtes and friendes: In ſo much as theſe doinges drawing with them a ſuſpicion of a perpetuall ſeruitude, that loue, that deſire, that affection wherewith they honored them before, had now taken contrary qualitie, and not onely turned into hatred, conſpiracie, & accurſings againſt them, but alſo in place of the malice they bare to the *Aragons*, there was new inſynuacion of compaſſion to *Ferdinand*, no leſſe for the generall expectacion of his vertue, then for the memorie of the gracious ſpeech which with ſo great ſweetenes and conſtancie he deliuered to the *Neapolytans* the day of his departure: The ſame ſo working that that citie and almoſt all the kingdom expected with no leſſe deſire, an occaſion to reappeale the *Aragons*, then a few monethes before, they had deſired their deſtruction. Nowe began to be agreeable to them the name ſo hatefull of *Alphonſo*, calling iuſt ſeueritie, that which they had wont to note in him for crueltie: & interpreting to true ſinceritie of mind, that which wrongfully they had wont to cõſter pride and fiercenes: ſuch is the nature of communalties and peoples inclined to hope more then they ought, and endure leſſe then is neceſſary, alwayes thirſting after innouacions, and neuer contented with the tyme preſent. This infection chiefly goeth thorow thinhabitants of *Naples*, who, of all the regions in *Italy* are moſt noted of inconſtancie and deſire of new thinges.

Before this new league was made, the french king had determined to returne into *Fraunce* with ſpeede, moued more with a light fancie, and a vehement deſire of his court, then with conſideracions diſcreete or well tempered: ſeeing that in the kingdom of *Naples* remeyned vndecided many and great affayres of Princes and e-

The french king taketh councell of his Lordes what to doe againſt the league of Confederats.

ſtates,and the partes of the realme being not fully conquered, his victory had not yet her iuſt perfection: But after he knew that ſo many Princes were drawne into league againſt him, he was much moued in his minde, and fell to deuiſe with his Lordes what he were beſt to doe in ſo great an accident, ſpecially euery one aſſuring him that it was long ſince thoſe Princes had conſented in conſpiracie againſt him: Thoſe of his councell were of aduiſe, that he ſhould diſpatche his departure, dowting that by how long he taried, by ſo much ſhould he giue oportunitie to the difficulties to increaſe,ſeeing the Confederats woulde winne time to make greater prouiſions,the brute ronning already that a great leuie of *Almaines* ſhould paſſe into *Italy*, and that men beganne to ſpeake much of the perſon of thEmprour: They perſwaded that the king would prouide that there might paſſe with diligence out of *Fraunce*,new bandes of ſouldiers to the towne of *Aſt*,both to garde that citie,and to keepe the Duke of *Myllan* in neceſſitie to defende his owne contrey, and withall to be in readines to paſſe further according to the occaſions and neceſſities of his maieſties ſeruices: it was alſo determined in the ſame councell to labor with all diligence and corrupcion of offers,to ſeparate the Pope from the other confederats,& to diſpoſe him to transferre to the kinges perſon the inueſtiture of the realme of *Naples*,which(notwithſtanding he promiſed abſolutely at *Rome*,) yet he had denied it til that day,and with declaracion that that graunt or conceſſion ſhould not beare preiudice to the title & rightes of an other.In a deliberacion ſo graue, and amongeſt ſo many thoughtes of ſuch importance, was not loſt the memorie of thaffayres of *Pyſa*: for, the king, deſiring for many regardes, that in him might remeyne power to diſpoſe of that eſtate,and dowting leaſt by the ayde of the confederats the people of *Pyſa* woulde not bereaue him of the citadell, he ſent thether by ſea together with thEmbaſſadors of the towne which were with him, ſix hundreth french footemen, who being arriued there,conceiued the ſame affection which others that had bene left there,had: for being gouerned with deſire to ſpoyle and pray, after they had receiued money of the *Pyſans*, they went with their companies to encampe afore the towne of *Libra frate*,where the *Pyſans* (whoſe Capteine was *Luke Màluozze*)had ben in campe certeyne dayes afore vpon an aduertiſement that the *Florentyns* had ſent part of their bandes to *Montpulcian*, and hearing of the approch of their enemies, were rayſed and gone the day before: But returning thether eftſoones with the ſupply of the french men,they tooke it in fewe dayes,for that the *Florentyne* armie ſent to ſuccor it, could not paſſe the riuer of *Serele* for the violence of waters, neyther durſt they take the other way by the walls of *Lucques*, for the ill diſpoſicion of that people who were much moued,and fauored greatly the libertie of the *Pyſans:* Theſe bandes with thoſe of the french that remeyned of the conqueſt of *Libra fratte*,ronne ouer the whole contrey of *Pyſa* as enemies manifeſt to the *Florentyns*, who, when they complained,the king gaue no other aunſwere,then aſſoone as he ſhould come into *Tuskane*,he would redeliuer all thoſe places he had promiſed, deſiring them to beare with patience that litle reſpit.

But the meanes of departure were not ſo eaſie to the king,as was ready his deſire: for that his armie was not ſo great, as, being deuided into two partes, it was able to bring him into *Aſt* without daunger,and to ſuffice both to auoyd thimpediments of the confederats,and defend the kingdom of *Naples* againſt ſo many exactions as are in preparing.In which difficulties he was conſtrayned(to thende the realme ſhould not be naked of defence) to diminiſhe the prouicions reſerued for his owne ſafetie, and yet to keepe his perſon from manifeſt perill, his neceſſities enforced him not to

leaue

leaue in the kingdom so strong an armie as was needeful: so he determined to leaue there halfe of his *Svvyzzers*, and a parte of the frenche footemen, eyght hundreth launcemen of *Fraunce*, and about fiue hundreth men at armes of *th Italians* which were in his pay, deuided vnder the enseignes of the Prefect of *Rome*, the *Collonnoys* & *Anthony Sauelle*, Capteines who had tasted plentifully of his liberalities, in the distribucion of the townes and estates of the kingdom, but specially the *Collonnoys*: for that to *Fabricius* he had giuen the contrey of *Alba* and *Taille cusse* possessed before by *Virginio Vrsin*: and *Prospero*, he had indued with the Duchie of *Tracette*, and the citie of *Fondi*, with many castels which belonged to the familie of *Caetane* and *Montfortin*, together with many other peeces adioyning taken from the house of the *Comtes*: To these forces, he made reckoning that in all necessities, he shoulde vnite the forces of those Barons, who for their owne sewertie, were constrayned to desire his greatnes: but specially he reappосed much in the powers of the Prince of *Salerne* whom he had restored to thoffice of Admirall, and of the Prince of *Bisignian*: he created as Lieftenant generall ouer all the realme, *Gilbert de Burbon* Duke of *Montpensier*, a Capteine more esteemed for his greatnes of his house, and that he did participat in the bludd royall, then for his proper vertue: he assigned other Capteines in many partes of the realme, on whom he had bestowed estates and reuenues: of these the chief was *M. D'aubygny*, whom he had made great Constable of the realme for *Calabria*: In *Caiette*, the Seneshall of *Beaucaire* whom he had raysed to thoffice of highe Chamberlaine: And in *Abruzze Gracian* a valiant Capteine and of great reputacion: promising them all in one generall faith and worde of a Prince to sende them speedy reskew of money and men: But in the meane while to enterteyne the warre, he left them no other prouicion, thē the assignacion of those moneyes which should be dayly gathered of the reuenues of the realme, which beganne already to wauer and shake, for that the name of *th Aragons* beganne to reuiue in many places: For, at the same tyme that the king would departe from *Naples*, *Ferdinand* accompanied with the spanish armie that came by sea into the yle of *Sicile*, was discended into *Calabria*, to whom flocked with a swift readines many trowpes of the contreymen, the citie of *Regge* rendring it selfe to him, whose castell had bene alwayes kept in his name: At the same tyme was discouered about the shoares of *Powylla* the *Venetian* armie by sea, ouer whom was Capteine *Anthony Grymany*, a man in that common weale of great authoritie: But neither for these, nor many other signes of chaūges towardes the king, did not forbeare, no not once suspende or linger his deliberacion to goe his way: for, besides that happly they were driuen by necessitie, the desire was incredible in the king and all his court to returne into *Fraunce*, as though fortune that was sufficient to make them get so great a victorie, had bene still so able to preserue it for them: he did not remember that the getting of a victorie is referred to fortune, but the losse of a kingdom is imputed to the king, who standes then in most necessitie of councell and discression, when fortune makes him beleue he is in most securitie: it is familiar with fortune to doe more harme in one day, then she doth good in many yeares, vsing for her delite to rayse vp vayne men for her glory, and suffer them eftsoones to fall with the waight of their propper vanitie and want of gouernment: In this tyme also held good for *Ferdinand*, the yles of *Yschia* and of *Lipara*, which albeit were neare to *Sicile*, yet they are members of the kingdom of *Naples*: he held *Reggi* which he had newly recouered, and euen in *Calabria*, he commaunded *Villenensue* with the castell, and places about *Bronduſa* where *Federyk* was retyred, also *Galipoli*, *la Mantia*, and *Turpia*.

Gil. Burbon D. of Montpensier the kinges Lieftenant in Naples.

The realme of Naples beginneth to reclayme the name of th Aragons.

Before the king parted from *Naples*, many thinges were in negociacion betwene him and the Pope: not without great hope of concorde: In which actions was sent from the Pope to the king, and after returned to *Rome* the Cardinall *S. Denys*, and for the french king, *M. Franci:* The king desired greatly thinuestiture of *Naples*, and that the Pope, if he would not ioyne with him, at the least that he would not be for his enemies & that he would receiue him into *Rome* as a friende: To which demaundes, albeit at the beginning the Pope bare some inclinaciō, yet, distrusting much in him selfe of the king, and esteeming that to separate him selfe from the confederats, and consent to thinuestiture, would be supposed a meane sufficient to make a faithfull reconciliacion with him: he obiected many difficulties to thother demaundes, and to that of thinuestiture, (albeit the king would condiscende to take it vnder this condicion not to be preiudiciall to the rightes of an other) he aunswered, that he wished the lawes might be looked into afore, to see to whom the right apperteyned: And of the other side, seeking to giue impediment by force to the kinges entrye into *Rome*, he sent to the state of *Venice* and to the Duke of *Myllan* to refurnishe him with succors and strength of souldiers, who, immediatly sent him a thowsand light horsemen, and two thowsand footemen with promise of an ayde of a thowsande men at armes: with which bandes ioyned to his owne forces he hoped to be able to make resistance: But the *Venetians* and Duke of *Myllan* considering afterwards, that it was a thinge too daungerous to sende their strength and companies so farre from their owne estates, seeing that neither the whole armie agreed vpon was yet in order, and parte of their puoples occupied in thenterprise of *Ast*, and ioyning withall to these dowtes thinfidelitie of the Pope, remembred in a late experience when king *Charles* past that way, he called *Ferdinand* into *Rome* with his armie, & suddeinly with a coūcell chaunged, made him yssue forth againe: They began to perswade him to withdrawe to some place of sewertie rather then to aduenture his person to so great a daunger in striuing to defende *Rome*. These thinges increased the kinges hopes to come to composicion with the Pope.

The french king crowned king of Naples.

The french king departed from *Naples* the xx. day of May: But for that he had not taken in the beginning with the ceremonies accustomed, the titles & enseignes regall of the kingdom: A fewe dayes afore his departure, he receiued solemnlie in the cathedrall Church with great pompe and celebracions the royall ornaments, the honors, othes and homages, accustomed to be done to new kinges: At this coronacion, the oracion was pronounced in the name of the people of *Naples* by *Iohn Iouian Pontan*, to whose prayses very cleare and shining for thexcellencie of his doctrine, his life, and ciuilitie of maners, this action brought no smal stayne and daunder for that, as he had bene of long a principal Secretorie to the kinges of *Aragon*, & of very priuate and familiar authoritie, and the teacher and maister of *Alphonso*: So, whether it were to obserue iustly the partes proper to orators, or to show his affection to the french, he tooke too great a libertie to speake in the dispraises and derogacion of the kinges by whom he had bene so much aduaunced. So hard it is some-
" tymes for a man to keepe in him selfe that moderacion and those rules, which he
" following with so great doctrine, had taught to others writing of morall vertues, &
" by his wit and knowledge had made him selfe wonderfull to the world in all kindes of philosophie and learning: The king ledd with him viij. hundreth french launces, two hundred gentlemen for his garde, a hundreth launces vnder the Lord *Triuulce*, three thowsand *Svvyzzers* footemen, a thowsand frenchmen, and a thowsand *Gascoyns*, hauing ordeyned that in *Tuskane Camylla Vitelli* and his brother should ioyne

with him with two hundreth and fiftie men at armes,& that the armie by sea should draw towards *Lyuorne*. *Virginio Vrsin* and the *Count Petillane* followed the king without other garde or sewertie then their faith not to goe away without leaue: Their cause,for that they reasoned that they were not iustly made prisoners,had bene disputed in the kinges councell, afore whome they alleaged,that at the tyme they yelded them selues, the king had not onely graunted to those that they sent, but also set downe in writing vnder his owne signature their safe conduit,whereof being aduertised by their solicitors which attended the dispatch of the Secretories,they had vnder that trust at the sommonce of the first Herald that went to *Nola*, erected and displayed the enseignes of the king,and giuen the keyes to the first Capteine hauing with him but a few horsemen,notwithstanding their strength being foure hundreth men at armes,they might easily haue made resistance: They preferred besides, the auncient deuocion of the familie of *Vrsins*, who taking part alwayes with the faction of the *Guelffes*,had alwayes borne both in them selues and in all the predecessors of that house,perpetuall impressions of honor,reuerence,and seruice,to the crowne of *Fraunce*: And as from those regardes had proceeded, that with so great a readines they had receiued the kinges Maiestie into their estates bordering vpon *Rome*: So therefore,it was neither conuenient nor iust, both hauing regard to the faith giuen by the king,and the merit of their operacions and actions, that they should be holden prisoners: But they were aunswered with no lesse roundnes by *M.de Lygny*, whose souldiers tooke them within *Nola*: that the safe conduit, albeit it was determined and subsigned by the king,yet it is to be vnderstand, that it was not perfectly giuen, but when it was confirmed with the kinges seale and with the seale of the Secretorie,and so deliuered to the partie: That in all grauntes and letters pattents such was thauncient custom in all courtes,to thende that if any thing were inconsideratly passed the mouth of the Prince by reason of many thoughtes and affayres, or for not sufficient informacion of thinges,it might be moderated and goe forth with his due perfection: he alleaged that the confidence of that moued them not to yeld to so small a companie of souldiers, but they did communicat in the generall necessity and feare,for that there remayned no meane either to defende or to flee, the whole contrey about them swarming with the armies of the victors: That what they had alleaged of their merits was false, which if it should be affirmed by an other, them selues ought to deny it for their honor: for that it was manifest to all the world,that not of will or free consent,but to auoyde daunger (leauing in aduersitie the *Aragons*, of whom in prosperitie they had receiued great benefits) they agreed to giue the king passage thorow their landes: Therefore seeing they were in the pay of thennemie,and bare mindes estraunged from the name of the french, & that they had perfectly no safe conduit or sewertie, they were made prisoners by good law and right of armes: These reasons thus aduouched against the *Vrsins*, and susteyned by the power of *M.de Ligny*,and authoritie of the *Collonnoys*, who aswell for auncient enuies,as for the diuersitie of the factions,quarrelled them openly: there was no resolucion nor sentence,onely they were commaunded to follow the king,leauing them naked hopes to be deliuered when his maiestie was come to *Ast*.

Virginio Vrsin and the Count Petillane being the kings prisoners,show reasons to be redeliuered.

Their reasons are disproued by Monsr.de Ligny.

But albeit the Pope,(the confederats hauing councelled him to goe his way)was not without inclinacion to be reconciled with the king, with whom he negociated continually: yet,suspicion and ielowsie being strong in him, he nourished the king with hopes that he woulde attende him: And yet after he had bestowed a sufficient garrison within the castell *S.Ange*, two dayes before the king should enter *Rome*, he

went to *Oruiette* accompanied with the colleage of Cardinalls, and two hundred men at armes, a thowsand light horsemen, and three thowsand footemen: he left behinde him as Legat the Cardinall of *S. Anastasio* to receiue and honor the king, who entred by that quarter on the farre side of *Tyber*, to thende to auoyd the castell *S. Ange*: And refusing the lodging that was offered him by the Popes commission in the pallaice of the *Mount Vatican*, he went and lodged in the suburbes: And when the Pope vnderstoode that the king came neare to *Viterbe*, notwithstanding he interteyned him with newe hopes to compound with him in some place conuenient betwene *Viterbe* and *Oruiette*, he left *Oruiette* and went to *Perouse*, with intencion (if the king tooke that way) to goe to *Ancona*, the better to haue meane, by the commoditie of the sea, to retyre to some place absolutely assured: All this notwithstanding the king, being not a litle discontented with his vniust feares and ielousies, rendred the castells of *Ciuitauechia* and *Terracina*, reseruing *Ostia*, which when he came out of *Italy*, he gaue vp to the power of the Cardinall of *S. P. ad vincla*, who was bishop thereof: he passed in like sort by the contreyes of the Church, as thorow the dominions of a freind, sauing that they of *Tuskanella* refusing to receiue into their towne his vauntgarde, the souldiers tooke it by force, and sackt it, not without murder and slaughter of many.

After this, the king remeyned without any occasion at *Siena* six dayes, not considering (neither of him selfe nor by the straite aduertisements of the Cardinall *de S. P. ad vincla*, and by *Tryuulce*) how hurtfull it was to giue time to his enemies to make their prouisions and vnite their forces: neither did he recompense the losse of the time, with the profit of councells or deliberacions: for there was debated at *Sienna* the restitucion of the fortresses of the *Florentyns* promised by the king at his departure from *Naples*, & confirmed by many voluntary grauntes on the way: And therefore, the *Florentyns*, besides that they were ready to pay the thirty thowsand duckats remeyning of the summe agreed at *Florence*, offered to lende lxx. thowsande more, and to sende with him till he were arriued at *Ast*, *Francisco Secco* their Capteyne with three hundreth men at armes and two thowsande footemen: The necessitie which the king had of money, the oportunitie to augment his armie, ioyned to the consideracion of his faith and othe, induced almost all those of his councell to perswade effectually the restitucion of the castells and peeces of strength reseruing *Petra Santa* and *Serezana*, as conuenient instruments to draw more easily to his deuocion the hartes of the *Genouuays*: But it was a resolucion in destinie that the matter of new calamities shoulde remeyne kindled in *Italy*: for, *M. de Ligny*, a man for his youth more ready to enterprise, then rype in councell, and whose experience had not yet wrought in him a perfection of iudgement, being borne of one of the kinges sisters, and of no small fauors with him, made his lightnes togither with the disdaine he bare to the *Florentyns*, for that in all their sutes they addressed their meanes to the Cardinall of *S. Mallouu*, the onely impediment to this deliberacion, alleaging no other reason then the pietie and compassion of the *Pysans*: And touching the offer of the forces which the *Florentyns* made, he despised them, vaunting that the armie of *Fraunce* was able to fight with all the men of warre in *Italy* knit in one strength: *M. de Pienes* was a supporter of his opinion, for that he thought the king would bestow vppon him the iurisdiction of *Pysa* and *Lyuorne*: There was debating also at *Siena* of the gouernment of that citie, for that many of the orders of the people and of the reformers (to plucke downe the brotherhood of the order of *Montenoue*,) made instance, that erecting a newe forme of gouernment, the garde which they of *Monte-*

noue

noue kept at the publike pallaice might be taken away, and the place supplyed by a garde of french men vnder the leading of *M.de Ligny*: And albeit this councell was reiected in the councell of the king, as a thing of litle continuance and impertinent to the time present: yet *M. de Ligny* who had layed a vayne plott to make him selfe Lorde of it, obteyned that the king woulde take into his protection that citie vnder certeine condicions, binding him self to the defense of it and all the circumstances except *Montpulcian*, which he sayd he would not intangle him selfe withall, neythet for the *Florentyns* nor for the *Sienoys*: The communaltie of *Siena* (albeit no mencion was made in the capitulacion) chused by the consent of the king *M.de Ligny* for their Capteine, promising him twenty thowsand duckats by yeare vpon condicion, that he would keepe there a Lieftenant with three hundreth footemen for the gard of the place, which strength he left there coolled out of such as were of the frenche armie: The vanitie of which deliberacions appeared immediatly, for that the order of *Montnoue* hauing eftsoones reconquered with armes their authoritie accustomed, chassed out of *Siena* the garde, and gaue leaue to *M. de Lysle* whome the king had left there for his Embassador.

But there were now great stirres and emocions in *Lombardye*: for the *Venetians*, and *Lodovvyk Sforce* (who had euen then receiued from th Emprour with much solemnitie the priuileages of inuestiture of the Duchie of *Myllan*, and made publike homage and oth of fidelitie to th Embassadors that brought them) raysed great preparacions to stoppe the king that he should not returne into *Fraunce*, or at least to assure the Duchie of *Myllan*, to come to the which he must passe ouer so great a circuit and space of contreyes: To these endes, euery of them readdressed their forces, and leauied of new partely in common, and partly at expenses separat, many men at armes, obteyning after many difficulties that *Iohn Bentyuole* whome they had taken into their common pay, should sticke to the league with the citie of *Bolognia*: *Lodovvyk* armed at *Genes* for the garde of the same citie, tenne gallyes at his owne charges, and foure great shippes at the common expenses of the Pope, the *Venetians* and him selfe: And being at the poynt to execute that whereunto he was bownd by the couenants of the confederacion touching the towne of *Ast*, he sent into *Iermany* to leauy two thowsande footemen, and conuerted to that enterprise *Galeas S.Seuerin* with seuen hundred men at armes, and three thowsand footemen: in so much as assuring him of the taking of that towne and to achieue all thinges to his honor, (he was naturally very insolent in his prosperities) he sent this message to the Duke of *Orleãce* the more to terrifie him: That hereafter he should forbeare to vsurpe the title of Duke of *Myllan*, which title *Charles* his father had taken since the death of *Philipp Maria Visconte*: That he suffered not newe bandes to passe out of *Fraunce* into *Italy*: That he caused to returne home againe such as were already within the towne of *Ast*: And for thassurance of these things, that he should put the towne of *Ast* into the hãds of *Galeas S.Seuerin*, in whom the king might reappose trust aswel as in him, hauing the yere before bene receiued by the king into the brotherhood & order of *S. Michell* in *Fraunce*: he vaunted much in the same kind of boasting of his forces, of the prouisions the confederats made to make head againſt the king in *Italy*, the great preparacions of the king of *Romaines* and the king of *Spayne* to moue warre beyonde the Mountes: But the Duke of *Orleance* was made nothing affrayd with these vaine threates, and being well assured that there was made a newe confederacion, he studied to fortifie *Ast*, and solicited with great instance to send out of *Fraunce* new supplies and companies, who, vnderstanding that they were to be imployed in the pro-

The Venetians and Lodo. Sforce prepare to stoppe the french kinges returning into Fraunce.

Lodo. Sforce sẽdeth haughty message to the Duke of Orleance.

per ſuccors of the kinges perſon, began with great diligence to paſſe the mountes: By reaſon whereof the Duke of *Orleans* not fearing his enemies, marcheth into the fielde, and takes in the Marquiſdom of *Saluce* the towne & caſtel of *Galſinieres* which *Anthony Maria* of *S. Seuerin* poſſeſſed: which being knowen to *Galeas*, who had a litle before taken certeine ſmall villages, retyred with his armie to *Anon*, A towne of the Duchie of *Myllan* neare to *Aſt*, neither hauing hope to be able to offende, nor feare to be offended: But the nature of *Lodovvyk* alwayes inclining to entangle him ſelfe with enterpriſes which demaund great expenſes, and yet of a condicion to flee and feare (yea euen in greateſt neceſſities) thinges that brought coſtes and charges, was the cauſe to commit his eſtate into right great daungers: for that by reaſon of his very ſpare and needy payments, a very fewe footemen came out of *Iermany*, and for the ſame nygardnes, the bandes that were with *Galeas* were diminiſhed euery day: where, of the contrary, were increaſed continually the ſupplyes that came out of *Fraunce*, who for that they were called to the reskew of the kinges perſon, marched with ſuch diligence, that the Duke of *Orleans* had already aſſembled three hundreth launces, three thowſand *Svvyzzers* footemen, and three thowſande *Gaſcoyns*: And albeit the king by a commaundement ſpeciall and peremptory had aduertiſed him, that abſteyning from all enterpriſe, he ſhould ſtande vpon continuall readines and preparacion to meete his maieſtie when ſo euer he ſhould be ſent for: yet (it is harde for a man not to make reckoning of his proper profit and to reſiſt it) he determined to accept thoccaſion to poſſeſſe the citie of *Nouare*, wherein he was offered to be put by two of the *Opizins* gentlemen of the ſame citie hating much the Duke of *Myllan*, for that aſwell vpon them as many others of the towne, he had with vniuſt ſentence and iudgement vſurped certeine condutes of waters and other poſſeſſions: Thenterpriſe and the manner of it being reſolued vpon, the Duke of *Orleans* paſſed by night the riuer of *Pavv* at the bridge *Sturo* within the iuriſdiction of the Marquis of *Montferat*, hauing in his company the Marquis of *Saluce*: he was receiued by the conſpirators of thenterpriſe into the towne with all his forces, and founde no reſiſtance: And from thence making ſuddeine incurſions with parte of his horſemen euē vntil *Vigeneua*, it was beleued that if he had drawne his whole armie with ſpeede towards *Myllan*, there would haue riſen no ſmall inſurrections, for that the loſſe of *Nouare* and the preſent face and conſideracion of troubles towardes, kindled in the *Myllanoys* a wonderfull inclinacion to reuolt and chaunge: wherein *Lodovvyk*, no leſſe tymerous in aduerſitie, then inſolent in proſperitie, was ſeene with teares vnprofitable to acknowledge his cowardiſe (for the moſt part is ioyned in one ſelf ſubiect, inſolencie and tymerouſnes:) they alſo that were with *Galeas* in whome onely conſiſted his defence, remeyning behinde, ſhowed them ſelues in no place to his reskew: but becauſe the condicions and diſorders of the ennemie, are not alwayes knowne to the other Capteynes, it hapneth often in warres that many goodly occaſions are loſt, there being alſo no apparance that ſo ſuddeine a mutacion could ſucceede againſt ſo great a Prince, ſeeing withall it is a principall pollicie in Princes in ſeaſons daungerous and conſpiring, to make their ſtrength at home free from feare, ielowſie, or ſuſpicion: The Duke of *Orleans*, to aſſure the conqueſt of *Nouare*, determined to haue the caſtell, which the fift day accorded to yelde, if within xxiiij. howers they were not ſuccored: during which tyme, *Galeas de S. Seuerin* had leaſure to conuey his companies to *Vigeneue*, and the Duke (who the better to reconcile the minds of the people, had by proclamacion called in many exactions impoſed afore vpon the communaltie) good reſpit to encreaſe and refurniſh his armie: All which

An attempt vpon the owne of Nouare.

notwithſtanding

notwithstanding the Duke of *Orleans*, hauing ranged his bandes where the walls of *Vigeneue* offered battell to his enemies on whom fell so generall astonishment, that they were vppon the poynt to abandon the towne and passe the riuer of *Thesin* by a bridge they had made vppon boates and other matter necessary to their succors in the passage: Thennemie refusing to fight, the Duke of *Orleans* retyred to *Trecas*: from this time the affayres of *Lodovvyk* began to sayle with a better gale, many supplyes of horsemen and footemen arriuing in his armie: for the *Venetians* being content that the charge to meete the french king should be in effect to them alone, consented that *Lodovvyk* should call backe parte of those bandes he had sent vppon the costes of *Parmesan*, and withall they refurnished him with foure hundreth stradiots: Insomuch as the meane to passe further was taken from the Duke of *Orleans*, who making a roade with fiue hundreth horsemen euen to *Vigeneue*, and the horsemen of thennemie encountring with them, a great losse light vpon the D. of *Orleans*: This encounter gaue courage to *Galeas S. Seuerin*, both superior in forces, and nothing inferior in fortune, to present battell to the Duke at *Trecas*: At length all the armie being assembled (wherin besides *th Italian* souldiers, was arriued a thowsand horsemen & a thowsand footemen of *Alemains*) incamped within a myle of *Nouaro*, whether the D. of *Orleans* was retyred with all his regiments.

The newes of the reuolt of *Nauaro* procured the king being then at *Syena*, to make way: And therefore he auoyded all occasions that might make his departure slow, or hinder his resolucion: wherein being well aduertised that the *Florentyns*, warned by the perills past, and newly falne into suspicion for that *Peter demedicis* followed him, albeit they had determined to receiue him into *Florence* with honors due to his greatnes, yet for their more sewertie, they filled their towne with men of armes and pyked bandes: he drew to *Pysa* by the landes of the *Florentyns*, leauing the citie on the right hand: In the towne of *Poggibonse* met him *Ieronimo Sauonarola*, who according to his custome vsing the name and authoritie of God to his purpose, showed him vnder vehement inuectiues and gesture that he ought to restore to the *Florentyns* their townes, ioyning to his perswasions, threatnings absolute and terrible, that if he obserued not that he had sworne with so great solemnitie, and that vppon the holy Gospells, yea almost afore the eyes and presence of God, a punishment would follow equall to his infidelitie and periurie: The king made him sundry aunsweres according to his inconstancie, hauing as litle conscience to keepe his faith, as he had regard to giue it: sometymes he promised the frear to make restitucion assoone as he was come to *Pysa*, and immediatly (wresting his promise and othe) he sayd he had sworne to the *Pysans* to protect their libertie afore he made any oth at *Florence*: and yet he gaue hopes alwayes to their Embassadors for the restitucion of their peeces assoone as he was come to *Pysa*: where being arriued, the matter was eftsoones proponed in the kinges councell, for that the preparacions, vnitie, and strength of the confederats about the borders of *Parma* increasing dayly, they began to looke into the difficulties to passe thorow *Lumbardye*: for which cause many desired the moneyes and other succors offered by the *Florentyns*: But to these councells were contrary euen those Capteynes and gentlemen who had resisted them at *Sienna*: They alleaged, that albeit there hapned by the opposicion of the ennemie, any disorder or difficultie to passe thorow *Lumbardye*, yet it were better to haue in their power the citie of *Pysa* (whether they might retyre) then to leaue it in the handes of the *Florentynes*, who, hauing once reobteined the places they demaunded, would be of no better faith, then had bene the other *Italyans*: They added, that in compa-

Ier. Sauonarola a frear preacher in Florence.

riſon of commodities, it was very conuenient for the ſewertie of the kingdom of *Naples*, to holde the port of *Lyuorne:* for that the plot layd to alter the ſtate of *Genes* ſucceeding well to the king (wherof the hope could not be dowtefull) he ſhould be ſouereigne Lord almoſt of all the ſeas euen to the hauen of *Naples:* ſewer theſe reaſons were able to doe much in the minde of the king as yet litle capable to chuſe the beſt councell: but of farre greater power were the peticions and teares of the *Pyſans*, who in great concurſe of men, women, and children, ſometymes proſtrate at the kinges feete, and eftſoones recommending to euery one (yea euen the leaſt of his court and the ſouldiers with lamentable cryinges and complaintes bewayled their miſeries and calamities to come) the inſatiable hatred of the *Florentyns*, and the laſt deſolacion of their contrey: which ſhould not haue cauſe to lament for any other thing then for that his maieſtie had put them in libertie, and promiſed to protect them in it: In aſſurance whereof, they beleuing the word of a right Chriſtian king of *Fraunce*, to be a word firme and reſolute, they had taken boldnes ſo much the more to prouoke the hatred of the *Florentyns*: with theſe complaintes and exclamacions accompanied with the preſent aſpect and view of their miſeries, they diſcended with ſuch compaſſion into the hartes euen of the moſt ſimple men at armes, the archers of the armie, and many of the *Svvyzzers:* that they went in great numbers and tumult to the king, whom (*Salzart* one of the Penſioners ſpeaking in the name of them all) they beſought with inſtance vehement and humble, that for the honor of his perſon, for the glorie of the crowne of *Fraunce*, and for the conſolacion of ſo many of his ſeruaunts prepared alwayes to put their liues in hazard for him, & who perſwaded him with a faith more loyal, ſimple, and innocent, then ſuch as were corrupted with the money of the *Florentyns*, he would not take from thoſe poore and naked *Pyſans* the benefit which ſo graciouſly he had beſtowed vpon them: They offered him, that if for want of money he ſuffered him ſelfe to be caried into a deliberacion ſo infamous, he would rather take their chaynes, their iewells, and their treaſors, yea and reteyne in his hand their payes & penſions which they were to receiue of him: This vehement affection of the ſouldiers tooke ſo great a libertie, that a ſimple Archer had boldnes to threaten the Cardinall of *S. Mallovv*, and others by his example with ielous and braue ſpeeches quarreled with the Mareſhall of *Gie* and Preſident of *Gannay*, whom they knew to labour the redeliuerie of the *Pyſans* to the ſeruitude of *Florence:* Inſomuch that the king ſomewhat confuſed by ſo great a varietie of his people let thinges hang in ſuſpence, and was ſo farre of to take any certeine reſolucion, that at one tyme he promiſed the *Pyſans* neuer to paſſe them into the power of the *Florentyns*, and to them baſſadors of *Florence* attending at *Lucquea*, he gaue intelligence, that that which he did not at that preſent for iuſt occaſions, he would doe immediatly after he was arriued in *Aſt*, willing that their common weale ſhould ſende Embaſſadors thether.

The king aſpireth to the ſurpriſing of Genes.

The king departed from *Pyſa* after he had chaunged the Capteine and left ſufficient garriſon within the citadell, doing the like in the other fortreſſes and peeces of defence: And as it agreed with the greennes of his youth to embraſe enterpriſes, & no leſſe equall to his greatnes and title to nouriſh ambicion, ſo carying a deſire incredible to conquer the towne of *Genes*, being ſet on by the Cardinalls of *Rouere* and *Fregoſe*, and by *Obietto de fieſquo* and others of the baniſhed, who gaue him hopes of a ſuddeine mutacion there: he ſent with them from *Serezane* (contrary to thopinion of all his councell who allowed not to diminiſh the forces of tharmie) the Lorde *Phyllip de Brexe* brother to the Duke of *Sauoy*, with ſix hundreth launces, and fiue

hundred

hundred footemen newly arriued out of *Fraunce* by ſea, ordeyning that the men at armes of the *Vitellis* comming behind with a ſlow marche, and therefore not able in tyme to ioyne with him, ſhould follow them: And that certeyne others of the baniſhed, together with the bandes ſupplied by the Duke of *Sauoye*, ſhould enter the riuer of the Weſt, And laſtly that tharmie by ſea, reduced to ſeuen gallies, two gallyons, and two foyſtes led by the Capteyne *Miolaus*, ſhould go to make backe to tharmy by lande.

By this time the vauntgard guided by the Mareſhal of *Gie* was come to *Pontreme*, which towne, after it had diſmiſſed three hundred footemen ſtraungers left there for the gard of the place, did yeld ſuddeinly by the meane of *Triuulce* with couenant that they ſhould not be vexed neither in their perſons nor in their goodes: But the faith giuen by the Capteines, could doe litle for the ſewertie of the towne, for that the *Svvyzzers*, whoſe furie being long kept ſmothered, burſt out now to a greater flame, and taking occaſion of reuenge, for that when the army going to *Naples* paſſed thorow *Lunigiana*, about xl. of their nation (for a quarrell hapning at aduenture) were ſlayne by them of *Pontrema*: they ſacked and burnt the towne, after they had made barbarous ſlaughters of thinhabitants.

The armie of the confederats.

In theſe tymes, the army of the confederats aſſembled diligently about the borders of *Parma*: they conteyned about two thowſand, two hundred men at armes, eight thowſand footemen, and more then two thowſand light horſemen, the moſt parte *Albanoys* & of the prouinces neare to *Grece*, who brought into *Italy* by the *Venetians*, reteined the ſame name they had in their contrey and were called *Stradyots*: of this armie the ſinewes and principall ſtrength were the bandes of the *Venetians*, for that thoſe of the Duke of *Myllan* (hauing turned moſt of his forces to the ſeruice of *Nouaro*) made not the fourth part of the whole armie: ouer the bands of the *Venetians*, wherein were many notable Capteines, commaunded as generall *Francis Gonzague* Marquis of *Mantua*, a man albeit very younge, yet what for his great courage & natural deſire of glory, his expectacion ſurmounted his age: with him were ioined as cõmiſſioers two of the chiefeſt of the Senat, *Luke Pyſan* and *Melchior Treuiſan*: ouer the regiment of *Lodovvyk Sforce*, commaunded vnder the ſame title of generall, the *Count Caiazze*, in whome *Lodovvyk* reappoſed muche: but for his partes, being nothing equall in armes to the glory of his father, he had rather gotte the name of a ſuttle and pollitike warrior, then of a hardie & reſolute Capteyne, and with him was Commiſſioner *Francis Barnardyn Viſcounte* chiefe of the faction of *Gebelins* at *Myllan*, and therefore vſed as oppoſit to *Iohn Iackes Triuulce*. Amongeſt theſe Capteines and principalls of tharmie conſulting whether they ſhould goe incampp at *Furnoue*, a litle village at the foote of the mountaine: it was determined, for the ſtraitnes of the place, and perhaps (as was afterwardes ſpread abroad) to giue occaſion to the ennemie to diſcend into the playne: that they ſhould lodge in the abbay of *Guiaruola* diſtant three myles from *Furnoue*: This aduiſe was the cauſe that at *Furnoue* was lodged the vauntgarde of the french, which had paſſed the mounteyne much afore the reſidue of the armie being hindred by the great artillerie, which with many difficulties was drawne ouer that ſharpe mounteyne of *th Appenyn*, and yet had paſſed with farre greater troubles, if the *Svvyzzers* (deſiring to ſatisfie the fault they had done to the kinges honor at *Pontrema*) had not applyed a wonderfull readines, diligence, and force.

The vauntgard being arriued at *Furnoue*, the Mareſhall of *Gie* ſent a trompet to *th Italian* campe to demaund paſſage for tharmie in the name of the king, who not

offering to offend any perſon & receiuing vittells at conuenient prices, had to paſſe that way to returne into his realme of *Fraunce*, diſpatching at the ſame inſtant certeyne light horſemen to view thennemie and the contrey, who were broken and put to flight by certeine *Stradyotts* which *Francis Gonzague* ſent to thencownter: if this occaſion had bene followed, and that *th Italyans* had giuen vpon the trenches of the french, they had eaſily (by all diſcourſe and coniecture of warre) broken the vauntgard, and ſo taken away all poſſibilities of the kinges paſſage: This occaſion remeyned in their fauor alſo the day following, notwithſtanding that the Mareſhall after he had conſidered the daunger, had retyred his people into a place more high: But there lacked reſolucion of mind to thopportunitie that was offered, for *th Italian* capteines had not boldnes to aſſaile them, aſwell for thaduauntage of the place whether they were retyred: as for that they feared the ouergreatnes of the vauntgarde, and that they were the mayne armie: It is certeine that euen then the confederats had not aſſembled all their forces ſpecially the bandes of the *Venetians* who were ſo ſlow to ioyne in one ſtrength at *Guaruola*, that it is manifeſt, if the king had not dallyed ſo long vpon the way at *Pyſa*, *Sienna*, and other places without all occaſion, he might haue paſſed without impediment or encownter of thennemie: he was ioyned at laſt to the vauntgard, and lodged the day after with all his armie at *Furnoue*.

The Princes confederat neuer beleued that the king durſt haue paſſed *th Appenyn* by the high way with ſo ſmall an armie, for they were of opinion, that leauing the greateſt part of his people at *Pyſa*, he woulde returne into *Fraunce* with the reſidue by ſea: And afterwards vnderſtanding that he continued his way by land, they ſuppoſed, that to eſchew their armie, he would lay his plott to paſſe the mountaine by the way of the boroughs of *Vandetar*, & by the hill *Centcroig* very ſharpe and harde, and from thence to the borders of *Vrtoney* hoping to meete the Duke of *Orleans* vpon the confynes of *Alexandria*: But when they knew certeinly that he was come to *Furnoue*, *th Italian* armie, very well reſolued afore, both for the ſhow of courage in ſo many valiant capteines, and for the reapport of the litle number of thennemies, began now to wauer and ſhake, making opinions fearfull of the valour of the men at armes of *Fraunce* and the vertue of the *Svvyzzers*, to whom without al compariſon, *th Italian* footemen were eſteemed much inferior: they conſidered much of the agilitie of ſuch as managed the great artilleries: but ſpecially (which moueth much the mindes of men when they haue taken a contrary impreſſion.) They redowted greatly the vnhoped for hardines of the french, who, not waighing thinequalitie of their numbers inferior to theirs, durſt yet affront them: for theſe conſideracions, the courage of the Captaines being well moderated, they held a councell amongeſt them ſelues what aunſwer they ſhould make to the trompet ſent by the Mareſhall of *Gie*: on the one ſide it ſeemed too daungerous to put the ſtate of all *Italy* in the diſcreſſion of fortune, and on the other ſide it could not but bring preiudice to the valour of all the ſouldiers and men of ſeruice in *Italy*, to ſhow that they had no courage to oppoſe againſt the armie of the french, who, being farre inferior in numbers, and leſſe expectacion of other oportunities in a countrey ſtraunger, durſt yet offer to paſſe euen in the face and eyes of them: In this councell the aduiſe of the Capteines being diuerſe and all the beſt experienced & ſtayed, either giuen ouer wholly to feare, or at leaſt very vnreſolut after many diſputacions, they laſtly agreed to ſend aduertiſement to *Myllan* of the kinges demaund, and to execute that which ſhould be determined by the Duke and the Embaſſadors of the confederats: who being drawne into councell as a matter of generall importance, the Duke and the *Venetians* being

moſt

moſt neareſt the daunger, were of this opinion, not to ſtoppe the way of the ennemy, ſeeing he would goe, but rather according to an olde councell, to make him a bridge of ſiluer: otherwaies (according to many auncient examples) there might be daunger, that neceſſitie turned into deſpaire, he woulde not make his owne way with great effuſion of blud of ſuch as vndiſcretely would hinder him: But the Spaniſh Embaſſador, deſiring that without the daunger of his king, they would make a triall of fortune, perſwaded vehemently & almoſt with proteſtacion not to let paſſe the king, nor to loſe thoccaſion to breake that armie, which paſſing in quiet, the matters of *Italy* would remeyne notwithſtanding in greater daungers then before: for that the french king keeping *Aſt* and *Nouaro*, all *Pyemont* obeyed his commaundements: And hauing at his backe the realme of *Fraunce*, a realme mighty and rich, and the *Svvyzzers* his neighbours ready to come into his pay in what numbers he would, And laſtly being a great increaſe of his reputacion and courage, if the armie of the league ſo farre aboue him in numbers, would conſent ſo cowardly to his paſſage: he would eftſoones torment *Italy* with greater courage, knowing that the *Italians* either would not or durſt not fight with the french men: All this notwithſtanding, the ſewer opinion preuailing moſt in this councell, they determined to write to *Venice* with whom bare rule the ſame aduiſe.

But theſe conſultacions were in vaine, like as the arrow being ſhot, it is to late to wiſhe it may do no hurt where it falls: for, the Capteines of tharmie after they had written to *Myllan*, waighing that by reaſon of thextremitie of tyme, they could not haue returne of aunſwer in ſeaſon conuenient, how much it would touch in diſhonor all the men of warre in *Italy* to leaue the paſſage free to the french men, ſent backe the trompet without any aunſwer certeine, being reſolued to aſſayle the ennemie, and charge them in the paſſage: the Commiſſioners of *Venice* being of the ſame aduiſe, but *Treuiſan* much more then his companion: The french men marched on with great arrogancie & boldnes, as they that till that time hauing encountred no reſiſtance in *Italy*, were perſwaded that either the army durſt not oppoſe any impediment, or at leaſt if they did, they iudged their proper vertue inuincible, and diſdaining the ſtrength of thēnemies, they thought their fortune would be the ſame in this fight that it was in their late conqueſt of *Naples*: But when in diſcending from the mounteyne, they diſcouered the armie lodged in infinit numbers of tentes and pauilions, and in a place ſo large that (according to the cuſtom of *Italy*) they might range them ſelues all in battell: And waighing what by their great numbers, and lodging ſo neare them, with other demonſtracions of reſolucion of mind, that there could want no wills nor diſpoſicion to fight: their late arrogancie beganne to take an other habit, & in their councells began to fall ſo many coniectures of feare & dowt that they would haue receiued it for a good newes, to heare that *thItalians* would be content to let them paſſe: This feare was redoubled by this occaſion: The kinge, ſince the aunſwer, had written to the Duke of *Orleans* to meete him with all the power he could make, and to marche with ſuch ſpeede as he failed not at the day & place appointed: But the Duke returned aduertiſement that the armie of *Sforce* (oppoſed againſt him ſtanding vpon a ſtrength of nyne hundreth men at armes, twelue hundred light horſemen, and fiue thowſand footemen,) was ſo mighty, that without manifeſt perill he could not aduaunce to obſerue his maieſties appoyntment, conſidering beſides, that he muſt be enforced to leaue parte of his bandes for the garde of *Aſt* and *Nouaro*: Theſe neceſſities conſtrayning the king to turne his minde to newe councells, he commaunded *M. D'Argenton* (who, a litle before had bene his Embaſ-

ſador at *Venice*, where *Piſan* and *Treuiſan* now their deputie Commiſſioners perſwaded him to diſpoſe the kinges minde to peace) to ſende a trompet to the ſayd Commiſſioners to let them vnderſtand that he woulde common with them for the common benefit: they accepted his deſire, and appointed the next morning to meete in a place conuenient betwene both the armies: But the king, either for that in that place he had want of vittells, or for ſome other occaſion, chaunged aduiſe, & would not in that place attend the yſſue of that meeting.

The front of the tents and trenches of the one and other armie, was diſtant litle leſſe then three myles, ſtretched out along the right ſhore of the riuer of *Taro*, which is rather a lande fludde then a riuer, for that falling from the hill of *Appenyn*, after it hath ronne thorow a litle valley incloſed with two banks, it diſcendes into the large playnes of *Lombardye*, and ſo falls into *Pavv*: vppon one of theſe two bankes, which was that of the right hand diſcending euen to the ſhoare of the riuer, was lodged the armie of the confederats, incamped by councell of the Capteines rather on that ſide, then on the left ſhoare (where muſt be the wayes of the ennemies,) to thende they ſhould not haue meane to turne to *Parma*: of which citie for the diuerſitie of factions, the Duke of *Myllan* was not without ſuſpicion, the rather for that the frēch king had by the appoyntment of the *Florentyns* for his conduit to *Aſt Francis Secco*, whoſe daughter was maried into the houſe of *Iorelli*, a famulie noble and mightie in the territorie of *Parma*: The lodgings of the confederats were fortefied with ditches and rampiers, & well furniſhed with artillerie, by the mouth of the which, the french men going to *Aſt*, muſt of neceſſitie paſſe *Taro* on the ſide of *Furnoue*, and marche, no other thing remeyning betwene them and *th Italians* then the riuer: All the night the french were in great trauell for the vexacions of *th Italians* who made their eſtradiots to make incurſions euen to their campe, which was ſo ready at euery brute as if there had bene a continuall alarme: to this trouble and perplexitie of minde, was ioyned a ſuddein and moſt thicke rayne mixed with lightnings and thunders feareſull, with many horrible crackes and flaſhes, that they tooke it as a foreſhewing of ſome ſorowfull accident, a matter which did more amaze them then the armie of *th Italians*: not onely for that, being in the middeſt of mounteynes and ennemies, & in a place which (if they preuailed not by fight) fauored them with no hopes or meanes of ſafetie, the conſideracion of thoſe great difficulties, gaue them iuſt occaſion of extreame feares: But alſo (to mindes fearfull al fancies and conieꝯures ſeeme thinges of truth) they made conſtructions of the threatnings of the firmament not accuſtomed to ſhow it ſelfe ill diſpoſed but towards ſome great variacion, the ſtorme (in their opinions) raging moſt toward that parte where was the perſon of the king of ſo great maieſtie and power.

The battell of Taro.

The morning following being the ſixt of Iuly, the frenche armie beganne by the peepe of the day to paſſe the riuer: Afore, marched the moſt part of the artillerie, being followed with the vauntgard wherin the king (ſuppoſing that againſt it would be bent the greateſt forces of the ennemie) had put three hundreth and fiftie french launces, *Triuulce* with his cōpanie of a hundreth launces, & three thowſand *Svvyzzers* which were the ſinewes & hope of that armie, & with them on foote *Eugilbert* brother to the Duke of *Cleues*, & the baylif of *Dyon* that had leauyed them: to theſe, the king adioyned three hundred archers, and certeine crosbowmen on horſebacke of his gard, whom he made alight on foote, and almoſt all the footemen which he had with him: After the vauntgard marched the battel, in the middeſt whereof was the perſon of the king armed at all partes and mounted vppon a fierce courſer: and

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neare to him, (to gouerne with his councell and authoritie that parte of the armie) was the lord of *Trymouille* a leader much renowmed in the realme of *Fraunce:* Then followed the arearegarde guided by the *Count de fois*: and in the laſt place was beſtowed the baggage of the armie: Notwithſtanding this marching of the armie and the preſent readines to fight, yet the king, who could haue bene cõtented with ſome accord, ſolicited *Argenton* to goe and negociate eftſoones with the *Venetian* Commiſſioners, euen at the ſame time that the campe beganne to moue: But the *Venetian* armie being all in armes, and the Capteines determined to fight, the ſhortnes of the time and nearenes of thennemie, left no reſpitte or ſpace of time to enterteyne *Parley:* for, now began the light horſemen on both ſides to skyrmiſhe, the artillerie from all quarters to ſhoote of with a noyſe horrible, and the *Italiäns* yſſued out of their tentes, had ſpred vpon the ſhoare of the riuer their eſquadrons and rankes prepared to the battell: Theſe thinges notwithſtanding, the french men forbare not to march, partly vpon the breache or greaue of the riuer, partely by the skirtes or ſtretching out of the banke for that in ſo ſtraite a plaine they could not diſplay their ordenance And the vauntgard being now led to the right way of the campe of thennemies, the Marquis of *Mantua* with an eſquadron of ſix hundred men at armes of the gallanteſt of all the armie, and with a great band of ſtradiots & other light horſemen followed with fiue thowſand footemen, paſſed the riuer at the backe of the arearegard of the french, leauing vpon the banke on thother ſide *Anthony* of *Montfeltre* baſtard to *Federyk* late Duke of *Vrbyn* with a great eſquadrõ, to paſſe whē he ſhould be called to refreſhe the firſt battel: he ordeyned beſides, that when the fight was begonne, an other parte of the light horſemen ſhould charge thennemie in flancke, & the reſidue of the eſtradiots paſſing the riuer at *Furnoue*, to giue vpon the baggage of the french, which either for want of men, or (as was bruted) by the councell of *Triuulce*, was left without garde to who woulde make pray of it: of the other ſide, the *Count Caiazze* with foure hundred men at armes (amongeſt whom was the company of *Dom Alphonſo D'eſte* come to the campe without his perſon, for that his father would it ſo) and with two thowſand footemen, paſſed the riuer of *Taro* to aſſayle the french vauntgard: hauing in like ſort left on the banke on the other ſide *Annyball Bentyuole* with two hundred men at armes, to giue reskew when he ſhouldbe called: And for the defence of their lodginges and tentes, remeyned two great companies of men at armes and a thowſand footemen, for that the Commiſſioners of *Venice* would reſerue in all fortunes a whole ſuccor for their ſafetie: But the king ſeing that (contrary to that his Capteines had perſwaded him) ſo great a ſtrength came to charge the arearegard, he turned his backe to the vauntgard, & began to draw neare to the arearegard with the battell, haſting ſo diligently with an eſquadron afore the reſt, that when the charge began, he was in the forefront with the firſt that fought: Some haue written that the companies of the Marquis paſt the riuer not without diſorder, both for the height of the banks, & for the impediments of trees, of blocks, and bowes, wherof commonly the riuers of landfluddes are full: To this others haue left in memorie that his footemen for the ſame difficultie, & becauſe the water was ſwelled with the raine that fell in the night, either came late to the ſeruice of the battell, or at leaſt all were not there, a great parte remeyning on thother ſide the riuer: howſoeuer he was followed, it is moſt certeine, that the charge which the Marquis gaue was reſolut and furious, & was no leſſe valiantly aunſwered by the french, the eſquadron on both ſides entring the conflict *Pellmelle* and not according to the cuſtom of the warres of *Italy*, which was to fight one eſquadron againſt an other, &

in place of him that was weary and began to retyre, to ſupply the fight with a freſh, making in the ende but one great eſquadron of many eſquadrons, in ſo much as for the moſt parte the skirmiſh or triall of armes wherein commonly died but very few people, endured almoſt a whole day, and often times the ſuddeine comming of the night was the cauſe that they brake of without victorie certeine of either parties. The launces being broken, at the encounter of whom fell to the earth aſwell on the one parte as of the other, many men at armes, and many horſes, euery one beganne with the ſame furie, to lay handes vpon their maſſes, eſtokados, and other ſhort weapons, the horſes fighting with their feete and their teeth, & with the ſhocke, no leſſe then the men that gouerned them: And truely the vertue of *thItalians* gaue a great ſhow in the beginning, but the vallour and reſolucion of mind in the Marquis, who being followed with a valiant companye of younge gentlemen and *Lancepezzades* (theſe are braue and proued ſouldiers interteyned aboue the ordinary companies) forgot nothing which apperteyned to a Capteine coragious: The french men ſuſteyned with great vallour ſo hott & furious a charge, but being ouerlayed with ſuch odds of numbers, they began almoſt manifeſtly to ſhake, not without the daũger of the king, within a very few paſſes of whom the baſtard of *Burbon* was made priſonner, notwithſtanding he fought with great vertue: the fortune of him put hope into the Marquis, to haue the ſame ſucceſſe againſt the perſon of the king, being vndiſcreetely led into a place ſo daungerous without that garde & order which was conuenient for ſo great a Prince: The Marquis with his people, made many aduentures to come neare him: againſt whom, the king albeit he had fewe of his people about him, yet his vertue defended his perſon, and his naturall courage ouercame his preſent daunger, the fiercenes and agilitie of his horſe doing more to his ſafetie, then the ſuccors of his people: In theſe great perills, there wanted not in him, thoſe coũcels, which in actious daungerous are wont moſt to appeare in mens memorie and fancies: for that in ſo great a diſtreſſe of fight ſeeing him ſelfe almoſt made naked of his garde, and abandoned of fortune & worldly ſuccors, he had recourſe to the heauenly aydes, making a vowe to *S. Denys* and *S. Martyn* reputed protectors particular of the realme of *Fraunce*, that if he paſſed ſafe into *Pyemont* with his armie, he would, aſſoone as he was returned on the other ſide the Mountes, make perſonall viſitacion & that with great giftes, to the holy temples dedicated to their names, the one ſtanding neare to *Parys*, and the other in the towne of *Tours*: and that euery yeare with moſt ſolemne feaſtes and ſacrifices, he would honor and celebrate ſo great a grace receiued by their meane: After this contemplacion & promiſe to accompliſh theſe vowes, he entred into a new courage, the ſtrength of his body redoubling in the ſpirit and comfort of his minde, and ſo beganne eftſoones to fight with greater valour then his complexion could naturally beare. The daunger of the king ſo touched & enflamed thoſe that were left farre of, that ronning to couer with their perſons, the perſon of the king, they ſuſteined *thItalians*: And his battel which remeyned behind, preſſing in at the ſame time, an eſquadron of the ſame charged ſo furiouſly the ennemies in the flancke, that it moderated ſomewhat their heate, and preſently reskued the kinges daunger: whereunto was added this helpe, that *Rodolphe Gonzague* Vncle by the mother to the Marquis of *Mantua*, A Capteine of great experience, as he encouraged the ſouldiers & reordered ſuch as he ſaw out of order, doing alwayes many other good offices of an excellent Capteine, as he rayſed by chaunce his beauer, was ſo hurt in the face with an eſtockado by a french mã, that falling from his horſe, his people could neuer reskew him in ſo great a confuſion and tumult, and ſo thicke

trowpes

trowpes of fierce horſes raging without gouernment: But hauing other mẽ & horſes falling vpon him, he dyed rather ſtiffled and ſmothered with the thronge of horſes feete and treadings, then by the armes or blowes of the ennemies: A chaunce truely vnworthy ſuch a man, for that in the councells of the day before, & the ſame morning, he perſwaded contrary to the will of his nephewe to abſteyne from fight, iudging it a great want of diſcreſſion to hazarde them ſelues to the will of fortune without any neceſſitie. Thus the battell chaunging by diuerſe accidents, and no aduauntage appearing more for *th Italians* then for the french men, the difference was now more then euer to whome the victorie would remeyne: In ſo much that hope and feare being equall on both partes, they fought with an incredible furie, euery one eſteeming that the victorie reſted in his right hand and ſtrength, and not at the diſpoſing of fortune: An auncient perſwaſion in old ſouldiers, that in actions of battell and warre, the ſucceſſe of the victorie followeth not the number of the ſouldiers, but reſteth in the reſolucion of their mindes and innocencie of their cauſe: The french men had a deſperat courage, aſwell for the preſence & daunger of their king (for that nation hath alwayes borne no leſſe reuerence to the maieſtie of their kings, then to things of diuinitie) as for that they were hemmed into ſuch ſtraites and places, as gaue no hopes of their ſafetie, but by the onely victorie: The *Italians* were incouraged, by the couetouſnes of ſo rich a pillage, by the honorable example of the Marquis leading them to the battell with ſo happy ſucceſſe, and with the great number of their armie, by whome they had expectacion of great ſuccors from their friendes and contreyes enuyroning, a thing which the frenche coulde not hope for, for that either their whole companies were already in the fight, or at leaſt attended euery inſtant to be charged and brought into the fortune of their fellowes: But it is not dowted, that the power of fortune is great in all our humane actions, more mighty in matters of warre then in any other thing, but moſt infinit and ineſtimable in the feates of armes, where, one commaundement ill vnderſtanded, one order ill executed, one raſhnes, one vaine voice, yea ſometimes euen of the meaneſt ſouldiour, carieth many times the victorie to ſuch as ſeemed euen then vanquiſhed and ouercome, and where vnlooked for doe happen many ſuddeine accidents, which it is impoſſible to the Capteine by his experience to foreſee, or let by his councell, or aſſure by his wiſedom: In ſo much as, in ſo great a dowt, not fayling of her cuſtom, ſhe did that, which neither the vertue of men, nor the force of armes had not yet done: for, the eſtradiots ſent to charge the tents and baggage of the french, hauing begonne to ſpoyle without any reſiſtance, and beginning to leade away to the other ſide the water, ſome mulets, ſome ſompters, and ſome armor: not onely the other eſtradiots appointed to charge the french in the flanke, but euen ſuch as were already within the fight, ſtirred vp with the ſight of the gaine wherwith they ſaw their companions goe laden to their tents, left the battell, and turned their weapons to pyll & ſpoyle that that was left of the french pillage: And one cauſe, one reſpect, and one example drawing the reſidue, you ſhould ſee many horſemen, and footemen yſſue by trowpes out of the battell, to doe the like: By which occaſion, not onely the ſuccors ordeined, failing *th Italians*, but euen the numbers of thoſe that fought diminiſhing with ſo great diſorders, and *Anthony* of *Montfeltre* not remouing for that no man called him, *Gonzagua* being ſlaine vpon whoſe calling he depended: The french men began to winne ſo much ground, that now nothing did more ſuſteyne *th Italians* (manifeſtly declining) then the vertue of the Marquis, who expreſſing in his perſon all the actions required in a valiant capteine, made head yet againſt the new for-

tune and furie of thennemies, and laboring with euery possibilitie to keepe them from the victorie, sometimes he encouraged his people by his owne example, and eftsoones with sweete and pearsing speeches perswaded them rather to lose their liues then their honors, seeking to resolue their mindes with all those respectes of honor, profit, reputacion, and necessitie, which make the souldier goe the battel. But it was impossible that in a few should be continued long resistance against many, or that the vertue which is not fauored with fortune should not at last fayle. The ennemies multiplied vpō them on all sides, a great part of their owne were slayne, & many hurt without hope of further help to the seruice, yea euen of the particular band of the Marquis: by which extremities, they were driuen to fal into disorder & flee to repasse the riuer, which by the raine ouer night, and the hailes and watery stormes falling in great abundance during the fight, was risen so high that it gaue great impediments to such as were forced to repasse ouer it. The french men followed the chasse with a furie equall to their fortune euen to the riuer, regarding nothing more then to make slaughter of those that fledd, without taking any prisoner or respecting the spoyles and gaine of the chasse: onely they cryed with redoubled voices, companions remember *Guiguegate: Guiguegate* is a village in *Piccardye* neare to *Teronaue*, where, in the later yeares of the raigne of *Lovvys* the xj. the french men almost victorious in a battell against *Maximylian* king of *Romaines*, being disordered because they beganne to fall to pillage, were put to flight: But at the same time that on that side of tharmie the fight was valiant & obstinat, the vauntgard of the french (against the which the *Count Caiazze* led one part of the horsemen, came to the battell with so great a furie, that the *Italians* astonished when they saw they were not followed of their peoples, inclined of them selues so fast to disorder, that many of their leaders being slayne, amongest whom was *Iohn Piccingu* and *Galeas* of *Correge*, they returned in manifest flight to the great esquadron: But the Mareshall of *Gie*, discerning (besides the squadron of the *Count*) an other regiment of men at armes prepared to the battell on the other side the riuer, woulde not suffer his souldiers to followe them: which afterwards by some was reputed a councell discreete and wise, and by others, looking perhaps lesse into the reason then into the euent, it was iudged a resolucion rather cowardly, then constant: for that, if he had pursued them, the Count and his companies had giuen him their backes, by which disaray he had so amased the residue of their strength remeyning on thother side the water, that there woulde haue bene great impossibilitie to reteyne them, seeing that the Marquis fleeing aswell as the others, & repassing the riuer as strongly and in as good order as he could, found them in such tumultes and separacions, as euery one thinking to saue him selfe with his cariage, the high way that goeth from *Plaisanca* to *Parma* was already ful of horses, of men, and cariages which drewe to *Parma*: This tumult partely was stayed by the presence and authoritie of the Marquis, who reassembled them & put eftsoones all in order: But much more did reassure the deuided minds of the *Italians* the comming of the *Count* of *Petillane*, who in so generall a confusion of both the armies, vsing thoccasion, fled to *th Italian* camp: where dispersing comfort to euery one, & affirming that amongest the ennemies, was no lesse disorder and amaze, he eftsoones confirmed and reassured their mindes: In so much that both by opinion & reason, euery one supposed that without him, either at thinstant, or at least the night following, all the campe had dispersed in great terror: Thus *th Italians* retired to their campe, except such as being caried by confusion and tumult, and thinking to finde safetie in fleing, were separat into sundry places, wherof many falling into the hands

of

of the french men,found at one inſtant an ende of their life and fortunes: The king with his people drew to his vauntgarde which had not ſtirred: And there deuiſing with his capteines,whether he ſhould ſuddeinly paſſe the riuer and giue vpon thennemies in their lodgings,he was councelled by *Triuulce* & *Camilla Vitelli*, (who was come to the battell with a few horſemen,hauing ſent the reſidue of his companie to thēterpriſe of *Genes*) to ſet vpon them: And *Frauncis Secco* furthering thexpedicion more then any other,tolde the king that the way that was ſeene ſo farre of, was full of men and horſes,which argued that either they were fled to *Parma*, or hauing begon the chaſſe, were eftſoones returned to the campe: But truely the difficultie to paſſe the riuer was not litle: and the bandes that partly had fought, and partly were kept armed in the fielde, were ſo weary and ouertrauelled, that by the councell of the french capteines,it was determined to ſeeke harbor: And ſo they went to lodge vpon the hill in the village of *Medeſane*, of litle more diſtance then a myle from the place of the battell: there they pitched their lodging without any order, but with great incommodity,for that the moſt part of their baggage and ſtuffe was made pillage by thennemie.

This was the diſcourſe of the battell betwene the *Italians* and the french vpon the riuer of *Taro*,not vnworthy of memory for that it was the firſt of very long time that was fought in *Italy* with ſlaughter and bludd, ſeeing that in all battells or actions of warre in that contrey,the liues of men were wont more to be put to raunſom, then ſolde with the price of bludde: But in this,notwithſtanding of the french parte, the ſlaughter skarcely conteyned three hundreth bodies, yet of *thItalians* were founde deade more then three hundreth men at armes,and of others as many as made vpp the number of three thowſand perſons,amongeſt whom was *Ramiccio de farneze* leader of the *Venetian* horſemen with many other gentlemen of marke: *Barnardyn de Montone* alſo a Capteine of horſemen vnder the *Venetians*, whoſe name was more populous and renowmed by *Braccio de Montone* his grandfather,one of the firſt bewtifiers of *thItalian* diſcipline of warre,then by his proper vertue or fortune, receiued a blow with a maſſe vnder his helmet,with the which being fallen from his horſe,he was left on the ground for dead. This ſlaughter was ſo much the more wonderfull to *thItalians*, by how much the encownter endured not aboue an hower,euery one on both ſides fighting with his proper force and vallour without helpe of the artillerie or ſhott: Touching the honor of the iorney, either part labored to approyat to his particular,the renowme and glory of the victorie: *ThItalians* occupied this reaſon,for that their tentes and cariages remeyned vntouched,where the frenche of the contrary,had their lodgings rifled and loſt much of their beſt ſtuffe, yea parte of the proper pauilions of the king: They alleaged further, that they had vtterly diſconfeted thennemies,if one part of their people appoynted to enter the battell,had not turned to the pillage of their trenches,a thing which the french confeſſed to be true: The *Venetians* were ſo partiall, that with a peculiar glorie they made them ſelues victors, and by publike commaundement thorow all the landes of their obedience,and ſpecially at *Venice* they made bonfyers, with other feaſtes and teſtimonies of gladnes: This publike example was followed with no leſſe affection of ſundry particulars,for that vppon the ſepulcher of *Melchior Treuiſan*, were ſtamped theſe carecters of letters in the Church of the *Frear minors*, he fought proſperouſly vpon the riuer of *Taro* againſt *Charles* king of *Fraunce*: But by the vniuerſall conſent of men indifferent the palme,merit, and true glorie of the victorie,was adiudged to the french men,both for the numbers of the dead ſo farre different and vnequal,and

for the chaſſe of thennemies ouer the riuer,and alſo for that they wonne their libertie to paſſe further,which was the controuerſie for the which they came to the battel.The king remeyned all the day following incamped in the ſame place,procuring by the meane of *Argenton* a parley with thennemies,by which was accorded a truce till night: that abſtinence or truce was not vnwelcome to the king, for that he deſired to paſſe with ſewertie,knowing that many of *thItalian* armie had not yet fought, and remeyning in order about their trenches, the marche of ſo many dayes iorney thorow the Duchie of *Myllan* with thennemy in his tayle,could not but be daungerous: Beſides,he knew not what reſolucion to take, ſuch was the ſimplenes of the councell with whom he vſed moſt conference and direction in his moſt waightieſt deliberacions,reiecting for the moſt part the aduiſes of men graue & experienced: No leſſe dowt and inceiteintie trauelled alſo the mindes of *thItalians*, who albeit at the beginning were falne into no ſmall aſtoniſhment, yet they were eftſoones ſo reaſſured,that the night after the battell,they held councell, (by the encouraging and comfort chiefly of the *Count Petillane*) to inuade the french campe in the night, being diſordered with many incommodities,and not fortefied:by the pluralitie of voices this councell was reiected, as bringing more perill then profitte.There ronne a brute thorow all *Italy* that the bandes of *Lodovvyk Sforce*,according to his ſecret direction,would not fight much,leaſt hauing ſo ſtrong an armie of the *Venetians* vpon his eſtates,he was in more feare of their victorie, then of the fortunes of the french, touching whom he was indifferent whether they were victors or vanquiſhed: And therefore for his better ſewertie in all chaunces, he was blamed for this ſuttletie to keepe his forces whole, vppon which was impoſed thoccaſion that *thItalian* armie did not obteyne the victorie:This opinion was mēteyned by the Marquis of *Mantua* and the other *Venetian* capteines,to make their reputacion the greater: neither was it receiued with leſſe wil of all ſuch as deſired the augmentacion of the glorie of *thItalian* ſouldiers: But I haue heard this brute confuted by a perſonage of iudgment & grauitie and remeyning then at *Myllan* in ſuch degree,as the abſolute & true knowledge of affayres was brought to him: he purging *Lodovvyk*,aſſured the world, that hauing ſent moſt of his forces to the ſeege of *Nouaro*, he had not ſo many at the battell of *Taro* as were of great conſequence for the victorie, which in deede the armie of the confederats had obteyned, if their proper diſorders had not hurt them more then the want of a great number of men,ſeing withall,that many whole companies of the *Venetians* fought not at all: And where the *Count Caiazze* ſent againſt thennemie but one parte of his companies, and that very coldly: he did it perhaps, for that the vauntgard of the french was ſo ſtronge, that the daunger was apparant to committ him ſelfe to fortune,and perhaps becauſe ordinarily actions couragious & venterous haue made him more wonderfull,then ſuch wherein was ſewertie: Notwithſtanding,the companies of *Sforce* were not altogether vnprofitable,for that albeit they fought not,yet they kept at a bay the vauntgard of the french,and were the cauſe that it gaue no ſuccors to the king, who with the leſſe or moſt weake parte of tharmie,ſuſteyned with the great daunger of his perſon, all the brunt and ſwaigh of that dayes fight: In my iudgement this teſtimonie is no more confirmed with authoritie then with reaſon: for, how is it likely that if that intencion had bene in *Lodovvyk*,he would not rather haue inſtructed his capteines, to diſſwade from letting the french men to paſſe: ſeing that if the victorie had falne on the french, his bands being ſo neare thennemie,had bene no more in ſafetie then the others,notwithſtanding they medled not in the battell: And with what diſcourſe with what conſideracion

cion, or with what experience of thinges could he promise to him selfe, that comming to the fight, fortune would be so equall, that the french king should neither be victor nor vanquished.

The morning following the king departed with his armie before day, without sownd of trompets to couer his discamping as much as he could: And for that day he was not followed by tharmie of the confederats, who though they had had will to haue pursued him, yet they should haue found impediments in the waters of the riuer, which were so much increased by raynes that fell in the night, that there was no possibilitie of passage for the day following: Only at the declining of the Sunne, passed ouer not without daunger the *Count Caiazze* with two hundred light horsemen, & following the trace of the french men, who marched the right way towards *Plaisance*, he gaue them the day following many alarms and impediments: And yet, all wearied and trauelled as they were, they kept their way without disorder, the villages refreshing them with plētie of vittells, partly for feare to receiue hurt by them, and partly by the meane of *Triuulce*, who skouring before for the same effect with the light horsemen of tharmie, made perswasions to men, sometimes by threates, & sometimes with his authoritie, great in that Duchie with all sortes, but more great with the famulie of the *Guelffes*: The armie of the league which remoued the day after the discamping of the french, and but litle disposed (specially the ptouisors of the *Venetians*) to put them selues any more in the arbytrement of fortune, came neuer so neare them, as to annoy them with any litle discommoditie: But being lodged the second day vpon the riuer of *Trebia* a litle beyond *Plaisance*, (the *Svvyzzers* & two hundreth launces and almost all the artillerie remeyning betwene the riuer & the citie of *Plaisance* for the commoditie of incamping,) the fludds were so great by reason of the raines falling in the night that notwithstanding their extreame diligence, it was impossible that either the footemen or horsemen coulde passe but at high daies and then with difficultie, although the waters began to abate: notwithstanding all which oportunities fauoring tharmie of the league, yet they neuer executed any action against the french but a farre of, nor yet the *Count de Caiazze* who was entred within *Plaisance* for suspicion of reuolt or tumult: which suspicion was not altogether without occasion, for that it was beleeued that if the king according to the councell of *Tryuulce*, had displaied his enseignes vnder the name of *Frauncis* the litle sonne of *Iohn Galeas*, the Duchie would easily haue falne into some mutacion, so pawsible was the name of him whom they held for their lawfull Lord, and so hatefull the remembrance of the vsurper, and of speciall importance the credit and friendships of *Triuulce*: But the king in whom was setled no other impression then to passe on, would not be intangled with newe practises, but followed his way with diligent and speedie marche, finding great want of vittells after the first dayes trauel, and in all places, the fortes & peeces well garded, *Lodovvyk* hauing distributed what into *Tortone* vnder *Iasper S. Seuerin* surnamed *Frecasse*, and what into *Alexandria* many horsemen with twelue hundred launceknightes, which he had drawne from the campe of *Nouaro*: After the king was passed *Trebia*, his armie was alwayes vexed in the tayle by the *Count Caiazze*, who had ioyned to his light horsemen fiue hundreth launceknightes of the garrison of *Plaisance*, not being able to obteine to be sent to him from the army, all the residue of the light horsemen and foure hundreth men at armes, for that the *Venetian* Commissioners, warned by the perill at the battell of *Taro*, would giue no consent eftsoones to hazard their forces: At last the french men taking (when they were neare to *Alexandria*) their way more high towards the mou-

taine where the riuer of *Tanaro* ronnes with ſhalloweſt water, were brought without loſſe of men in eight remoues or ſoiornings of the campe afore the walls of *Aſt:* In which citie after the king was entred, he diſperſed his men of warre into the champion with intencion to encreaſe his armie, and to abide in *Italy* vntill he had ſuccored *Nouaro:* And the campe of the league which had purſued him to the contrey of *Tortone* diſpairing now to vexe him more, went & ioyned it ſelfe to the companies of *Lodovvyk Sforce* beſeeging the ſayd citie of *Nouaro*: which euen nowe began to ſuffer great skarcetie of vittels, for that by the Duke of *Orleans* nor his people had bene vſed any diligence for prouiſion, which by reaſon of the fertilitie of the contrey, they might haue done in great plentie and at eaſie rate: but like men either blinded with ſecuritie, or elſe of litle pollecie, they neuer conſidered of the daũgers, till the meane of the remedie were paſt, conſuming without ſparing all the ſtore of vittells which they found there.

The french kinges attẽpt vpon Genes ſpedd euill.

About this ſeaſon returned to the king thoſe Cardinals and capteines, who with ill ſucceſſe had bene at thenterpriſe of *Genes*: for after the kinges armie by ſea had taken the towne of *Spetia*, it ſet vpon *Rapalle* and poſſeſſed it eaſily: But there yſſued out of the port of *Genes* a nauie of eight light gallies, one carracke, and two barkes of biskayes, which by night put on lande ſeuen hundreth footemen, who without any difficultie tooke the borow of *Rapalle* with the french garriſon that were within, and then accoaſting the french nauie retired to the golffe, after long fight they remeyned victors taking and burning all their veſſells, the Capteines made priſoners, and the place, by this victorie made more renowmed, for that in the yeare before, *th Arragons* were there defeated: Neither was this aduerſitie recompenſed by the armie that went by land, who guided by the eaſt riuer to *Valdibiſague* and ſo to the ſuburbs of *Genes*, found them ſelues deceiued in their hopes that in *Genes* would riſe tumults: And therefore vnderſtanding of the ſpoyle and loſſe of the nauie by ſea, they tooke way with no leſſe ſpeede, then feare, to the mounteyne ſharpe and vneaſie, and from thence diſcended to the valley of *Pozzeuere* which is of the other part of the citie: from whence, notwithſtanding their trowpes were ſtronge and great by the concurſe of payſants and other populars whom the Duke of *Sauoye* had ſent in their fauors, they drew with the ſame diligence towards *Pyemont*: In the action of this enterpriſe it is certeine, that if they within the towne had not bene reſtrained from yſſuing forth for dowt leaſt the faction of *Fregoſa* woulde make ſome innouacion, they had wholly broken the french armie and put them to flight: The horſemen alſo of *Vitelli* (comen now to *Chiauere*, vnderſtanding the ſucceſſe & great diſorder of thoſe with whom they went to ioyne in ſtrength) retired with no leſſe haſt then daunger, to *Serezana*: In ſo much, that except *Spetia*, all the places of that riuer that had bene occupied by the baniſhed, reappealed or called againe forthwith the *Genovvays*, as did in like ſort in the riuer of the ponent, the citie of *Vintemille*, which in the ſame dayes had bene occupied by *Pavvle Baptiſta Fregoſa*, and certeine others of the baniſhed.

Ferdinand to reconquer his kingdom of Naples.

In the ſame times, the warre was alſo as hoat in the realme of *Naples*, as in the partes of *Lumbardye*, but with a more diuerſe fortune: for, *Ferdinand* after he had takẽ *Regge*, conſidered how he might recouer the places bordring, hauing in his army ſix thowſand men comprehending ſuch of the contrey and *Sicile* as willingly followed him, togither with the horſemen and footemen of the Spaniſh, ouer whom was Capteine, *Conſaluo Eruandes* of the houſe of *D'aghilar* and contrey of *Cordone*, A man very valiant and long exerciſed in the warres of *Granado:* This man, at his firſt comming

ming into *Italy*, being called (by a Spaniſh bragge) the great Capteine, the better to ſignifie with this title, the ſoueraigne power that he had ouer them, did well deſerue by many goodly victories which he there achiued, that that ſurname might be iuſtly appropriated, confirmed, and perpetuated in him by vniuerſall conſent in teſtimony of his great vertue and excellencie in the knowledge of warre: To this armie, which had already ſtirred vp a great part of the contrey, *Monſr D'Aubygny* preſentes him ſelfe neare *Somynare*, a towne vppon the ſea, with the men at armes of *Fraunce* remeyning for the gard of *Calabria* and ſuch bandes of horſemen and footemen as the Lordes of the contrey of the french faction had ſent to him: And being come to the battell, the vallour of the ſouldiers which were of trayne and exerciſe, caried the victorie againſt the ignorance of the other litle experienced: for, not onely the *Italians* and *Sicilyans* which *Ferdinand* had gathered in haſt, but alſo euen the *Spanyardes*, were ſouldiers new and vntrayned to ſeruice: with whom notwithſtanding, he mainteyned the skirmiſhe with great ſtoutnes, for that the vertue and authoritie of the Capteines failing nothing of their place and office, ſuſteyned ſuch as for all other regardes, were much inferior: *Ferdinand* aboue the reſidue, applying vertue to thinnocencie of his quarrell, behaued him ſelfe as well apperteyned to his vertue: In ſo much as his horſe being ſlayne vnder him, he had in all coniecture, remeyned either dead or taken, if *Iohn de Capua* brother to the Duke of *Termyny*, (who had bene his page from his childhood, & whom he intyerly loued in that flower of age) had not alighted and remounted him vpon his horſe, and with an example of faith and loue very notable and worthy, offered his owne life for the ſafetie of his Lorde, in whoſe preſence he was ſlaine vpon the place: *Conſaluo* fleeth along the mounteines to *Regge*, and *Ferdinand* to *Palma* which lyeth vppon the ſea neare to *Semynara*, and there tooke gallies and ſayled to *Meßina*: And as in aduerſities neceſſitie is mightie to make men reſolute, ſo by this ouerthrow, there increaſed in him a new courage and will to aſſay againe the triall of fortune: for, he was not onely aduertiſed that the whole citie of *Naples* thirſted with great deſire to haue him, but alſo by ſecret intelligence he knew that he was generally called by the principalls of the nobilitie & people: And therefore eſchewing delayes where was ſo great neceſſitie of expedicion, and fearing leaſt lingring ioyned to the reapport of his ouerthrow in *Calabria*, might not eftſoones make cold that new diſpoſicion: After he had aſſembled (beſides the gallies which he had led from *Yſchia*, and the foure that ſerued his fathers firſt departure from *Naples*) the other veſſels that brought the *Spanyardes* into *Sicyle*, with all others that he could recouer of the cities and Barons of *Sicyle*: he hoyſſeth ſayle out of the port of *Meßina*, not tarying for that he had not men of warre ſufficient to arme them: wherein wanting forces conuenient for ſuch an enterpriſe, he was conſtrained to furniſh and ſerue his turne no leſſe with demonſtracion and apparance, then with theffect and ſubſtance of thinges: he departed from *Sicyle* with lxx. veſſells of cable and anker, and twenty others of leſſe proporcion, accompanied with *Ricaienſe* of *Catelognia* Capteine of the Spaniſh veſſels, a man whoſe experiēce was equall to his reſolucion in ſeruices at ſea: he had ſo ſmall proporcions of fighting men, that in moſt parte of theſe veſſells there were almoſt no other ſortes or natures of men, then ſuch as neceſſarily were appoynted to the ſeruice of the nauigacion: In this ſort his forces were ſmall, but great towards him were the fauors and goodwills of the people: in ſo much that being arriued in the roade of *Salerne*, *Salerne* it ſelfe, the coaſt of *Melff*, and of *Cauo*, hoyſſed their ſtreamers to the winde: Afterwards he remeined two daies aboue *Naples*, in expectacion to heare of ſome tumult

in the towne: But for the time his fortune being ſlow made his deſire vaine, for that the french men ronning preſently to armes, and planting ſure garde vpon places of perill, ſuppreſſed immediatly the rebellion that euen already was kindled: yea, they had put remedie to all their daungers, if they had valiantly followed the councell of ſome amongeſt them, who geſſing that the veſſells of *th Arragons* were ill manned with ſouldiers able to fight, aduiſed *Monſr Montpenſier* to refurniſh the french veſſells which were in the hauen with bodies reſolute and men of action, and ſo giue the charge to thennemie: The third day *Ferdinand* deſpairing of commotion in the citie, turned his ſayles into the ſeaward to retyre to *Yſchia*: by which it hapned, that the conſpirators with *Ferdinand*, conſidering that their faction and intelligence was now diſcouered, and therefore his cauſe was become theirs, and proper and general to euery one of them, drew them to an aſſembly, and determined to be blind againſt all daungers and difficulties, making of their common neceſſitie a ſpeciall vertue: This deliberacion was followed to effect, for that they diſpatched ſecretely a litle boate to call home *Ferdinand*, beſeching him to put on land either all or the greateſt part of his companies, to thende to ioyne meane and courage to ſuch as were inclined to make inſurrection in his fauor: vppon this intelligence, *Ferdinand* returned eſtſoones aboue *Naples*, and the day after the battell of *Furnoue*, he approched neare the ſhoare to take land at *Magdalena* a mile from *Naples*, and where the riuer of *Sebeta* falls into the ſea: it is rather a ſmall brooke then a riuer, which yet had lyen vnknowen if the verſes of the Poets of *Naples* had not giuen it a name: *Monſr Montpenſier* to whom all thinges were diſcloſed, ſhewed him ſelfe no leſſe hardy and ready to charge them when was cauſe to feare them, then he was vnreſolute and fearefull the day before when courage was neceſſary: In ſo much that yſſuing out of the city almoſt with all his ſtrength to ſtoppe the diſcending of *Ferdinand*: The *Neapolytans* taking thoportunitie of thoccaſion (which was ſuch as they could not haue deſired better) roſe ſuddeinly into armes: And ſounding a larme by ringing the greate bell of the frears next to the walls of the towne, all the other Churches doing the like, they ſeazed vpon the gates of the towne, and began to publiſh the name of *Ferdinand*: This ſuddeine tumult ſo amazed the french men, that holding it a place of no ſewertie to remeyne betwene thennemies and the citie rebelled, and leſſe exſpectacion to returne by that way they yſſued out, they determined to reenter *Naples* by the gate that belonged to the new caſtell, for thaccompliſhment whereof they muſt take a long way ful of hills & troubleſom & compaſſing the walls of the towne: But in this meane while *Ferdinand* being entred, and mounted on horſebacke with certeine of his followers by the *Neapolytaines*, rode thorow the towne to thincredible ioy and gladnes of euery one, the communaltie receiuing him with great cryes and ſhewtes, and the Ladies and women beholding him out of windowes and caſements, could not be ſatisfied to couer him with flowers and ſweete ſmelling waters: yea many of the nobles ronne in the ſtreete to embraſe him & wype the ſweate from his face, not being negligent for all this in thinges neceſſary for the defence of the citie: for, the Marquis of *Piſcaire* accompanied with the ſouldiers which were entred with *Ferdinand* and the youth of *Naples*, looked to the intrenching and forteſying of all places for their defence againſt the french: who after they were come vpon the greene of the newcaſtell, and doing what they could to reenter into the hart of the citie, were ſo repulſed by crosbow men and ſmall ſhot, that finding at all the entreyes and commings to the ſtreetes, a reſiſtance ſtronge and ſufficient, and the night nowe drawing on, they retyred to the caſtell, leauing almoſt of all ſortes two thowſand

The citie of Naples riſeth to let in Ferdinand.

thowſand horſes vpon the greene, hauing no place nor feeding for them in the caſtell: within the caſtell were incloſed with *Monſr Montpenſier*, *Meßire Yues D'alegro*, a Capteine of reputacion, and *Anthony* Prince of *Salerne*, with many others french and *Italians* of marke: who albeit ſpent certeine dayes in skirmiſhing, aſwell on the caſtell greene as about the port, diſcharging their artillerie into the towne, yet finding in their repulſes a redobled vallour in thennemie, they remeyned voyd of hope to be able to recouer the citie of them ſelues.

The example of *Naples* was immediatly followed by *Capua*, *Auerſa*, the rocke of *Montdragon*, & many other peeces there aboutes, yea moſt part of the kingdom was ſuddeinly in reuolt: Amongeſt whom thoſe of *Caietta* taking armes with more courage then force, and their hopes farre greater then their fortune, for that certeine gallies of *Ferdinand* were diſcouered afore the haue, they were with general ſlaughter oppreſſed by the french garriſons there, who with a furie agreing with the cauſe giuen, ſacked all their citie.

At the ſame time the nauie of the *Venetians* being come neare to *Monopoly* one of the cities of *Powylla*, after they had ſet on lande their eſtradiots and many of their footemen, aſſalted it both by ſea & land, where *Peter Bembo* owner of one of the *Venetian* gallyes was ſlayne with a ſhot out of the towne: But in the ende fortune yelding to vertue, the citie was taken by force, and the caſtell likewiſe rendred for feare which the french Capteine had that kept it: the ſayd nauie tooke alſo by compoſicion the towne of *Puligniane*.

Ferdinand was not without apparant hopes to haue the new caſtell and the caſtel of the egge, for that famine (which is an ennemie troubleſom) ſerued more for him then his force or pollicie there remeyning a very ſmal quantitie of vittells in regard of the proporcion of men that were within: And winning vppon them continually the places about the caſtel, to thend to keepe them at a ſtraiter compaſſe: the french men ſuccoring the aduerſities of their fortune with induſtrie & pollicie, ſeeing their armie by ſea had no ſewertie in the hauen, which conteyned fiue ſhippes, foure light gallies, a galliot, and a gallion: they retyred them betwene the tower of *S. Vincent*, the eggecaſtell, and *Pizifalcone*, which yet they helde, as alſo the hinder partes or skirtes of new caſtell where were the gardyns of the kinges: In ſo much as keeping peeces euen to *Capella*, and fortefying the monaſterie of the croſſe, they made incurſions euen to *Piegrotte* and *S. Martyn*: Againſt whom *Ferdinand* hauing taken and fortefyed *Hipodrome*, and made couert wayes by *Incoronato*, he poſſeſſed the Mount of *S. Herme*, and afterwards the hill of *Pizifalcone*, the french holding the caſtell ſeated in the higheſt part of it: To hinder the ſuccors that were to come from it (for in taking it they might endomage and batter from the ſteepe places the nauie of thennemie) *Ferdinand* aſſailed the monaſterie of the croſſe: At whoſe firſt approch they receiued ſuch harmes by the artillerie, that diſpairing to winne it by force, they deuiſed to betray it by practiſe and intelligence: A deuiſe very vnhappy and wretched to him that was thautor: for that a Moare which was within, hauing fraudulently promiſed to the Marquis of *Piſcare* (aforetimes his maſter) to put him within the place, and in that action, hauing made him come by night by a ladder faſtened to the wall of the monaſterie to ſpeake with him, to thende to agree vpon the manner and time to enter it the ſame night: he was by great treaſon and double intelligence ſlaine with the ſhott of a crosbow ronning thorow his throate. *Marquis of Piſcare ſlain.*

It was not of litle importance for the affayres of *Ferdinand*, the reuolt firſt of *Proſper* and then *Fabrice Collonne*, who during the bonde of their ſeruice and othe con-

tracted with the french king, (going with the ſtreame of the time) returned to the pay of *Ferdinand* almoſt aſſoone as he had recouered *Naples:* They excuſed themſelues that they were not ſatisfied in time of their due payments promiſed, And that to *Virginio Vrſin* and the *Count Petillane* (with ſmall regard to their merits) were giuen many fauors and aduauncements of the king: A reaſon that ſeemed to many very weake, and farre inferior to the greatnes of the benefits which they had receyued of him: But it may be dowted, that that which reaſonably ought to ſerue as a bridle to reſtrayne them, was the very mocion that led them to doe the contrary, ſeing by how much the benefits they had receiued were great and many, by ſo much perhaps was great in them the deſire to keepe them, looking withall into the ill diſpoſicion of the affayres of the french which began euen then to ſhake and declyne.

But now the caſtell thus hemmed in, and the ſea reſtrayned by the nauies of *Ferdinand*, the want of vittells increaſed more and more, and they that were beſeeged interteyned themſelues onely with hopes to haue ſuccors out of *Fraunce* by ſea, the rather for that the king (aſſoone as he was arriued at *Aſt*) had diſpatched *Peron de la Baſche* to rigge in the hauen of *Ville franche* neare to *Nice* an armie at ſea of two thowſand *Gaſcoins* and *Svvyzzers* with prouiſion of vittells, whoſe leader and Capteine ſhould be *Monſr D'Arban*, a man warlike, but not experienced in the ſeruice of the ſea: This nauie being put vnder ſayle and arriued as farre as the yle of *Poreze*, diſcouering thereabout the nauie of *Ferdinand* conteyning thirty ſayles and two great ſhippes of *Genoua*, retyred and fell forthwith into flight: And being purſued vnto the yle of *Elba*, they made way in ſuch feare to the hauen of *Lyuorne*, with the loſſe of a litle ſhippe of *Biskay*, that it was not in the power of the Capteine to withhold moſt of his men from going on ſhoare, and againſt his diſcipline and will to ronne amayne to *Pyſa:* By reaſon of the retyre & deffeate of this armie at ſea, *Monſr Mountpenſier* with his companies, preſſed with want of vittells, accorded to render the caſtell to *Ferdinand* hauing now endured the ſeege three monthes, & from thẽce to goe to *Prouence*, if they were not reskewed within thirty dayes: This contract included ſewertie of life and goodes to all ſuch as were within the caſtell, giuing in oſtage to *Ferdinand*, *Yues D'Alegre* with three others for aſſurance of the condicions. But the ſhortnes of time made impoſſible all hope or expectacion of ſuccors, other then ſuch as they had within the realme: In which reſpect *Monſr de Perſy* one of the Capteines of the king, accompanied with the *Svvyzzers* and parte of the french launces, and the Prince of *Byſignian* with many other Barons, drewe ſtraight to *Naples:* Againſt whom, *Ferdinand* hauing eſpiall of their comming, ſent out to *Eboly* the *Count* of *Matalono* with an armie for the moſt part confuſed, compownded vpon bodies whom he truſted and eſteemed his friendes: This armie albeit was much ſuperior in numbers and furniture, yet encowntring thennemie at the lake of *Pizzola* which is a litle borow neare *Eboly*, they fell into generall diſorder and preſent fleeing without fighting. In which chaſe was taken priſoner *Venantio* ſonne of *Iulius Varano* Lord of *Camaryn*: but being not purſued by the frenche, they retyred without great loſſe to *Nola* and ſo to *Naples:* The frenchmen (taking courage by this felicitie) followed their enterpriſe to ſuccour the caſtells, and that with ſo great reputacion for the victorie obteyned, that *Ferdinand* was at poynt once againe to abandon *Naples:* But receiuing courage by the comfortes of thoſe of the towne, who were no leſſe puſhed forward perhaps with the feares they had of their liues, (remembring their rebellion) then with the friendſhip they bare to *Ferdinand*: incamped at *Capella:* And the better to let thennemies for approching the caſtel, caſting a trench from

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the Mount *S. Hermo* vntill the egge caſtell,he furniſhed with artillerie and footemen all the hills vntill *Capella* and aboue *Capella:* In ſo muche that albeit the frenchmen, who being come to *Nocere* by the way of *Salerna*,paſſing by the caue and the hill *Pi-egrotte*, were guided to *Chiaie* neare to *Naples:* yet all thinges hauing good defence, and by the vallour of *Ferdinand*,the artilleries thundring vppon the frenchmen; but ſpecially thoſe that were planted vpon the hill of *Pizifolcone* which commaunded the egge caſtell(where earſt were the ſingularities and pompes ſo much renowmed of *Lucullus*)they could paſſe no further,nor approach *Capella:* And hauing no meane to make further abode there,for that nature fauoreth the place with all pleaſures & commodities ſauing freſh waters,this neceſſitie conſtrayned them to retyre ſooner then they would,leauing behinde at their diſcamping three peeces of artillerie,and parte of the releeffes which they had brought to reuittell the caſtells: They tooke their way towards *Nola*,againſt whom *Ferdinand* oppoſed him ſelfe leauing the caſtell beſeeged, and incamped with his companies in the plaine of *Palma* neare to *Sarny: Monſr Mentpenſier* ſeeing by their departure,nothing but an vtter loſſe & priuacion of all hopes for reskewes, leauing three hundreth men within the caſtell (a number no leſſe proporcioned for the vittells which nowe were ſhort, then for the ſeruice and defence) and a garriſon within the eggecaſtell: drew away with him the reſidue (which were in all two thowſandfiue hundreth ſouldiers) and by night embarking him ſelfe and companies in the veſſells there,he went to *Salerna*, not without the great complaintes of *Ferdinand*,who pretended that it was not lawfull for him (during the tearme wherein he had promiſed to yeld)to depart with ſuch a cõpany,onles he had rendred both the caſtells according to the contract: This eſcape wrought many paſſions in *Ferdinand*, in whom was no want of inclinacion (according to the rigour of the contract) to reuenge the iniurie and infidelitie of *Montpenſier*,vpon the bludd and life of the *Oſtages:* for that the caſtells not redeliuered at the tearme accorded,he had abuſed the wordes of his promiſe with a meaning diſſembled: Notwithſtanding extremities redoubling with time vppon thoſe that remeyned,not able any longer to keepe force againſt the rage of hunger, within leſſe then one month after he was parted, they rendred the caſtell with condicions to haue the oſtages deliuered: And almoſt at the ſame time,and for the ſame occaſion they that were within the eggecaſtell, agreed to yeld the firſt day of the next lent,if they were not reskewed before: Much about this time dyed at *Meſſina Alphonſo* of *Aragon*: the glorie and fortune of whom (by the which whileſt he was but Duke of *Calabria*,his name was made honorable and famous,) were conuerted into a great infamie & infelicitie when he came to be king of *Naples:* It was ſayd,that a litle before his death,he made inſtance to his ſonne to returne to *Naples*,where the hatreds that were generall againſt him before time, were now almoſt reconuerted into affections and good lykinges: To whom it is ſuppoſed that *Ferdinand*(ambicion and deſire to reigne bearing more rule in him then reuerence and reſpect to his father)anſwered no leſſe ſuttelly then in skorne,that he ſhould attend and expect til he had ſo aſſured the realme,that he ſhould not eftſoones be driuen to abandon it and flee.

Monſr Mõtpenſier ſtealeth from Naples.

Alphonſo king of Aragon dyeth.

Ferdinand,to enterteyne him in the friendſhips of the king of *Spayne* with a bond more ſtraite and aſſured,tooke to wife with diſpenſacion of the Pope, *Iane* his aunt, doughter to *Ferdinand* his grandfather and of *Iane* ſiſter to the ſayd king of the Spaniſhe.

In this meane while that the ſeege was continued with diuerſe ſucceſſe about the caſtells of *Naples* (as hath bene ſet downe) the ſeege of *Nouaro* alſo was ſtill hol-

The ſeege of Nouaro.

den and brought to very ſtraite and hard termes: for the Duke of *Myllan* had there a puiſſant armie, which the *Venetians* had ſuccored with ſuch a readines, that in no enterpriſe within memorie haue they bene knowen to make leſſe ſparing of charges, nor vſed more fidelitie and diligence: there were in this campe of the confederats three thowſand men at armes, three thowſand light horſemen, a thowſand *Almaines* on horſ backe, & fiue thowſand footemen *Italians*: But the principal ſtrength of their armie ſtoode vpon the tenne thowſand launceknightes (for ſo are the *Almaine* footemen called) interteyned moſt part by the Duke of *Myllan*, to be oppoſed againſt the *Svvyzzers*, for that *th Italian* footemen could not endure their name, and much leſſe heare ſpeake of them without feare, ſo greatly were they diminiſhed in reputacion and courage, ſince the french men had action in *Italy*: ouer them were gouerners many Capteines of vallour reſolute, & for experience generally recommended, Amongeſt whom bare a name moſt ſinguler *George Pietrepante* of the contrey of *Auſtrich*, who a few yeares before, being in the pay of *Maximylian* king of *Romaines*, conquered with an honorable prayſe vpon the french king, the towne of *S. Omer* in *Picardye*: The Senat of *Venice* was not onely carefull to ſende to this ſeege many bandes of ſouldiers, but alſo to interteyne them in a greater courage, they created gouernor and Capteine generall ouer the armie, the Marquis of *Mantua*, honoring in him by the collacion of that dignitie, the vertue he ſhowed in the battell of *Furnoue* or *Taro*, and with an example worthy of eternall memorie, they had not only increaſed the paies of ſuch as ſhowed vallour there, but alſo indued with penſions and ſundry recompenſes the ſonnes of many that dyed in that battell, and transferred dowrie to their daughters: The ſeege of *Nouaro* was continued with this mighty armie, for that the councell of the confederats (referring all thinges apperteyning to that action to the will of *Lodovvyk Sforce*) was not to hazarde the triall of battell with the french king, onles they were conſtrayned, but rather in fortefying about *Nouaro* the places neceſſary, their intencions were to let vittells for entring: They hoped that thoſe within could not hold out long, for that they had leſſe ſtore of vittells then would ſerue their numbers and proporcion, and no expectacion of remedie in a caſe ſo reſtrayned: for, beſides the people of the citie, and the payſants which were thether retyred, the Duke of *Orleans* had of french and *Svvyzzers* more then ſeuen thowſand of choyſe: In which reſpectes, *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, giuing ouer all cogitacion to take the towne by force, for the multitudes of men of warre that were within, had incamped him ſelfe with the Dukes armie at *Mugnes*, a place of ſewertie vppon the high way very conuenient to giue impediments to the prouicions that might come to *Verceill*: And the Marquis of *Mantua* with the bandes of the *Venetians*, taking at his arriual by force, certeine peeces there about, together with the caſtell of *Brione*, a ſeruice of ſome importance, had alſo refurniſhed *Camarian* and *Bolgare* which are betwene *Nouaro* and *Verceill*, diſtributing the armie into ſundry places about *Nouaro*, the better to ſtoppe the courſe of vittels, and fortefying euery particular lodging and trench, to be the more eaſie and ready to reſiſtance.

On the other ſide the french king, to haue more oportunitie to the ſuccors of *Nouaro*, was remoued from *Aſt* to *Thuryn*: And albeit he made many iorneyes euen to *Chyars*, to make court to a Ladie remeyning there, yet that vanitie brought no negligence to the common affayres, for that they ceaſed not without intermiſſion to cõſider of the prouicions for the warres, ſoliciting continually the companies come out of *Fraunce*, with intencion to put to the field two thowſand french launces. They were no leſſe diligent to ſolicit the diſcending of tenne thowſand *Svvyzzers* for the

leuie of whom was dispatched the Baylif of *Dyon*: Their resolucion was, that assoone as the armie was possessed of them, to aduaunce all meanes possible to reskew *Nouaro*: without the strength of the *Svvyzzers*, there was litle abilitie in the french to accomplish any worthy enterprise, seeing the realme of *Fraunce* in those tymes albeit mighty in horsemen, and well furnished with artilleries and men most apt and nymble to manage them, yet it was very weake in footemen of the proper region: The reason was, that armes and exercises of warre resting onely in the nobilitie, the auncient vallour of that nation was failed in the multitudes of men of base condicion, ignorant in seruice martiall for the long tyme they had not managed armes, in place of which they had giuen them selues ouer to trades, profits, & delites of peace: for, many of the auncient kinges before, fearing the furie of the popular sort by the example of diuerse conspiracies & rebellions hapning in the same kingdō, thought it necessary in pollicie to disarme them, and draw them from the vse and practise of armes: for these reasons the french men, not trusting in the vertue of their owne footemen, neuer went to the warres with courage, onles their armie were strengthned with certeine bandes of the *Svvyzzers*: which nation in all ages resolute and hardy in armes, had about twenty yeares before much increased their reputacion, for that being assailed by a mighty armie led by *Charles* Duke of *Burbon* (he that for his power and fiercenes was much redowted not onely in the realme of *Fraunce*, but of all his neighbours) they had in lesse then one month put him thryse to flight, and at the last chase, either as he fought, or as he fled (the certeine manner being dowtfull) they tooke from him his life: So that, what for their resolute vallour, and that the french had no controuersie with them, and lesse feare to dowte them for their interests particular, as they had of the launceknightes, they interteyned no other forreine souldiers then the *Svvyzzers*, vsing their seruice in all their warres of importance: but more willingly at that time then at any other, for that they saw howe hard a thing it was and full of daunger, to reskew *Nouaro* enuyroned with so great an armie, and wherein were so many bandes of launceknightes gouerned by the same discipline that the *Svvyzzers* were.

The citie of *Verceill* is scituated in the midd way betwene *Thuryn* and *Nouaro*, and hauing in auncient times bene a member of the Duchie of *Myllan*, it was giuen by *Phillipp Maria Viscounte* (during the long warres he had with the *Venetians* and the *Florentyns*) to *Ayme* Duke of *Sauoye*, to separat it from them: Into this citie was not yet entred any bandes of either part, for that the Ducheſſe mother and tutor to the yong Duke of *Sauoye*, who in her hart was wholly french, woulde not discouer her selfe for the king till he were more stronge, giuing in the meane while to the Duke of *Myllan* gracious wordes and hopes: But assoone as the king was stronge in men and come from *Thuryn*, a citie of the same Duchie, she consented that he & his souldiers should enter within *Verceill*, when by the oportunitie of that place he entred into a greater hope to be able to succor *Nouaro* when all his strength should be assēbled: And on the other side the confederats, for the same reason began so to dowt, that to debate with a more rype and full councel how they should proceede in such difficulties, *Lodovvyk Sforce* went to the armie with *Beatrix* his wife, who ordinarily accompanied him no lesse in matters of importance, then in actions familiar: In the presence of whom, and (as the brute went) chiefly by her councel, the capteines after many reasonings, concluded with one consent, that for the more common sewertie of them all, the bandes of the *Venetians* should be ioyned to tharmie of the Duke of *Mugnes*, leauing sufficient gard in all the other places about *Nouaro* seruing

to the seege: That *Volgaro* should be abandoned, for that being within three myles of *Verceile*, it was necessary, if the french men came with strength to get it, either to loase it with infamie, or to succor it with the whole armie: That in *Camarian* three myles from *Mugnes* where the campe was, the garrison should be refurnished: lastly, that the whole campe being fortefied with trenches and rampiers, and supplyed with sufficient artilleries, the Capteines and assistants should daily enter into other councells according to the behauiors of thennemie: They forgatt not in this consult to giue order to spoyle and cut downe all the trees euen to the walls of *Nouaro*, to giue incommodities to men and forage for horses, wherof there were great quantities in *Nouaro*: These resolucions established, and a generall moostер made of the whole armie, *Lodovvyk* returned to *Myllan* to make with more readines such prouisions as daily should growe necessary for the seruice: wherein to giue fauors to the forces temporal, with the authoritie & armes spirituall, the *Venetians* & he wrought so much with the Pope, that he sent one of his officers at the mace to the king, cõmaunding him within tenne dayes to depart *Italy* with all his armie, and within an other short tearme to send all his people out of the realme of *Naples*: otherwayes that vnder the spirituall paynes wherwith the church is wont to threaten, he should appeare before him personally at *Rome*: This remedie the auncient Popes haue vsed in tymes before: for according to tradicions written, *Adrian* first of that name, constrayned with no other armes then these, *Desiderius* king of *Lumbards* going with a stronge armie to trouble the citie of *Rome*, to retyre from *Terny* (where he was arriued) to *Pauia*: But the reuerence and feare which for the holines of their life, was nourished in the hartes of men, being now fayled, it was a thing hard to hope, that of manners and examples so contrary, would come like effectes: The same enabling the french king, skorning at his commaundement, to aunswer the Messenger, that the Pope refusing at his returne from *Naples* to tary him in *Rome*, whether he went deuowtely to kisse his feete: he could not but maruell, by what reason he coulde require him now to go thether: Notwithstanding he sayd, that to obey him, he would looke to open his way, and prayed him leaste he tooke those paynes in vayne, to attend him there till he came.

The Pope commaundes the french king to goe out of Italy.

In this tyme, at *Thuryn* the king contracted with th Embassadors of *Florence* new capitulacions not without the great contradiction of such as afore tymes had made resistance: who now had so much the more occasion to impugne it, by how much the *Florentyns* (after they had recouered the other borowes and stronge places of the hills of *Pysa*) their campe being afore *Pont de Sac*, and the souldiers that were within rendring it with condicion to haue their life saued: they did (contrary to their faith and promise giuen) put to the sworde almost all the *Gascon* footemen which were found with the *Pysans*, and vsed many cruelties against the bodies dead: This accident albeit hapned against the wills of the *Florentyn* Commissioners, who with great difficultie saued a great part of them, but altogether by the stirring vp of certeine souldiers, who being prisoners to the frenche, were very rigourously dealt withall: yet in the court of the king, all being taken by their aduersaries as a signe manifest of mindes malicious to the name of all the frenchmen, many impediments were obiected to the solicitacion and practise of thaccord, which notwithstanding had his passage & full conclusion, hauing more power then all other respectes, not the memorie of promises and othes solemnly made, but the vrgent necessitie and want of money, and other commodities to succor the affayres of the kingdom of *Naples*: This was thaccord: That without any delay, all the townes & castells which

Capitulacion betwene the french king and the Florentyns.

were

were in the kinges poſſeſſion, ſhould be reſtored to the *Florentyns*, vpon condicion that the ſtate of *Florence* ſhoulde be bownd to deliuer (within two yeares next comming at the pleaſure of his Maieſtie receiuing ſufficient recompenſe for them) *Pietraſanta* and *Seraẓana* to the *Genovvays*, in caſe their eſtate ſhould fall to the iuriſdiction and obedience of the king: That vnder this hope, the *Florentyns* ſhould make preſent paymēt of the thirty thowſand duckats remeyning of the capitulaciō made at *Florence*, receiuing a pawne of iewels for their ſewertie and reſtitucion, if for any occaſion their places were not rendred: That after the redeliuerie of their places, they ſhould lende to the king vpon bondes of the generalls of the realme of *Fraunce* (ſo are called the foure officers royall which receiue the reuenues of the crowne) three ſcore and tenne thowſand duckats, and to ſend parte of them in his Maieſties name to the bandes which were in the realme of *Naples*, and an other part to be miniſtred to the *Collonnoys*, in caſe they were not reconciled and reaccorded with *Ferdinand*, whereof his maieſtie albeit he had ſome apparance, was not yet in ſuch certeinty as to beleue it: That if they had no warres in *Tuskane*, they ſhould ſend to *Naples* to thaide of the french armie there, two hundreth and fifty men at armes: And in caſe their warres were but for the quarrel of *Montpulcian*, yet they ſhould be boūd to ſend them thether to accompanie the bandes of *Vitelli*, & not to interteyne them in that ſeruice longer then the month of October: That they ſhould remit and pardon the *Pyſans* for all their offences committed, giuing them a forme certeine for the reſtitucion of their goods which had bene taken from them, together with conuenient and liberall meanes to exerciſe their traffikes and marchandiſe: That for the ſewertie and obſeruacion of theſe thinges, they ſhould deliuer as oſtages at the election of the king, ſix of the principall Citiſens of *Florence*, and they to remeine a certeine tyme in his Court: This accord concluded, and the thirty thowſand duckats (which were immediatly ſent to make a leuie of *Svvyzzers*) giuen vnder gage of the kinges iewells, the commiſſions and commaundements of the king were immediatly diſpatched to the Capteines of the places, to make preſent redeliuerie to the *Florentyns* without any difficultie or ſtanding.

But within *Nouaro* albeit the vertue of the ſouldiers was great, & moſt great (for the memory of the rebellion) the obſtinacie of the towneſmen to defend the towne, yet thinges diuolued daily to more hard and difficult tearmes the ſtore of vittells ſo faſt diminiſhing that they began euen now to be pinched with the want of neceſſaries, and (according to the nature of extremities) their hopes to be releued were no leſſe deſperat then their deſires great, and their preſent lackes greeuous: Notwithſtanding the Duke of *Orleans*, ſomwhat to eaſe and fauour the hardnes of their condicion, had ryd out of the towne all mouthes and members vnprofitable: yet it was no remedie ſufficient to ſo great a calamitie, for that many ſouldiers of the french & *Svvyzzers* not able to beare the fretting anguiſh of hunger, and leſſe enured to the other diſcommodities of a cloſe ſeege, began to languiſhe in diſeaſes and ſicknes: By reaſon whereof the Duke, being alſo troubled with a feuer quartyne, made many ſolicitacions to the king by meſſengers & letters not to deferre their ſuccours: which could not be aduaunced with ſuch readines as might be able to miniſter to their generall neceſſities, for that there was not aſſembled ſuch ſufficient ſtrength as imported the eſtate of their daunger: The french armie for their partes, ſhowing more forwardnes of action then able to doe good, made many attempts to reuittell the towne by night, vſing in that purpoſe the ſeruice both of horſemen and footemen: But being alwayes diſcouered by thennemie, there ſucceeded no other frutes of

their enterprises then great harmes to them selues, and no lesse disapoyntments to their friendes being made more wretched by their ill fortune: But to stoppe altogether the passage of vittells into the towne, the Marquis of *Mantua* assayled the monasterie of *S. Frauncis* standing neare to the wals of *Nouaro*, and taking it, he manned it forthwith with a garrison of two hundreth men at armes, and three thowsand footemen of the *Almaines*: By this meanes the armie confederat was discharged of a great care, the way being nowe made sure by the which releeffe was brought into the towne, the way also of the gate that leades to the mount *Biandrane* was stopped, for that in it was most facilitie to enter *Nouaro:* The day after he tooke also the bastylle made by the french vpon the poynt of the suburbes of *S. Nazare*, and the night following were surprised the whole suburbes together with the other plotteformes neare to the gate, wherein he bestowed a garde and fortefied the suburbes, the *Count Petillane* (whom the *Venetians* had taken into their pay with title of gouernor) being hurt there with a small shott neare the girdle place and in great daunger of death: For the succesſe of these places, the Duke of *Orleans* distrusting to be able to defende any more the other suburbes which he had at his entrey into *Nouaro*, he sette fire on them the night following, & drew all his strength to the defence & garde of the city onely: And touching the extremitie of famin, he yet nourished him self with hopes of succors, the rather for that the *Svvyzzers* beginning now to arriue at the campe, the kinges armie passing the riuer of *Stesia* was marched out of *Verceill* a myle to lodge in the fielde, and hauing bestowed a garde in *Bolgare*, exspected the residue of the *Svvyzzers:* who being once assembled, the armie was resolued to minister succors to *Nouaro:* an action notwithstanding full of many difficulties, for that *th Italian* bandes were lodged in places of aduauntage well furnished and fortefied, and the way from *Verceill* to *Nouaro*, full of lakes and waters, and very vneasie for horsemen almost impassible for the broade and deepe ditches thorow the whole contrey: Besides, betwene *Bolgare* holden by the french, and the campes of *th Italians*, was *Camarian*, which the *Italians* garded: In respect of these difficulties, there appeared not in the mind of the king nor of the others, a readines answering the expectacion of those that attended in distresse: And yet it was supposed, that if the *Svvyzzers* had sooner arriued, they had aduentured the fortune of battel, the euent whereof could not but be doutfull to either of the armies: And therefore, they both hauing regarde to the daunger present, there wanted no secret trauell to solicite an accorde betwene the king and the Duke of *Myllan*, albeit it was with smal hope for the indifferent distrust that was betwene those two Princes, and for that both the one and other, for their greater reputacion, made showes that they had no deuocion to peace. But fortune layed open an other meane more expedient for so great a conclusion. For about the same tymes, the Lady Marquise of *Montferat* being dead, and being in debate, who ought to take the gouernment of a litle sonne whom she had left, to which regentship aspired with one desire, the Marquis of *Saluzze*, and *Constantyn* brother to the sayd Lady decesſed one of the auncient Lordes of *Macedonia* which *Mahomet Ottoman* had occupied many yeares before: The frenche king fauoring much the tranquillitie of that estate, sent *Argenton* to *Cæsar Ceruas*, to ordeyne and establishe a protectorship according to the consent of the subiectes: and being gon thether also as a mourner for the death of the Ladie one of the principall officers of the Marquis of *Mantua*, they two meeting vppon the way, fell into discourse and deuises to haue a peace, alleaging many benefits that would redownd to both parties: This voluntary reasoning betwene them two succeeded to so good frute, that the Lord of *Argenton*

tooke

tooke occasion to write to the *Venetian* Commissioners, reitterating the reasons and matters which had bene begon to be debated euer since they were at *Taro*: & they fauoring the mocion with very forward affections, communicated immediatly with the Capteines of the Duke of *Myllan*, and so with one agrement, sent to require the french king (nowe come to *Verceill*) that he would assigne some of his councell to meete in some place conuenient, to common with such as they should appoynt in deputacion for their part: whereunto the king consenting with a readines equall to his desire, there assembled the day following betwene *Bolgare* and *Camarian* for the *Venetians* the Marquis of *Mantua* and *Bernard Contaryn* gouernor of their estradiots: for the Duke of *Myllan* was sent *Frauncis Barnardin Viscounte*: & for the french king the Cardinall of *S. Mallovv*, the Prince of *Orange* (to whome being newly come to the campe, the king had giuen the principal charge ouer the whole armie) the Mareshall of *Gie*, *Monsr de Pienes*, and *Monsr d'Argenton*: who making many meetings and certeine particulars of them making many iorneyes from the one armie to the other, the differences and chiefe controuersies fell at last vppon the citie of *Nouaro*: for that the french king making no difficulty in the effect of the restitucion, but in the manner, the lesse to offend his honor, labored that it might be referred (in the name of the king of *Romaines* direct Lord of the Duchie of *Myllan*) into the handes of one of the *Almaine* Capteines which was in the campe of *th Italians*: Of the contrary, the confederats required that it might be left frankly: These and other dowtes happning, not being able to be resolued with that speede which they that were within *Nouaro* required, being now falne vpon such extremities that what by famine, and other raging diseases rising by it, there were dead of the Dukes companie aboue two thowsand bodies: A truce was made for eyght dayes, with sufferaunce to the sayde Duke and the Marquis of *Saluzze*, to goe with a small companie to *Verceyll*, but vnder promise & faith to returne to *Nouaro* with the same companie, if the peace proceeded not: And for the sewertie of the Dukes person (for that he was to passe thorow the campe of thennemie) the Marquis of *Mantua* went into a tower neare to *Bolgare* in the keeping of the *Count de Foix*: The souldiers that were to remeyne in *Nouaro*, would not haue suffered him to depart, if he had not giuen them his faith, that within three dayes he would returne, or else by his meane they should haue libertie to goe out, the Mareshall of *Gie* being there for his conduit leauing also one of his nephewes for ostage: for that not onely the vittells were consumed which ordinarily serued for the sustenance of man, but also the vncleane and filthy skrappes, from which they could not absteyne in so great an extremitie: Immediatly after the Duke was come to the kinges presence, the truce was eftsoones proroaged for a certeine few dayes, with condicion that all his companies shoulde goe out of *Nouaro*: that the towne should be left in the power of the people, and they to make an othe not to giue it to either partie without common consent: And that thirty footemen, who should be vittelled daily by the campe of the *Italians*, should remeine in the castell for the Duke of *Orleans*: Thus all the souldiers yssued out of *Nouaro*, whom the Marquis of *Mantua* and *Galeas de S. Seuerin* protected and conducted till they were in place of sewertie. But so much were they weakened and consumed with hunger, that they were no sooner arriued at *Verceyll*, then many of them died, and the residue remeyned altogether vnprofitable for the seruice of that warre.

About this tyme, the Baylyf of *Dyon* arriued at the campe with the residue of the *Svvyzzers*, of whom albeit his commission was to leauye but tenne thowsand, yet he could not chuse but at the reapport of the kinges money, there discēded by trowpes

a farre greater number rising in the whole to an armie of twenty thowsand: The one halfe was admitted to ioyne to the campe neare *Verceill*, and the residue remeyned tenne miles of,because in pollicie it was not thought sure that so great a proporcion of men of one nation should be at one tyme in one campe: if their comming had bene somewhat sooner,the practises of peace had bene easily broken, seeing without them there were in the campe eyght thowsand french footemen,two thowsand of those *Svvyzzers* which had bene at *Naples*,and eyghteene hundreth launces.

But thinges being now so farre aduaunced, and *Nouaro* already abandoned, the enteruiewes did not discontinue, although the Duke of *Orleans* vsed all his labor to the contrary, hauing many of the greatest of the Court of his opinion: Therefore the Deputies were euery day at the campe of *th Italians* to solicit with the Duke of *Myllan*, who was newly returned thether to thend to debate him selfe in a matter of so great consequence, doing all thinges (notwithstanding) in the presence of the confederat Embassadors: At length the Deputies returned to the king, bringing the last conclusion of all thinges that they could for the accord: First that betwene the french king and the Duke of *Myllan*, there should be a peace and friendship perpetuall (the Duke nothing derogating notwithstanding his other confederacions:) That the king shoulde consent that the towne of *Nouaro* shoulde be rendred to the Duke by the people,together with the castell left to his Maiestie by the gard of xxx. footemen: That the towne of *Spetia* and all other places occupied by either parte, should be rendred: That it shoulde be lawfull to the king to arme at *Genes* (his freehold and chiefe) so many vessells as he would,seruing his turne of all the commodities of that citie,so that it were not in fauor of thennemies to the state of the same: That for assurance of this article, the *Genovvays* should giue him certeine ostages: That the Duke of *Myllan* should cause to be rendred to the king, the vessells lost at *Rapale* and the twelue gallies restrayned at *Genes*, and to arme for him presently at his proper charges two grosse carrakes of *Genes*, which with foure others of his own he determined to send to the succors of *Naples*: That the Duke should also deliuer to the king the yeare after,three others in the same manner: That the Duke should giue free and friendly passage to the companies that the king should send by land to the same succors,vnder this couenant that there should not passe by his estate more then two hundreth launces at a tyme: That if the kinge returned eftsoones to the same enterprise, the Duke should followe him with certeine bandes of men: That the *Venetians* should haue power to enter this contract within two monethes, And if they did enter,then to retyre their armie by sea from the kingdom of *Naples*, and to be bownd to giue no succors to *Ferdinand*: But if they did not obserue this & the king should leuye warre against them,the Duke should be bownde to ayde him,reaping to his vse all that should be conquered of the *Venetian* estates: That the Duke should pay fiftie thowsand duckats in the next march to the Duke of *Orleans* for the charges of the warre of *Nouaro* And acquite the king of lxxx. thowsand duckats percell of the money he had lent his Maiestie when he marched first into *Italy*, the residue to be rendred by his Maiesty at a longer tearme: That *Iohn Iackes Triuulce* should be absolued of the confiske and condemnacion wherein he had bene conuicted by the Duke,and enioy restitucion of all his goods: That the bastard of *Burbon* taken in the iorney of *Furnoue*,and the Lord of *Myolans* taken at *Rapale*, together with all other prisoners shoulde be redeliuered: That the Duke shoulde withdraw from *Pysa Fracasse* whom he had sent thether a litle before,together with all his bandes and the companies of the *Genovvays*: That he should giue no impediment to the *Florentyns*

Peace betwene the french king and the Confederats.

to

to recouer that which apperteyned to their iuriſdiction: That within one month he ſhould put by way of confidence the caſtell of *Genes* into the handes of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who called to that ende by both the parties, was now come to the campe of *th Italians*, and that the ſayd Duke of *Ferrara* ſhoulde keepe it two yeares at their common charges, and to be bownde by othe to redeliuer it within the ſayd tyme to the handes of the french king in caſe the Duke of *Myllan* ſhoulde not holde his promiſes, who immediatly vpon the concluſion of the peace, ſhould giue oſtages to the king for aſſurance to aſſigne the caſtell at the tyme agreed vpon: Theſe condicions brought to the king by his Deputies that had debated them, were propownded in his publike and priuat councell, wherein being founde no leſſe variacion of mindes thē contrariety of reaſons, euery one diſputing particularly, *Monſr Trymouille* reaſoned in this ſort. If in the councell preſent we had not to debate but of meanes to encreaſe the glorie of the crowne of *Fraunce* by actions of vallour and vertue, I ſhould not perhaps be ſo forward to encourage your Maieſties perſon to newe daungers, although the example of your ſelfe giues you councell to the contrary, ſeeing being caried with no other affection then a deſire & ambicion of glory, you determined the yeare paſt, againſt the councells and humble peticions of the face and body of your realme, to diſcend into *Italy* to conquer the kingdom of *Naples*: where your enterpriſe drawing a ſucceſſe happy and with encreaſe of your name and honor, it is a thing manifeſt that nowe we haue not onely to deliberat whether thoccaſion to winne new honors and glorie is to be reiected, but alſo if we may eftſoones loſe againe that reputacion which you haue got with ſo great aduentures, charges, and daungers, and conuerting the honors already wonne into imputacions & infamies perpetuall, whether you ought to be the perſonage ſo impugnant and contrary to your proper reſolucions, as to reprehende and condemne the councells eſtabliſhed by your ſelfe: for your Maieſtie might without any loſſe to your reputacion haue remeyned in *Fraunce*, and that which now the world will wrappe in opinions of diſhonorable feares and cowardiſſe, could not as then be referred to any other thing then to negligence, or to an age occupied in pleaſures: your maieſtie aſſoone as you had bene arriued in *Aſt*, might eftſoones haue returned into *Fraunce*, with the ſame ſpeede, & leſſe ſhame, making as though the matters of *Nouaro* concerned you nothing at all: But nowe by the preſence of your armie ſo long incamping here, you haue publiſhed your intencion, and that you were touched with deſire to deliuer the towne from ſeege, for which regard alſo hauing aſſembled out of *Fraunce* ſo great a proporcion of nobilitie and a leuye of *Svvyzzers* at a charge intollerable: who will dowt that if you depart and not ſatisfie theſe exſpectacions but leaue the towne to her perills, that your glorie, with the reputacion of your whole realme, will not take a contrary conuerſion of iuſt reproch and infamie perpetuall. But (if in the hartes of great kings may be mocions more violent then deſires of renowne and glorie) there be yet reaſons more mighty, or at leaſt more iuſt and neceſſary: ſeeing our retrait into *Fraunce* conſenting to the loſſe of *Nouaro* neither is, nor wil be thought any other thing then the loſſe of the whole kingdom of *Naples*, and the vnworthy ſlaughter of ſo many Capteines and Nobles of *Fraunce* left there for the defence of the ſame vpon your hopes ioyned with your faith and promiſes to ſende them ſpeedy ſuccors: wherein, how miſerable will be their expectacions, but more wretched and deſperat their eſtates and condicions, when they ſhall vnderſtand that your Maieſtie incamping vppon the frontyers of *Italy* with an armie ſo populous, and forces ſo reſolute, ſhal yet retyre & giue place to thennemie: The ſucceſſe of warres, dependes partly

Monſ. Trymouilles opinion touching the peace.

" of reputacion, which when it declines, declineth with all the vertue of the ſouldiers,
" the faith of the peoples diminiſheth, and the reuenues appoynted to ſuſteyne and
" defray the warres, fall to wants and diminucions: As of the contrary, the ennemie
" increaſeth in courage, ſuch as wander in feares and dowtes, come to be reſolute and
" well aſſured, and all difficulties are aggrauated to their aduauntage: So that, for ſo
" wretched and miſerable a newes, the ſtrength and vertue of our armie falling into
" faintnes and feeble dowtes, and the vallour and reputacion of our ennemies riſing
" into greater glorie and arrogancie, who dowtes not to ſee with this alteracion and
" chaunge, the reuolt and rebellion of all the kingdom of *Naples*: together with the
" deſolacion of our whole armie, And ſo that honorable enterpriſe begonne with ſo
" great felicitie to bringe forth in the ende no other frute then harmes wretched for
" the preſent, & diſhonorable to all ages hereafter: for he that is perſwaded that this
" peace is made with good faith & meaning, lookes with ſlender iudgement into the
" condicion of things preſent, & much leſſe knoweth the natures of thoſe with whom
" we deale: ſeeing it is a thing of eaſie comprehenſion, that we ſhall no ſooner haue
" turned our backes to the region of *Italy*, then all theſe treatiſes, promiſes, and con-
" tractes, will vaniſh and turne into ſmoke: yea in place to miniſter thoſe aydes they
" haue promiſed, their infidelitie will cary them to apply ſuccors to *Ferdinand*: Laſtly,
" theſe bandes whoſe impudencie will fill the whole world with bragges that they
" haue chaſſed vs out of *Italy*, will marche to *Naples* to make them ſelues rich with the
" ſpoyles of our contreymen made wretched by our cowardiſſe: which infamie me
" thinkes might be eaſelier borne, if by any probable reaſon we might dowt of the vi-
" ctorie: But it is a dowt vayne, & by no ſenſe can ſetle in the mindes of any, who ma-
" king conſideracion of the greatnes of our armie, & the oportunities of the contrey
" adioyning, will remember how ouerwearied and trauelled with a long marche, diſ-
" furniſhed of vittells, our numbers ſmall, and in the middeſt of the cuntrey of then-
" nemie, we fought againſt a moſt huge armie at the riuer of *Taro*: making the riuer
" by our vallour ſwell higher with the bludde of our ennemies then with his propper
" ſtreames: At what time alſo we opened our way with the ſworde, and as Conque-
" rors rode eyght dayes iorney thorow the Duchie of *Myllan* ennemie to our enter-
" priſes and greatnes: We haue now twyſe as many horſemen, the numbers of our
" french footemen redobled, & in place of three thowſand *Svvyzzers*, our armie em-
" braſeth at this inſtant two and twenty thowſand: And albeit thennemie is ſtronger
" then before in *Almaine* footemen, yet in all diſcourſe of reaſon, they can not holde
" compariſon with ours: Neither are their horſemen others then the ſelfe ſame, and
" their Capteines euen thoſe, that hauing once yelded vnder the force of our armes,
" and by our furie ſuffered ſo great harmes, will not eftſoones returne to the fight but
" with mindes fearfull and appalled: But it may be obiected that the profits of the vi-
" ctorie are ſo ſmall that they ought not to ſtand in regarde or computacion with vs:
" No, of the contrary, they are ſuch for their nature and ſo great for their vſe, that we
" ought to aſpire to obteyne with what daunger ſo euer: for that they include not on-
" ly the preſeruacion of ſo great a glorie gotten, the ſuccors of ſo rich a kingdome as
" *Naples*, the iuſt ſafetie of ſo many of your Capteines, and the honorable deliuerie of
" ſuch a proporcion of your nobilitie: But alſo they make a ſecret offer to inueſt you
" in the whole empire of *Italy*, the which if we remeyne here with the vpper hand, will
" be the pray, frute, and recompenſe of our victorie: for what other bandes, what o-
" ther armies, remeyne to thennemies in whoſe campe are aſſembled all the forces, all
" the companies, and all the Capteines, which they could leauye, eyther by fauor, au-

thoritie,

thoritie, or money, one trench which we ſhall winne, one rampier which we ſhall force, will put into our boſomes (things honorable and great) not onely the empire and treaſors of *Italy*, but alſo the meane to be reuenged of all our common and priuat wronges: which two ſpurres or mocions alwayes accuſtomed to pricke forward mindes baſe and cowardly, if they ſtirre not with an other quicknes our nation warlike & reſolute, we may iuſtly ſay that our vallour hath rather failed vs then our fortune, by whom is prepared thoccaſion to winne in ſo litle place, & in ſo few howers, ſo great and worthy recompenſes, that the wiſedom and deſires of men reaſonable can wiſhe no more: The time, the place, thoccaſion, our fortune, & all other oportunities and circumſtances to be conſidered in enterpriſes, offer vs the victorie: there wanteth nothing but action in men, which for ſo much ought to be more ready in vs, by how much it importeth men of vertue not to loſe the honor they haue gotten, nor leaue ſuſpicion that want of vallour makes them vnworthy of that which their fortune offereth with ſo great fauor and further reputacion. The Prince of *Orange* hauing a contrary affection, ſpake againſt this opinion in this ſort.

The Prince of Orenge ſpeaketh.

If your affayres (right Chriſtian king) were not ſo much preſſed with time, but that they would giue you leaſure to accompany your forces with induſtrie and diſcreſſion: or if they ſtoode not vpon degrees and condicions ſo immoderat, as you are conſtrained (if you will continue the warre) to proceede with importunities contrary to all the precepts and directions of warre: I coulde be one of thoſe that would giue councell to reiect the peace: for that by many reaſons we are encouraged not to accept it, as alſo it can not be denied that it would not be a thing honorable to continue the warre, and no leſſe conuenient for the affayres of *Naples*: But the tearmes whereunto are brought the towne and caſtel of *Nouaro*, not prouided of vittells for one day, compell vs (if we will ſuccor it) to ſet ſpedely vpon our enemies, & with a reſolucion ſuddeine to take away that reſpitt which makes them ſtronge and able, and increaſeth in our armie incommodities hurtfull and daungerous: And if (in ſuffering it to be loſt) we meane to tranſport the warre into an other parte of the ſtate of *Myllan*, The ſeaſon of the winter nowe at hande very vnfit to make warre in places ſo low and full of waters, and the qualitie of our armie for the nature & great multitudes of *Svvyzzers* who being not ſpedely employed may be more preiudiciall to vs then to our ennemies: And laſtly our generall want of money making our aboade here impoſſible for any long time, enforce vs (not accepting thaccorde) to ſeeke the meane to put ſuddeinly an ende to the warre: A thing which can not be done otherwayes, then directly to goe & charge thennemies, which aſwell for their condicions, as the diſauauntages of the contrey, is ſo daungerous, that in reaſonable conference of thinges, the action can not but hold of raſhnes and indiſcreſſion: for that their campe is ſo ſtrong by nature and art, according to the time they haue had to rampier and fortefie it: The places round about where their garriſons are ſo conuenient for their defence, and ſo well manned: the contrey, for the quantitie of ditches and impediment of waters, ſo vnapt to the ſeruice of horſemen: That to goe ſeeke them directly, and not to accoaſt them with commodities and aduauntages, and (as the ſaying is) to winne vpon them by litle and litle: is no other thing then to tempt fortune, and aduenture vppon perills moſt certeine and deſperat: for with what diſcourſe, with what reaſon of warre, or with what example of notable Capteines, may we with ſuch raſhnes and importunitie inuade ſo great an armie, & that in trenches ſo ſtrong and well furniſhed with artillerie? No, it is better (if you will proceede otherwayes then at aduenture) to ſeeke to driue them from their trenches

" by winning ſome place which they commaunde, or at leaſt in reſtrayning their vit-
" tells: wherein I can ſee no other thing to aſſure our hopes, then by proceeding deli-
" beratly & with the length of time, which we haue no meane to attend, (our affayres
" bearing nothing more preiudicially then to tẽporiſe & exſpect:) Beſides, our horſe-
" men conteyne neither thoſe numbers, nor that vallour, which happly many doe
" weene, for that many are made weake by diſeaſes, many returned into *Fraunce* with
" leaue and without leaue, and many of thoſe that remeyne, ouertrauelled with this
" long warre, haue more deſire to goe home then to fight: And touching the *Svvyz-*
" *zers*, who for their vertue are the principall forces of our armie, yet their great num-
" ber may happly be more hurtfull, then would be vnprofitable a leſſer proporcion:
" for ſuch hath bene alwayes thexperience of the cuſtoms and nature of that nation,
" that to manage them being ſo ſtrong and many together, can not almoſt be without
" certeinty of ſome daungerous tumult, (ſpecially things (as is neceſſary) proceeding
" with ſufferance and length of time:) During the which, by reaſon of their payments
" wherein they are inſatiable, and other accidents which follow of courſe, may hap-
" pen a thowſand occaſions to turne and chaunge them, & ſo we ſhould remeyne vn-
" certeine whether their ayde would ſerue vs as a medicine or a poyſon: And in ſuch
" an vncerteintie we can not eſtabliſh any thing in our councells, and much leſſe re-
" ſolue our mindes to any enterpriſe of vallour or importance: No man dowteth but
" the victorie is more honorable and ſure for the defence of the kingdom of *Naples*,
" then the agreement to peace: But in all actions of men and ſpecially in warres, we
" muſt accommodat our councels to neceſſitie, and not for the deſire to obteyne that
" part which is hard and impoſſible, to put the whole in manifeſt perill, ſeeing it is an
" office as equall and iuſt in a Capteine to ſhow wiſedom in his actions, as courage:
" The enterpriſe of *Nouaro* (Sir) was not your principall intencion, neither doth it
" touch you but indirectly, for that you pretend no right to the Duchie of *Myllan*: and
" much leſſe are you come out of *Naples* to ſtay to make warre in *Pyemont*, but to re-
" turne into *Fraunce* to giue order to leuye treaſor & men, to thende with more migh-
" ty ſuccors to miniſter ayde to your companies at *Naples*: who in the meane while,
" what with the reskew of your nauie departed from *Nyce*, and what with the men &
" moneyes of the *Florentyns*, will haue ſo good meane to defend their condicion, that
" they may without daunger attende the great prouiſions which you are to areare at
" your returne into *Fraunce*: I am none of thoſe that will aſſure that the Duke of *Myl-*
" *lan* will iuſtly obſerue theſe capitulacions, yet receiuing oſtages of him and the *Ge-*
" *novvays*, and the caſtell alſo committed according to the forme of the contract, you
" are not without pawne and ſewertie: It is alſo reaſonable in him to demaund peace,
" becauſe lying neareſt the daunger of your forces, his feares are no leſſe iuſt, then his
" perills likely: Beſides, leagues, which haue many competitors, of their propper na-
" ture haue not that ſtabilitie and concord, but vpon occaſions they come to diſagree
" and fall of one from an other, in which caſe, euery litle hoale that they ſhal make, yea
" euen the ſmalleſt cranell or creuiſh that ſhall appeare, will make to vs the victorie
" no leſſe eaſie then well aſſured: So that ſeeing your affayres ſtand in theſe degrees,
" and that God hath made it impoſſible to mortall Princes to rule the time, my aduiſe
" is, that your Maieſtie ſtriue not againſt the ſtreame of the time, but to frame your in-
" clinacions to the peace, not that it is of it ſelfe profitable or commendable, but be-
" cauſe it is an office in Princes wiſe and of ſtayed condicion, in cauſes difficult and
" daungerous, to allow for eaſie and commendable, that that is neceſſary and conue-
" nient, or at leaſt wiſe ſuch as are leaſt intangled with daungers, and nothing at all de-

rogate

rogat reputacion and honor. The Duke of *Orleans* rebuked ſharpely the ſpeeches of the Prince of *Orange*, either of them taking ſuch libertie of paſſion, that falling from wordes to reproches and iniuries, the Duke gaue him the lye in the whole preſence of the councell: But thinclinacion of moſt part of the councell and conſequently of the multitude of tharmie, was to embraſe the peace, bearing ſo much power in them all, and no leſſe in the perſon of the king a ſweete deſire to returne into *Fraunce*, that they were not able to diſcerne the daunger of the kingdom of *Naples*, and much leſſe to ſee how ſlaunderous it was to ſuffer to be loſt afore their eyes the citie of *Nouaro*, and laſtly to depart out of *Italy* with condicions ſo vnequall conſidering the incerteintie of thobſeruacion: which diſpoſicion was ſo vehemently fauored by the Prince of *Orange*, that many dowted leſt to gratifie the king of *Romaines*, to whom he was moſt affectioned, he had no leſſe regard to the profit of the Duke of *Myllan* thē to the commodities of the french king, with whom truely his authoritie was great, partly for the excellencie of his wit, and partly for the credit of his vallour, but moſt of all, for that it is a cuſtom and propertie with Princes, to eſteme moſt wiſe, ſuch as are moſt conformed to their inclinacions.

At laſt the peace was made, which was no ſooner ſworne by the Duke of *Myllan*, then the king, reiecting all other thoughtes then ſuch as made for his returne into *Fraunce*, wēt forthwith to *Thuryn*: his haſt was the more importunat to depart from *Verceill*, for that thoſe bands of the *Svvyzzers* that were in the campe, to aſſure their payes of three whole moneths (according to the cuſtom of *Lovvys* the xj. as they alleaged) began to ſpeake of ſtaying the king or the chiefteines of his Court for the ſewertie of their pay: notwithſtanding they could not clayme ſo much by promiſe, nor yet had ſerued ſo long time: from which daunger albeit the perſon of the king was deliuered by his ſuddeine departure, yet they hauing made priſoners the Baylif of *Dyon* and others that leauyed them, he was in the ende conſtrayned to aſſure all their demaundes aſwell with promiſes as with oſtages: from *Thuryn* the king deſiring to make a perfect eſtabliſhment of the peace, ſent to the Duke of *Myllan* the Mareſhall of *Gie*, the Preſident of *Ganuay*, and *Argenton*, to induce him to ſpeake with his Maieſtie: The Duke ſeemed to be of the ſame deſire, but it was not without ſome dowt of treaſon: In ſo much, that either for that ſuſpicion, or obiecting perhappes ſome expreſſe difficulties, as not to giue occaſion of ielowſie to the confederats, or for that his ambicion woulde not ſuffer him to come in a behauior inferior to the french king: he propownded to haue the meting vpon the middeſt of a riuer, where a bridge being made either with barkes or other matter, there ſhoulde be betwene them a barre of wodde: A manner of commoning together vſed heretofore by the kinges of *England* and *Fraunce*, and other great Princes of the Weſt: This the king refuſed as a thing vnworthy his greatnes, and therefore without any enteruiewe, he receiued his oſtages, and diſpatched *Peron de la Baſche* to *Genes* to receiue the two carrakes that were promiſed him, and to rigge foure others at his owne charges for the ſuccors of the caſtells of *Naples*, which he knew had not receiued the reskewes ſent from *Nice*, for that they ſuffred ſo many impediments as they could not be profitable to the ſeruice of *Naples*: In which reſpect, his peoples there beſeged had made compoſicion to render vp the caſtells if they were not ſuccored within thirty dayes: The king made his plot to arme the ſayd veſſells with three thowſand *Svvyzzers*, & to adioyne them to the ſayd nauie parted from *Nice* nowe retyred to *Lyuorne*, and to certeine other veſſells exſpected from *Prouence*: All which (without the great ſhips of the *Genovvays*) had not bene ſufficient for that ſuccors, the hauen of *Naples* be-

ing now full of a huge armie by sea both for the vessells of the prouisions of *Ferdinand*, and also for twenty gallies and foure shippes sent thether by the *Venetians*: The king after he had dispatched *Monsr Argenton* to *Venice* to solicit the Senat to enter into the peace and participat with thaccord, tooke his way into *Fraunce* with all his Court, & that with such equall speede and desire to be there, that there was nothing coulde stay him any fewe dayes in *Italy*, no not till the *Genovvays* had deliuered him their ostages promised vppon the contract at *Verceill*, which certeinly they had accomplished, if his hastie departure had not preuented their true intencion and meaning. Thus then vpon the ende of October 1495. his maiestie returned on thother side the mountes, resembling rather a personage vanquished then a Prince victor (notwithstanding the conquest and victories he had obteyned:) he left as his Liefetenant in *Ast* (a citie which it should seeme he bought of the Duke of *Orleans*) *Iohn Iacques Triuulce* with fiue hundreth frenche launces, who not many dayes after of their propper authoritie followed the king, by whome was left no other succors for the kingdom of *Naples*, then the nauies preparing at *Genes* and *Prouence*, and the assignacion of the aydes and moneyes promised by the *Florentyns*.

The french pocks & their beginning.

After the discourse of other things, me thinkes it can not be out of purpose (specially it being a destinie fatall that the calamities of *Italy* should take their beginning of the passage of the french men, or at least were imputed to them) to leaue to memorie and tradicion in what sort began the disease which the french call the euill of *Naples*, and the *Italians* name the botche, or more commonly the disease of *Fraunce*: It hapned as an infection to the french men whilest they were at *Naples*, and by them in their returne from that warre, was dispersed and spredd thorow all *Italy*: This disease either altogether newe, or at least vnknowne in that age in our hemisphere otherwayes then in the most extreame and furthest partes, was for certeyne yeares so horrible, that it well deserueth mencion and monument, as a calamitie greeuous & lamentable: for it appeared alwayes either in vile botches or buttons, which oftentimes proued vlcers incurable, or else they tormented the whole bodye with payne and aches in the ioyntes and sinewes: And the Phisicions hauing no experience in maladies of that nature, and therefore ignorant in the remedies proper and naturall, applied oftentimes cures directly resisting and contrary, which inflamed the infection to greater rage, euen to the killing of many bodies of all ages and sexes: Many became deformed with them, and subiect almost to perpetuall torments, yea some such as seemed to be deliuered of them, returned eftsoones in short time to the same miserie: But after the course of many yeares (either the influence aboue being appeased which bredd them so horrible and raging, or by long experience their proper remedies and cures being founde out) the disease began to be lesse malicious, chaunging it selfe into diuerse kindes of infirmitie, differing from the first calamitie, whereof truely the regions & people of our times might iustly complayne, if it hapned to them without their propper disorder, seeing it is well approued by all those that haue diligently studied and obserued the proprieties of that euil, that either neuer or very rarely it hapneth to any otherwayes then by contagious whoredom or immoderat incontinencie. The french thinke it reasonable to acquite them of thignominie, for that it is knowen since that such a disease was transported out of *Spaine* to *Naples*, & yet not proper or natural of that nation, but brought thether from the yles, which in those seasons began to be made familiar to our regions by the nauigacion of *Christofer Colonus* a *Genovvay*: In which yles by the fauor of nature, are remedies ready to the cure of that ill, by drinking onely of the iuice of a wodd (most

singular

ſingular for many other worthy properties) which growing plentifully in thoſe places is a remedie no leſſe eaſie, then abſolut and aſſured to thinhabitants there.

The ende of the ſecond booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE THIRD BOOKE.

LODOWYK SFORCE keepeth not the treatie of peace: The Venetians take the towne of Pyſa into their protection: The french king determineth to returne into Italy: The king of Romaines beſeegeth Lyuorne: The Pope makes warre vppon the Vrſins: The french King dyeth at Amboyſe: Frear Ieronimo Sauonarola is hanged at Florence.

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſſe of Guicciardin.

BY the diſhonorable returne of the frenche kinge ouer the Mountes, proceeding notwithſtanding more of indiſcreſſion and diſorders, then by puſillanimitie or weakenes of his armie: wiſe men grew into hopes and iudgements, that *Italy*, after ſo many skourges and greeuous ſtormes of infelicities, would now at laſt reſume her libertie, or at leaſt, be redeliuered of the inſolent iuriſdiction of the french: wherein by ſo much more were worthy and notable the vertues & actions of the Senat of *Venice* and Duke of *Myllan*, by how much the taking armes with a wiſe and reſolut councell, were the onely lets, that ſo goodly a part of the world fell not into the ſeruitude of ſtraungers: But as nothing can ſatisfie the couetouſnes of man, ſo if they had not bene caried with ambicious reſpectes touching their intereſts and deſires particular, nor (to their propper infamie and common harmes) had ſo corrupted the vniuerſall benefitte and common weale of that region: No man might haue dowted that *Italy*, (readdreſſed by their armies and councells, and eſtſoones repoſſeſſed of her auncient dignities and prerogatiues) had not bene for long time aſſured againſt the importunities, furies, and violent inuaſions of the prowde nations beyonde the Mountes: But ambicion, which would not ſuffer either of them to be contented with his lymitts, was the cauſe not onely to returne vpon *Italy* new inuaſions and troubles, but alſo that they could not enioy the frute of the victorie which their fortune brought into their hands againſt thoſe miſerable remeynders of the frenche in the kingdome of *Naples*: A victorie which the negligence & vnwiſe councells of the king made of eaſie action to them, for that the ſuccors which he had leuyed at his departure out of *Italy*, were either

vtterly vaine,or at leaſt of ſo litle frute, that they brought no comfort to his people, his prouicions of nauigacion and the aydes promiſed by the *Florentyns* ſeruing alſo to like effect.

This is a rule in the nature of man, that to him that is iniuried and can not haue
" iuſtice,nothing is more ſweete then the paſſion of reuenge: euen ſo by howe much
" the remembrance of thoffence is greene and freſhe, by ſo much ſtronger is the de-
" ſire of reuenge in the mind greeued,and ſo much leſſe the truſt or confidence in the
" partie that hath offended: *Lodovvyk Sforce* conſented not to the peace with the king with a ſownd faith and meaning,for that remembring the iniuries he had done him, he thought it ſtoode not with his ſewertie eftſoones to commit him ſelfe to the fidelitie of the king: But the deſire to recouer *Nouaro*, & deliuer his owne eſtate from thincommodities of the warre,induced him to promiſe that which he had no deſire to keepe,following the kinges humor with wordes, and keeping his intencions diſſembled: And it may be ſuppoſed,that in the peace made with this ſemblance, did participat the conſent of the Senat of *Venice*, willing to disburden their ſtate without their infamie,of the very huge and great expenſes occupied vppon the warre of *Nouaro*: But *Lodovvyk*,to whom in actions of ſhift and conning, nothing was more familiar then moderacion of wit,becauſe he would not in vnaduiſed ſort breake the articles of the capitulacion,but ſhadow his doings with ſome coller, accompliſhed that which he could not deny to be in his power:he deliuered oſtages: he ſette at libertie the priſoners paying their raunſoms of his propper treaſors: he reſtored the veſſells taken at *Rapale*: he withdrew from *Pyſa Frecaſſe* whom he could not diſſemble to be in his pay: laſtly he put the caſtell of *Genes* into the handes of the Duke of *Ferrare* who went thether in perſon to receiue it: But on thother ſide,he left within *Pyſa Luke Maluezzo* with many bandes of ſouldiers as though he were in the wages and payes of the *Genovvayes*: he ſuffered that two carrakes which were armed at *Genes* went to *Naples* for the ſeruice of *Ferdinand*, vſing this excuſe, that for that he had interteyned them afore the concluſion of the peace, they of *Genes* woulde not conſent that they ſhould be denied to him: he labored ſecretly that the *Genovvays* ſhould not deliuer in their oſtages to the king: And that which was of greater conſequence for the loſſe of the caſtells of *Naples*,after the king had armed and manned the foure ſhippes, and that he had furniſhed him of the two for the which he was bownd: he wrought ſo with the *Genovvays*,that making ſemblances of feare, they gaue impediments that the kinges ſouldiers ſhould not be armed, if firſt they receiued not of him ſufficient caution that he ſhoulde not employe them againſt them ſelues,nor attempt with that force to chaunge the gouernment of *Genes*: For theſe cauillacions the king complayned by men expreſſe to *Lodovvyk*,who (according to his cuſtom in euaſions)aũſwered him with exceptions, ſometimes that he had promiſed to furniſh him with the ſhipps,but without conſent that they ſhould be manned with french ſouldiers: And ſometymes he alleaged that the iuriſdiction which he had of *Genes* was not abſolut,but limited and reſtrayned to ſuch condicions,as he had no power of compulſion, and much leſſe was his authoritie to enforce their wills to his deſires, ſpecially in thinges which they pretended to be daungerous for their eſtate,or to derogat the liberties of their citie: wherein the better to iuſtifie his excuſes, he wrought ſo that the Pope commaunded the *Genovvays* and him vppon payne of the Church cenſures, that they ſhould not ſuffer to be drawne from *Genes* by the french king any veſſells of no ſort or nature: In ſo much as the ſuccors exſpected with ſo great deſire by the french which were wretched in the kingdom of *Naples*,

Lodowyk ſutle in diſſembling.

Shiftes of Lod. Sforce to breake the peace.

ples, ſoarted to no comfort or releeffe to them: No more did the aydes and moneyes promiſed by the *Florentyns*: ſeeing after thaccord made at *Thuryn*, *Guind Anthoine Veſpucci* one of their Embaſſadors aſſiſtant at the concluſion, departing immediatly with all the neceſſary diſpatches, and paſſing without ſuſpicion thorow the Duchie of *Myllan*, for that the common weale of *Florence* was not declared ennemie to eyther part: he was reteyned in *Alexandria* by the Dukes commiſſion: And all his papers and diſpatches taken from him, he was led forthwith to *Myllan*, where the capitulacion and promiſes of the *Florentyns* being bewraied, the *Venetians* and the Duke tooke councell, not to ſuffer the *Pyſans* to periſh: who aſſoone as the french king was gone out of *Italy*, had by newe Embaſſadors recommended their affayres to *Venice* and *Myllan*: Their reſolucion to reskew the *Pyſans* was not without the conſent of the Pope and thEmbaſſadors of the other confederats, vnder pretence to hinder the money and aydes which the *Florentyns* reentring into *Pyſa* and their other places, were to ſende to the realme of *Naples*: And alſo for that being conioyned with the french king, and by the recouering of that citie, made more mighty, they might in many ſortes endomage the common ſafetie of *Italy*: but the principall humor that fed that mocion was their ambicion & great deſire to make them ſelues Lords ouer *Pyſa*: A ſweete pray to intyce ambicious mindes, and as it had bene afore tyme vehemently aſpired by *Lodovvyk*, ſo the *Venetians* began nowe in like ſort to looke into it with couetous eyes, as people, who ſeeing the auncient vnitie of other Potentats broken, and one parte of thoſe weakned which had wont to oppoſe againſt them, embraſed alreadye with thoughtes and hopes the Monarchie of all *Italy*: Whereunto they eſteemed the imperie of *Pyſa* a very conuenient inſtrument, to beginne with the commoditie of his hauen (which they thought could not be long kept by *Florence* not holding *Pyſa*) to ſtretch out their lymits euen to the inferior ſea: hauing withall by thopportunitie of that citie, an entrey of great importance into *Tuskan*: The Duke of *Myllan* ſhowed moſt readines to miniſter to their ſuccors, who interteyning at the ſame inſtant the *Florentyns* with diuerſe practiſes, had ordeyned that *Fracaſſe*, vnder cooller of his priuat buſines (for he had poſſeſſions in that contrey) ſhould goe to *Pyſa*, and the *Genovvays* to refurniſh them with newe ſupplies of footemen: The *Venetians* alſo forgot not to nouriſh them with promiſes and comfortes of ſpeedy ſuccors, and accordingly diſpatched one of their Secretories to *Genes* to make a leauye of footemen, and perſwade the *Genovvays* not to abandon the *Pyſans*: yet they were long in ſending their ſtrength thether, perhaps by this opinion, that ſo long as the citadell was holden by the french king, & ſo long as he were in *Italy*, it was not conuenient to lay any great foundacion of thoſe thinges: On the other ſide, the *Florentyns*, aduertiſed of the newe couenants made with the king by their Embaſſadors at *Thuryn*, had increaſed their armie, to be the more able to conſtrayne the *Pyſans* to receiue them aſſoone as they ſawe the diſpatches of the king: And albeit as you haue heard, they were reſtrayned together with their Embaſſador by the Duke of *Myllan*, yet they forbare not to take the borow of *Palaye*, and ſo planted their campe afore *Vicopiſan*: the beſeeging of which place was of no effect, partely for that the Capteines (either by ill councell, or for that they iudged their ſtrength not ſufficient to bring their campe on that ſide towards *Pyſa*, the *Pyſans* hauing erected a baſtyllyon on a mount neare the towne) encamped on that ſide vnderneath towardes *Bientina*: A place of litle commoditie to hurt *Vico*, and keeping it, the way of *Pyſa* and *Caſina* lay open to thoſe that were beſeeged: partely for that *Pavvle Vitelli* hauing receiued three thowſand duckats, went thether to defend it,

The Venetians in mind to reskew the Pyſans.

entring with his companies and the bandes of his brethren vnder a fayned cooller to haue letters of the king,& commaundement from the generall of *Languedok* brother to the Cardinall of *S.Mallovv* remeyning ſicke at *Pietra Santa*, to protect *Pyſa* and thappurtenance, vntil other order were taken: Certeinly it is a thing right wonderfull in reaſon,and no leſſe rare in experience and example, that the *Pyſans* were at one tyme defended by the ſouldiers of the french king, and ayded by the ſuccors of the Duke of *Myllan*,and nouriſhed alſo with hopes by the ſtate of *Venice*,notwithſtanding that Senat & the Duke of *Myllan* were in open warre with the french king: But ſuch is the rage of ambicion, and ſo ſweete thinſinuacion of rule and imperie, that in whom they haue kindled their infection,they ceaſe not to inflame more and more their deſires without reſpect to fidelitie, conſcience, difficultie, or common obſeruancie,holding all thinges lawful that make for their purpoſe,and nothing vnſemely that may ſerue to ſatisfie their inſatiable aſpiring thoughts: with the reskew that came with the bandes of *Vitelli*,*Vicopiſan* defended it ſelfe eaſily,and gaue no litle domage to the campe of the *Florentyns*, the ſame being pitched in a place ſo open and diſcouered,that it receiued many harmes by the artilleries which the *Pyſans* had caried within *Vico*: In ſo much that hauing endured the harmes by many dayes, the Capteines found it neceſſary to their ſafetie, to leuye the ſeege to their reproch and ſhame: After this,the kinges diſpatches being at laſt come, which written into copies,were ſecretly ſent out by many wayes,the towne,caſtell,and port of *Liuorne* were immediatly rendred to the *Florentyns* by *Salliane* Liefetenant to *Monſr Beaumont* to whom the king had giuen them in charge: when *M.D'iſle* Deputie Commiſſioner to receiue of the *Florentyns* the ratificacion of thaccord made at *Thuryn*, and to ſee the reſtitucion executed,began to treate with *Entragues* Capteine of the cytadell of *Pyſa*,and of the caſtells of *Pietra Santa* and *Mutton*, to reſolue with him of the day and manner to reſigne them vppe: But *Entragues* induſed either by the ſelfe ſame inclinacion common with the other frenche men that were then in *Pyſa*,or by ſome ſecret commiſſions from *M.de Ligni*, vnder whoſe name and as depending vpon him,he was preferred to that charge,or perhaps drawne by the loue which he bare to a litle *Graciana* doughter of one of the Citiſens of *Pyſa* (for it is not credible that onely the deſire of money led him,ſince he might receiue a greater quantitie of the *Florentyns)* he began to oppoſe many difficulties:ſometimes giuing to the kings letters pattents an interpretacion contrary to the true ſenſe: and ſometimes he alleaged that at the beginning he had commaundement not to render them but by ſecret aduertiſements from *Monſr de Ligny:* vpon which impediments, after they had in vayne diſputed certeine dayes, it was neceſſary for the *Florentyns* to make a new inſtance to the king remeyning yet at *Verceill*, to remedie that diſorder expreſſed with ſo great an offence to his maieſtie,and hurt to his ſpeciall profit: The king became much moued with the diſobedience of *Entragues*, and commaunded *M.de Ligny* (not without indignacion) to conſtrayne him to obey, determining to ſende thether a man of authoritie with newe letters pattents and threates from the Duke of *Orleans* whoſe ſeruant he was: But the reſolut obſtinacie of *M.de Ligny* and the fauors which he had in court,being of more power then the ſlender councell of the king,the diſpatch was delayed certeine dayes, and in the ende ſent not by a man of authoritie,but by *M.Launcepugno* a ſimple gentleman: with whome went *Camylla Vitelli* to leade his companies to the realme of *Naples*,and withall to conduit thether one part of the money to be defrayed by the *Florentyns*, to whoſe armie, aſſoone as the kinges letters pattents were arriued, were ioyned the men of warre of both the

Vitellis

Vitellis: This dispatche wrought no more effect then the first, notwithstanding the Capteine had receiued two thowsand duckats of the *Florentyns*, to interteyne (vntil the kinges aunswer came) the bandes of footemen which were in garrison within the Citadell: And to *Camilla* were payed three thowsand duckats, because otherwayes he would haue hindred that the kinges letters should not haue bene presented: for the Capteine of the citadell (to whom as was supposed *de Ligni* had sent by an other way, commissions quite contrary) After he had many dayes abused their exspectacion, and iudging that the *Florentyns* (for that there were within the towne besides thinhabitantes, a thowsand footemen forreyners,) coulde not force the suburbes of *S. Marke* ioyned to the gate of *Florence* leaning to the citadell where the *Pysans* had made a great bastyllion, and that so he might come to the ende of his intencion without manifest obiecting against the kinges will: he sent to thother *Florentyn* Commissioners, to present their armie afore the sayd gate, (which they could not doe onles they wonne the suburbs) for that if the *Pysans* would not receiue them in by accorde, he would force them to abandon it, the same gate being so subiect to thartillerie of the citadell, that it was not able to meinteyne defence against the will of such as had it in gard: The *Florentyns* inclining readily to this deuise, went thether with a great preparacion, a courage resolute, and an inflamed disposicion of all the campe then lodging at *S. Remy*, a place neare to the suburbes: And with such vallour they assayled the bastyllion on three sides (in the forme, seate, and rampiers whereof, they had bene fully instructed by *Pavvle Vitelli*) that they brake and put to flight such as stoode in defence, and pursuing the chase, they enter *Pelle Melle* the suburbes by a draw bridge which ioyned to the bastyllion, killing and making prisoners the most of them: In this furie there was no dowt, (without the ayde of the citadell) but at the same instant they might haue made perfect the conquest of *Pysa* by that gate, many of their men at armes being entred, for that the *Pysans* put to flight, made no resistance: But the Capteine of the citadel seeing thinges succeede otherwayes then he looked for, began to discharge thartillerie vpon the *Florentyns:* with which accident vnlooked for, the Commissioners and leaders marueling not a litle, many of their souldiers slayne and hurt by thartillerie, and *Pavvle Vitelli* wounded in one of his legges, they sownded the retraict, holding it impossible to take *Pysa* at that time for the furious resistance of the citadell: yea within fewe dayes after, they were constrained for the harmes they receiued by thartillerie to abandon the suburbes which they had brought into their power, and so retyred with great discourage and no lesse discontented to *Cassina*, till the king had reformed so manifest a disobedience of his subiectes.

Peter de medicis at the instigacion of the Confederats determineth to returne to Florence.

In this meane while also, the *Florentyns* were not without their perplexities, for new and daungerous practises stirred vp principally by the Potentats of the league: Who to giue the more impediments to the conquest of *Pysa*, and by some newe necessities at home, to enforce them to leaue thalliance of the french king, incensed *P. de medicis* to make triall, with the ayde of *Virginio Vrsin*, (fled from the french campe the day of the battell of *Taro,*) to returne to *Florence:* A matter of right easie perswacion both to the one and other: for that to *Virginio* it soarted to good purpose (what so euer came to thenterprise) to reassemble at the charges of others, his auncient bandes and partakers, and readresse him selfe eftsoones in the reputacion of armes: And *Peter* according to the custom of men banished, had no want of diuerse hopes for the multitude of frendes which he had in the citie, by whom he had intelligence that the gouernment popular was displeasing to many of the nobles, and no lesse in-

tollerable to many of his faction and followers, which by reason of the auncient greatnes of his house, was almost vniuersal thorow the whole dominion of *Florence*: It was beleued that this plot tooke his first deuise and beginning at *Myllan*, for that *Virginio* was no sooner escaped out of the hands of the french, then he made his first office to goe visit the Duke: but afterwards the resolucion succeeded at *Rome*, where did negociat many dayes with the Pope, th Embassador of *Venice* and the Cardinall *Askanius*, who proceeded by commission from *Lodovvyk* his brother: These were the groundes and hopes of this enterprise: that besides the bandes which *Virginio* should leauye of his olde souldiers, and with tenne thowsand duckats gathered by *P. de medicis* of his owne and by the liberalities of his frendes: *John Bentyuole* being then in the pay of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Myllan*, should at the same instant make warre against them vppon the frontyer of *Bolognia*: And also that *Kattherine Sforce* whose sonne tooke pay of the Duke of *Myllan*, should vexe them by the cities of *Y-mola* and *Furly*, confyning vpon the landes of the *Florentyns*: Lastly they made promise to them selues (not in vaine) to haue at their deuocion the *Syennoys*, no lesse inflamed with an old hatred against the *Florentyns*, then desirous to embrase occasions to preserue *Montpulcian*, A towne which they distrusted not to be able to defend of them selues, for that hauing attempted not many monethes before with their owne strength, and the bandes of the Lord of *Plombyn* and *John Sauelle* (whome the Duke interteyned in common with them) to make them selues Lordes of the contrey of the marrysse of *Chianes*, which marrysse had bene long time the lymit or markestone of that side betwene the *Florentyns* and them, and to that ende they had begonne to make neare to the bridge of *Valiane*, A bastyllion to beate a tower erected by the *Florentyns* vpon the poynt towards *Montpulcian*: things fel out contrary to their hopes and exspectacion: for that the *Florentyns*, moued with the daunger of the losse of this bridge, which not onely tooke from them all meanes to molest *Montpulcian*, but also gaue entrie to thennemies into the territories of *Cortona* and *Aretze* and other peeces, which on thother side of *Chianes* apperteyne to their iurisdiction, sent thether a stronge succor, which forced the bastyllion begon by the *Syennoys*: And for their full sewertie of that peece, they planted neare the bridge (but on thother side *Chianes*) a bastyllion conuenient to bestow many souldiers in: by whose helpe and commoditie they made roades euen to the gates of *Montpulcian*, vexing with like actions all the townes of the *Siennoys* on that side: To which succesſe was ioyned this fortune, that a litle after the passage of the french king, they had broken neare to *Montpulcian*, the bandes of the *Siennoys* and made prisoner *Iohn Sauella* their Capteine: But *Virginio* and *Peter de medicis* hoped to obteine place of retraite with other commodities of the people of *Perusia*, not onely for that the famulie of the *Baillons*, (who with armes and aydes of their followers were almost become Maisters of that citie) were vnited to *Virginio* in a common fidelitie to the name and faction of the *Guelffs*, and had withall familiar and straite frendshipps with *Lavvrence* and *Peter de medicis* whilest he ruled in *Florence*, by whose fauors and other ministracions they had speciall countenance against all action of their ennemies: but also being the subiectes of the Church (but more in demonstracions then in effectes) it was beleued that in thinges concerning principally their estates, they would yeld to the will of the Pope, hauing communitie therein the consent of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Myllan*: *Virginio* then and *Peter de medicis* departed from *Rome* with these hopes, & occupying amongest them selues these perswacions, that the *Florentyns* trauelled with ciuill diuisions at home, and vexed by their neighbours abroad vnder the name

of

of the confederats, coulde hardely make reſiſtance: And remeyning certeine dayes betwene *Terni* and *Todi* and theſe confynes, where *Virginio* ſtudying by all meanes to plucke downe the *Gebelyn* faction, leauyed men and money of the *Guelffes*: At laſt they ſetled their campe in fauor of the *Peruſins*, before *Gualde*, A towne poſſeſſed by the communaltie of *Fuligni*, but ſolde before by the Pope for ſix thowſand duckatts to the *Peruſins*, who were no leſſe inflamed with a deſire to haue it, then incenſed with the contencion of the parties, by reaſon of whoſe dealinges all the townes about inclined then to emocion and inſurrection: for not many dayes before, the famulie of the *Oddies*, baniſhed from *Perouſa* & chieftaines of the factiō contrary to the *Bayllions*, hauing aydes of them of *Fuligni*, *Aſceſe*, and other peeces there adioyning, which embraſed the parte of the *Gebylins*, were entred *Corciana*, (a ſtronge peece within fiue myles of *Perouſa*) with three hundreth horſe, and fiue hundreth footemen: for which accident, all the contrey being riſen (for *Spolette*, *Camerin*, and other places of the *Guelffes* were fauorable to the *Bayllons*) they of *Oddy* within fewe dayes after entred by night within *Perouſa*, and that with ſuch aſtoniſhment to the *Bayllons*, that hauing loſt hope & abilitie of defence, they began to put them ſelues to flight: But the *Oddies*, by a ſmall and vnlooked for aduenture, loſt that victorie, which the power of their ennemies coulde not depriue them of: for that being come without impediment to one of the entries of the principall place, and one of them who for that purpoſe caried a hatchet, offring to cut in peeces the chayne drawne ouer the way according to the cuſtom of cities in faction: And being ſo troubleſomly enuyroned with the preſſe of his companies, that he had no ſpace to lift vp his arme to hewe the chayne, cryed with a lowde voyce giue backe, giue backe, to thende that hauing more roome, his libertie might be more furthering to the action he went about: This voyce being wrong vnderſtanded, and repeated from hand to hand by ſuch as followed him, and ſo deliuered to others in a ſenſe ſounding to retyre and flee, it was the cauſe that all the companies without other encownter or let, fell ſuddeinly to flee, not one knowing by whom they were chaſſed, nor for what occaſion they fledd: This diſorder reſtored thaduerſaries to ſuch preſent courage, that reaſſembling their ſtrength, they charged them in the chaſſe and made great ſlaughter taking priſoner *Troyllo Sauello*, who for the ſame affection to the faction, had bene ſent to the ſuccors of the *Oddies* by Cardinall *Sauella*: And applying their forces to thoccaſion that was offered, they followed the chaſſe euen to *Corciana*, which they recouered in this action, and with the ſame furie: And laſtly not contented with the death of ſuch as they had ſlaine in the chaſſe, they hanged many at *Perouſa*, following the crueltie which for the moſt part other factions are wont to vſe: of which tumultes, many murders hapning in the places bordring, for that in ſeaſons dowtfull, the parties are carefull, and doe cuſtomably draw into inſurrection, either for deſire to cut of their ennemies, or for feare to be preuented by them: The *Peruſins* inflamed againſt the *Fulignians*, had ſent the campe to *Gualda*, And hauing giuen thaſſault to it in vaine, with no leſſe diſtruſt to cary it by their owne ſtrength, they accepted the aydes of *Virginio* who offered him ſelfe to them, to thende that at the brute of boottie and ſpoyle, the ſouldiers might ronne with more readines to the warre: And albeit they were preſſed by him and by *Peter de medicis* to miniſter openly to their enterpriſe, or at leaſt to giue ſome peece of artillerie or place of retraite for their people at *Chaſtillion du lac* confyning vpon the territorie of *Cortonne*, with commoditie of vittells for tharmie: yet they conſented to neuer one of the demaundes, notwithſtanding the Cardinall *Askanius* made in the name of the Duke of *Myllan* great in-

A voyce miſtaken defeateth an enterpriſe.

Factiōs breed inſurrections.

ſtance,and the Pope commaunding no leſſe by writts vehement and full of threats: All this was,for that ſince the taking of *Corciana*, the *Florentyns* lending them money,and giuing yearly penſion to *Guido* and *Radolpho* chiefe of the *Baillons*,and laſtly hauing taken into their pay *Iohn Pavvle* ſonne to *Radolpho*,they were of their ſide & conioyned with them: Beſides theſe, they were eſtraunged from thamitie of the Pope,for that they feared he ſtoode fauorable and inclined to the cauſe of their aduerſaries,or at leaſt,by thoccaſion of their diuiſions, they ſuſpected that he aſpired to put abſolutely that citie vnder the obedience of the Church: In this time,*Pavvle Vrſin*,who with three ſcore men at armes of the olde companie of *Virginio*, had remeyned many dayes at *Montpulcian*,and afterwards was gon to the borow of *Pieua*: interteyned (by the direction of *Peter de medicis*) A practiſe in the citie of *Cortone*, with intencion to execute it at ſuch time as the bandes of *Virginio* ſhould approch, whoſe numbers nor vertue aunſwered not the firſt plots: But during that reſpitt of time, the practiſe being diſcouered which was builded vppon the foundacion and meane of one of the exiles of baſe condicion: one part of their generall groundes & deuiſes began to fayle,and withall many great impediments to appeare: for the *Florentyns*,in whom was alwayes nouriſhed a carefull pollicie to prouide for daungers, leauing in the contrey of *Pyſa* three hundreth men at armes & two thowſand footemen,had ſent to encampe neare *Cortone* two hundred men at armes & 2. thowſand footemen vnder the leading of the *Count Riuucce de Marciane* whom they had made Mercenarye in their pay: And to thend the bandes of the *Syennoys* ſhould haue no oportunitie to ioyne with *Virginio* accordinge to the practiſe betweene them: they ſent to *Poggi imperiall* vpon the borders of the contrey of *Sienna* (vnder the gouernment of *Guidobalde* of *Montfeltre* Duke of *Vrbyn*, whom they had interteyned into their pay a litle before)three hundreth men at armes,and fiueteene hundreth footemen,beſides many baniſhed from *Sienna* (with whom they adioyned) to keepe the citie in greater feare: But after *Virginio* had giuen many aſſaultes to *Gualda* where *Charles* his baſtard ſonne receiued a wound with a ſmall ſhot, and hauing embraſed the moneyes ſent ſecretely to him as was ſuppoſed by the *Fulignians*, he rayſed his campe without mention or reſpect to thintereſts of the *Peruſins*, and marched to the tabernacles and ſo to *Panicale* in the contrey of *Perouſa*, making newe inſtance that they would be declared againſt the *Florentyns*: A thing which they did not only deny to him, but alſo for the diſcontentment they had of his actions at *Gualda*, they cõpelled him almoſt with threatnings to depart out of their territories: In ſo much that *Peter* and he going firſt with foure hundreth horſe to *Orſaia* a towne neare to *Cortone*,hoping that in that citie (which to auoyde the harmes of the ſouldiers had refuſed to receiue the men at armes of the *Florentyns*)they ſhould find ſome tumult: After they ſaw all thinges in quiet and ſtabilitie,they paſſed ouer *Chianes* with three hundreth men at armes,and three thowſand footemen, but the moſt part in confuſion & ill order,becauſe they had bene driuen backe hauing but a very ſmal proporcion of money: They retyred vpon the contrey of *Sienna* neare to *Montpulcian* betwene *Chianciana*,*Torrite*,and *Aſinalongue*, where they remeyned many dayes without other action then certeine incurſions and pillages,hauing the bandes of the *Florentyns*,(which paſſed *Chianes* at the bridge of *Valiance*)incamped directly oppoſite vpon the hill *Sanſouyn* and other places thereabouts. Neither of the ſide of *Bolognia* (as they hoped) was any inſurrection, for that *Bentyuole*, not determining for the intereſts and regardes of an other to enter warre with a common weale mighty and his neighbour, refuſed the quarrell and the defenſe, notwithſtanding the perſwacions of the confederats,to whom he made many excuſes, and vſed no leſſe de-

layes,neither was he curious to consent that many demonstracions should be made by *Iulian de medicis*,who being come from *Bolognia*,laboured to stirre vp the frendes which they were accustomed to haue in the Mounteynes of that contrey: Amongest the confederats there was not one consent of will and inclinacion, for that it was very acceptable to the Duke of *Myllan* that the *Florentyns* should be vexed with those trauells,thereby to be lesse able for the matters of *Pysa*: but it nothing pleased him that *P.de medicis* so greatly iniuried by him,should returne to *Florence*,notwithstanding (to declare that hereafter he would wholly depend vpon his authoritie) he had sent to *Myllan* in solemne order his brother the Cardinall: And touching the *Venetians*, they liked not to haue the burden of that warre imposed vppon them,and much lesse to embrase alone the quarrell: Besides,the Duke and they were buysie to leauye prouisions to expulse the french out of the kingdom of *Naples*: In which respectes,fayling in *Peter* and *Virginio* not onely the hopes which they exspected, but also the moneyes greatly diminishing to enterteyne their bandes of footemen and horsemen: the necessities of their estates,and consideracion of their proper safeties, caused them to withdraw to *Bagno Rapulano* in the contrey of *Chiusa*, a citie subiect to the *Siennoys*: where not many dayes after (*Virginio* being drawne by his destinie) arriued *Camylla Vitelli* and *M.de Gemel*,sent by the french king to interteyne him into his pay and leade him into the kingdom of *Naples*,where the king desired to serue his purpose of him,hearing of the defection of the *Colonnoys*: This offer (albeit many of his frendes impugned it,aduising him rather to follow the seruice of the confederats who made great solicitacion to him or else to become for *th Arragons*) was embrased and accepted by him, either for that he hoped by that meane to be more able to recouer the landes and contrey of *Alba* and *Taille cousse*: or else,remembring estsoones how thinges hapned in the losse of the kingdom, and seeing the authority of the *Collonnoys* his auncient aduersaries was so great with *Ferdinand*,that there was no confidence of reconciliacion, and much lesse to be readdressed into his former greatnes: or lastly for that he was moued,(as him selfe did assure) with a discontentment which he had of the Princes confederat fayling to accomplish those promises which they made to him to minister fauors to *Peter de medicis*: *Virginio* then entred pay with the french king receiuing cõtract aswel for him,as for others of the house of the *Vrsins* for six hundreth men at armes: notwithstanding vnder this obligacion (such be the frutes of those that once haue made their faith suspected) to sende his sonne *Charles* into *Fraunce* for the kinges sewertie: And being possessed of the kings money,he prepared him selfe to goe with the *Vitellies* to the kingdome of *Naples*, where both before the losse of the castells and after, was continuall insurrection in many places with diuerse accidents and fortunes.

Virginio Vrsin in pay with the french king.

For,after *Ferdinand* had in the beginning made heade in the playne of *Sarny*, the frenchmen that were retyred from *Piedgrotte*,were incamped at *Nocere* within foure myles of thennemie,where their forces being equall, it appeared their disposicions did not differ,for that they consumed the time vnprofitably in skyrmishing without any action worthy of memorie: sauing that seuen hundred of the armie of *Ferdinand* aswell footemen as horsemen, being led by a double intelligence to enter the borow of *Gisone* neare the towne of *S. Seuerin*,remeyned almost all vppon the place either slaine or made prisoners: But the bandes of the Pope being come to the succors of *Ferdinand*,and by that meane the french made more inferior, they retyred from *Nocere*, which by that occasion,together with the castell,was taken by *Ferdinand* with a greater slaughter of such as had followed the french quarrell: In this

Nocere taken by Ferdinand

time *Monsr Montpensier* had foreseene to furnish of horses and other thinges necessary for the warre, such as were come with him from the new castell: with whom, after he had remounted them in good order, he went to ioyne with the others, and after came to *Ariana*, A towne abounding with vittells: of the other side, *Ferdinand* seeing him selfe lesse stronge then thennemie, stayed at *Montfuskule* to temporise, without assaying of fortune vntill the confederats had refurnished him with a greater succor: *M. Montpensier* tooke the towne, and afterwards the castell of *S. Seuerin*, and with that fortune had done farre greater thinges if the want-present of money, and the difficulties to get some, had not bene impediments to his oportunitie and vertue: for hauing no releeffe sent out of *Fraunce*, nor meane to leauye any in the kingdom of *Naples*, he could not pay the souldiers, by which reason the armie inclining to discontentment, and the *Svvyzzers* drawing into murmure, he had no possibilitie to doe thinges whose effectes might aunswer the forces he had: In such like actions were consumed by the one and other armie, about three monethes: In which season, *Dom Federyk* hauing with him *Cæsar* of *Aragon*, made warre in *Pouylla*: he was ayded by those of the contrey, against whom made head the Barons & peoples that embrased the french part: of the other side *Gracian de Guerres* made valiant defence in *Abruzze* against *Ferdinand*, and the Prefect of *Rome* who had the kinges pay for two hundreth men at armes, vexed with his estates the landes of *Montcasin*, and the contrey thereabouts, where was somewhat declined the prosperitie of the french by the long sicknes of *M. d'Aubigny*, the same breaking the course of his victorie, although almost all *Calabria* and the principallitie remeyned at the deuocion of the french king: But *Consaluo*, who with a strength of the spanish bandes, with such of the contrey as bare frendship to *th Arragons* (now well increased by the conquest of *Naples*,) had taken there certeine places, and made stronge in that prouince the name of *Ferdinand*, where the french founde the same difficulties which were in the armie for want of money: Notwithstanding the citie of *Cosenze* being drawne into rebellion against them, they recouered it and sackt it: But in these great necessities and daungers, appeared no succors at all out of the realme of *Fraunce*: for that the king staying at *Lyons*, amused the time about iustes, torneyes, and other pleasures of Court, leauing there all his thoughtes of the warre: And albeit he assured his councell alwayes that he would eftsoones consider of thaffayres of *Italy*, yet the effects & actions that proceeded from him, discredited the promises he had made to haue remembraunce of them: And yet *Argenton* brought him this aunswere from the Senat of *Venice*, that they pretended to haue no disfrēdship with him, for that they entred not into armes vntill he had gotten *Nocere*, and yet for no other cause then for the defense of the Duke of *Myllan* their confederat: and therefore they thought it a thing superfluous, to ratifie eftsoones the auncient frendship with a new peace: Besides they offered him, that by the mediacion of persons indifferent, they woulde induce *Ferdinand*, to giue him presently some summe of money, with constitucion of a tribut of fifty thowsand duckats by yeare, and to leaue in his handes for his securitie, *Tarenta* vntill a certeine time: The king, as though he had had a prepared & puissant succor, refused to open his eares to these offers, notwithstanding (besides these perplexities of *Italy*) he was not without vexacions vpon the frontyers of *Fraunce*: seeing *Ferdinand* king of the Spanish come in person to *Parpignian* had made incursions into *Languedock*, where they did no small harmes, adding to their present furie other demonstracions of farre greater emocions: Besides it was not long since the *Daulphyn* of *Fraunce* the onely sonne of the king, dyed: All which thinges (if he had

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bene capable to make wise election of peace or warre) ought to haue brought him with more facilitie to condiscend to some accord.

About the ende of this yeare were determined the controuersies hapning by reason of the citadell of *Pysa*: for the french king vnderstanding by good informacion thobstinacie of the capteine, sent thether at last *Monsr Gemel* with threatnings and cōmaundements rigorous not only addressed to him, but generally to all the french apperteyning to the charge and seruice of the sayd citadell: And a litle after, he dispatched thether expresly *M. Bonne* Cousin to the Capteine, to thende that being informed by a person whom he might trust, both of the kinges message, and also the meane to satisfie with present obedience his former faultes and contumacie: and of the other part, the daunger wherin he stoode continuing in disobedience: he might with more readines proceede to thexecucion of his Maiesties commaundement & iust will: All these could not remoue the Capteine from his first resolucion, who abiding in his transgression, made no reckoning of the message of *Gemell* staying there a few dayes according to his commission to goe with *Camylla Vitelli* to find *Virginio*: And much lesse was the comming of *Bonne* (who was hindred many dayes for that by direction of the Duke of *Myllan* he was reteyned at *Serazena*) to any purpose to turne the Capteine from his obstinacie: But hauing wrought *Bonne* to his consent & opinion, he made a contract with the *Pysans* (*Luke Maluezze* communicating in the name of the Duke) by vertue whereof he deliuered to the *Pysans* the first day of the yeare 1496. their citadell, receiuing of them twenty thowsand duckats, whereof xij. thowsand to remeyne to him selfe, and eyght thowsande to be deuided in shares amongest the particular souldiers: This money was not leuyed of the stores or welth of the *Pysans*, in whom was no meane to interteyne their proper condicion, & much lesse to refurnish expenses extraordinary, onely not to lose thopportunitie of the citadell, they prayed the aydes of their frendes, hauing foure thowsand of the *Venetians*, foure thowsand of the *Genovvays* and *Luckoyes*, and foure thowsand of the Duke of *Myllan*: who vsing at the same time his ordinary shiftes and practises (whereunto was giuen litle faith) he solicited faintly to enter with the *Florentyns* into firme intelligence and amitie, & was already agreed of condicions with their Embassadors.

It can not in any construction cary likelihood of truth, that *Monsr de Ligny*, or the Capteine, or any other would haue vsed so great transgression without the kings will and liking, seeing chiefly the matter was so much to his disauauntage: for that albeit the Capteine had capitulated that the citie of *Pysa* should continue in the obedience of the crowne of *Fraunce*, yet it remeyned manifestly at the deuocion of the confederats: and for that the restitucion tooke not effect, the french men that were left in the realme of *Naples* were naked of the succors of men and money promised in the contract of *Thuryn*: The *Florentyns* obseruing diligētly the action of all things, (albeit in the beginning they made great dowt) were possest at last with this opinion, that all was done contrary to the will of the king: A thing which might seeme incredible to all others that knew not what was his nature, nor what were the condicions of his wit and customes, nor how litle authoritie he bare amongest his people, And lastly how easily men are emboldened against a Prince that is falne into indignitie and contempt.

After the *Pysans* were entred by heapes into the citadell, they razed it flat with the earth: And knowing their owne strength not sufficient to beare out the defense and protection of their cause, they sent at the same instant Embassadors to the Pope, to the king of *Romains*, to the *Venetians*, to the Duke of *Myllan*, to the *Genovvays*, to the

Syennoys, and to the *Lucquoys*, praying ſuccors of euery one by particular ſute & diſcourſe, but with greater inſtance of the *Venetians* & Duke of *Myllan*, towards whom they nouriſhed a franke inclinacion to transferre the iuriſdiction of their citie: wherin they had this cogitacion and ſeeming, that they were conſtrayned not ſo much to looke to the preſeruacion of their libertie, as to eſchew the neceſſitie to returne eftſoones into the power of the *Florentyns*: Their hopes alſo were more partiall in him then in any of the reſidue, for that beſides he was the firſt ſtirrer of them to rebellion by reaſon of neighbourhood, yet reaping from the other confederats no other thing then generall hopes, they had alwayes receiued from him preſent & ready ſuccors: But the Duke (notwithſtanding his deſire and ambicion were importunat) ſtoode dowtfull whether he ſhoulde accept it, for feare leaſt the other confederats woulde grow deuided by it, in whoſe councells was now begonne to treate of the affayres of *Pyſa*, as of a common cauſe: By reaſon whereof ſome times he woulde deſire the *Pyſans* to deferre, and ſome times aduiſed them that it might be done in publike action & in the name of the Sainct *Seueryns*, and he to diſcloſe that all was done to his profit, when he ſhould ſee his time: But in the ende (deſire of dominion is troubleſom till the appetite be ſatisfied) when he ſaw the french king was gone out of *Italy*, and finding withall that his neceſſities & occaſions with the confederats were not now ſo great, he determined to embraſe it.

But this inclinacion of the *Pyſans* began to grow colde for the great hopes they had to be ſuccored by the Senat of *Venice*: and withall, they had this councell of others, that more eaſily might they defend their eſtate with the ayde of many, then to ſtand vpon the ſuccors of one alone, finding by this meane a more greater hope to menteyne their libertie with full protection: According to theſe conſideracions, after they had obteyned the citadel, they labored to bring to their defenſe & ſtrēgth, the fauors and ſuccors of euery one: for the furtherance of which intencion, the diſpoſicion of the eſtates of *Italy* ſerued to good purpoſe: for the *Genovvays*, for the malice they bare to *Florence*, and the *Siennoys* and *Lucquoys* for hatred and feare, were alwayes to miniſter ayde to them in ſome ſort, wherein to proceede with more reſolucion and order, they ſolicited to make a contract with obligacions reſolut for that effect: To the *Venetians* and Duke of *Myllan*, interteyning one deſire to be their ſoueraigne Lordes, it could not but be intollerable that they returned to the rule of the *Florentyns*: And with the Pope and thEmbaſſadors of the Spaniſh, much helped them, their common deſire to plucke downe the *Florentyns* as being too much inclined to the doings of *Fraũce*: So that hauing bene graciouſly heard in euery place, and obteyned of thelect Emprour the priuiledge of confirmacion of their libertie: they brought from *Venice* and *Myllan* the ſame promiſes to preſerue them in their libertie which they had made afore with one common conſent to helpe to deliuer them from the french: And the Pope in the name and conſent of all the Potentats of the league, incouraged them by a ſpecial ſigneture, with promiſe that they ſhould be mightely defended of euery one: But in theſe great promiſes & hopes, the moſt apparant ſuccors came from the *Venetians* and Duke of *Myllan*, the Duke augmenting the number of men that were there firſt, and the Senat refurniſhing them with a proporcion ſufficient: An action wherein if they had both continued, the *Pyſans* had not bene conſtrayned to ſticke more to the one then to the other of them, & by that meane alſo the common benefit had bene more eaſily preſerued: But as in all things not followed with the ſame induſtrie wherein they are begon, the ende is leſſe then the exſpectacion: ſo it hapned to the Duke of *Myllan*, who (fearing alwayes great

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expenſes, and being inclined of nature to proceede in all actions with apparances and ſhiftes) made his accompt that the iuriſdiction of *Pyſa* coulde not but fall into his handes, and therefore beganne with ſmal proporcions to furniſh thinges which the *Pyſans* demaunded of him: In which diſtruſt and incerteintie of dealing, they tooke occaſion to transfer all their inclinacions to the *Venetians*, in whom they foūd a plentifull releeffe in all their neceſſities without any ſparing: from whence proceded, that a few monethes after the french had redeliuered the citadell, the Senat of *Venice* required by the generall and importunat ſutes of the *Pyſans*, determined to take the citie into their protection, the Duke of *Myllan* rather perſwading them to it then making any ſhow of diſliking: This was done without the priuitie of the other confederats, nor once communicating with them either generally or a parte, notwithſtanding in the beginning they had giuen them comfort to ſend bandes of men to their ſuccors: but nowe they alleaged that they were no more bownde to thoſe promiſes, for that without their conſent, they had particularly couenaunted with the *Venetians*.

The Venetians in minde to take vpon them the defence of Pyſa.

It is moſt certeine, that neither the deſire to preſerue the libertie of their neighbours (which in their owne contrey they loue much) nor any regarde to the common benefitt and ſafetie (as they did alwayes publiſh with honorable wordes) but the only deſire to get the iuriſdiction of *Pyſa*, were the cauſes that the *Venetians* made this reſolucion: By the meane whereof they dowted not in ſhorte time to reape a ſweete frute of their ambicious deſire, euen with the wil of the *Pyſans* them ſelues, in whō was a willing election to liue vnder the rule of *Venice*, the better to be alwayes aſſured, not to be repaſſed eftſoones into the ſeruitude of the *Florētyns*: And yet notwithſtanding this inclinacion to protect the *Pyſans*, it was often times and with long diſcourſe debated in the Senat, the generall diſpoſicion being almoſt hindred for the authoritie of ſome of the moſt auncient and eſteemed Senators, who impugning it with mighty reaſons aſſured the reſidue, that to appropriat the gouernment and defenſe of *Pyſa*, was a matter full of difficulties, for that by land it was a ſtate farre from their confynes, and by ſea much farther remoued from all their good oportunities, hauing no meane to goe thether, but by the dwellings and hauens of others fetching a compaſſe about both the ſeas that inuironeth *Italy*, for which reaſons they could not defend it from the continuall vexacions of the *Florentyns* but with intollerable expenſes: They could not deny but ſuch an enlargement would be very honorable for the ſtate of *Venice*: But they wiſhed there might be made aduiſed conſideracions of the difficulties to keepe it, and much more conference of the condicions of the time preſent, together with that which might happen by ſuch a deliberacion: for that all *Italy* being ſuſpicious of their greatnes, ſuch an encreaſe of Lordſhip coulde not but be extremely ielous and diſpleaſing to all, wherin would be bred eaſily more great and daungerous accidents then happly were looked into of many: ſuch were greatly deceiued in whoſe perſwacions was this ſewertie, that the other Potentats would ſuffer without gainesaying, that to their Lordſhip and imperie ſo redowted thorowe all *Italy*, ſhoulde be ioyned ſo great oportunities by the demeane of *Pyſa*: wherein if they were not (as they haue bene) ſo mighty to withſtand it of their proper ſtrength, they were not (ſeeing the way was tought to them on the other ſide the mountes to paſſe into *Italy*) without great occaſion to oppoſe againſt them forreine force, to the which (no dowt) they would haue ready recourſe aſwell for hate as for feare (this being a vice common to all men, to ſeeke rather to ſerue ſtraungers, then to giue place to their owne:) And touching the Duke of *Myllan*, how can it be bele-

The Senat of Venice debateth vpon the action of Pyſa.

" ued, that he accuſtomed to be caried ſometimes by ambicion and hope, ſometimes
" by ſuſpicion and feare, and now being ſtirred no leſſe with diſdaine then ielouſie to
" ſee transferred to the *Venetians*, that pray which he had ſought by ſo many meanes
" and ſtudies for him ſelfe: will not rather be ready to bring new troubles vppon *Italy*,
" then endure that *Pyſa* ſhould be occupied by others then him ſelfe: And albeit with
" wordes and councells he declared the contrary, yet let it be an opinion abſolut, that
" thoſe apparances were but diſguiſed and farre from the intencion and truth of his
" hart (conteyning no other thing) then ambuſhes and councells full of art tending to
" an ill ende: In felowſhip & company of whom, it were a neceſſary wiſedom to ſup-
" port that citie, if not for other reſpect, at the leaſt to let that thinhabitants ſhoulde
" not transfer it to him: But to make it a cauſe propper or particular, drawing after it
" ſo great enuie and no leſſe charges, were a councell neither wiſe nor well ruled: That
" they ought to conſider how much contrary would be thoſe thoughtes, to the works
" and actions wherein for ſo many monethes, they were ſo much trauelled and yet ve-
" xed continually: for that no other occaſions did moue the Senate to take armes
" with ſo great expenſe & daunger, then the deſire to deliuer and reaſſure aſwell them
" ſelues as the other regions of *Italy* from the rule of ſtraungers: wherein hauing gi-
" uen a beginning with a ſucceſſe ſo glorious, and yet the french king skarcely repaſ-
" ſed the Mountes, and the moſt part of the kingdom of *Naples* following his faction
" with a ſtronge armie: what indiſcreſſion, what infamie, what ſtayned reputacion
" would it be, (at a time needefull to confirme the libertie and ſewertie of *Italy*) to re-
" plant and ſow againe ſeedes of newe calamities: which might eftſoones make ſpee-
" dy and eaſie the returne of the french, or elſe the diſcending of the king of *Romaines*,
" to whom (pretending as euery one knoweth againſt their eſtate) coulde happen no
" greater occaſion nor more ſtronge deſire then this: That the common weale of *Ve-*
" *nice* was not brought to thoſe tearmes, to embraſe councells daungerous, nor to go
" before occaſions and much leſſe take them whileſt they were greene: No, rather no
" eſtate in all *Italy* ſtoode vpon better tearmes to exſpect thoportunitie of times, And
" with leſſe perill could tary til occaſions were rype: that deliberacions headlong, raſh,
" or dowtfull, became well thoſe that ſuffered hard or ſiniſter condicions, or ſuch as
" being puſhed forward with ambicion and deſire to make their name famous, feared
" to haue want of time: That ſuch reſolucions were altogether daungerous to a com-
" mon weale, who rayſed into ſo great power, dignitie, and authoritie, ſtoode redow-
" ted and enuied of all the reſidue of principalities in *Italy*: And who in regard of o-
" ther kinges and Princes almoſt immortall and perpetuall reteyning alwayes one ſelf
" and ſetled name of a Senat of *Venice*, had neuer occaſions to dreſſe or haſten their
" deliberacions afore the time: That it apperteyned better to the wiſedom and graui-
" tie of that Senat (conſidering according to the proppertie of men truely wiſe the
" daungers that lay hidden vnder thoſe hopes and ambicions, and looking more into
" thendes then beginnings of thinges) to reiect thoſe raſh councells, and to abſteyne
" aſwell in thoccaſion of *Pyſa*, as others offering to aſtoniſh or kindle the ſpirits of o-
" thers, vntil at the leaſt *Italy* were better aſſured of the ſuſpicions & daungers of thoſe
" on thother ſide the Mountes, forbearing in any wiſe to giue them new occaſion eft-
" ſoones to reenter: for that experience had ſhowed in very few monethes, how *Italy*
" when ſhe was not oppreſſed by ſtraunge nations, followed almoſt thauthoritie of the
" Senat of *Venice*, but ſo long as the forreine forces occupied place in this empire, in
" place to be followed and redowted of the others, they with the others had reaſon to
" feare power of ſtraungers: Theſe and like reaſons conformed to the deſires of the

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greateſt number,were ſurmounted and caried ouer with the perſwacions of *Auguſtyn Barbarin* Duke of the ſame citie, whoſe rule was become ſo great and generall, that exceeding the modeſtie of the Dukes paſt, he aſpired rather to a power abſolut,then authoritie lymited or regulated: for that, beſides that he had many yeares managed that dignitie with happy ſucceſſe,and beſides his many excellent giftes & graces of the minde, he had ſo preuayled with ſingularitie of conning dealing,that many Senators,(willingly oppoſed againſt ſuch,as in a name to be wiſe for long experience,and for that they had obteyned ſupreme dignities, were of greateſt reputacion in that common weale) linked to him,and followed commonly his opinions rather in a manner of confederats and partakers, then with that forme of grauitie & integritie which duely is requiſit in the office of Councellors. He deſirous to leaue with the increaſe of the ſtate,a worthy memorie of his name, not putting any ende to his appetit after glorie, and much leſſe contented that during his rule, the yle of *Cypres*(failing the kinges of the houſe of *Luſignian*)ſhould be annexed to the Empire of *Venice*: was importunat to embraſe euery occaſion to make great their eſtate: In which inclinacion,oppoſing him ſelf againſt thoſe who for the regard of *Pyſa*,councelled the contrary, he ſhowed with rounde diſcourſe of wordes and reaſons howe much it imported the Senat in vtilitie and conueniencie to haue *Pyſa*, & how much it concerned them to repreſſe by this meanes the arrogãcie of the *Florentyns*,who in the death of *Phillipp Maria Viſconte*,had made them loſe thoccaſion to be Lordes of the Duchie of *Myllan*,& of late in their action of loanes of money during the french warres,had done more harme then any one of thother Potentats: he declared that ſeldom are offered ſo goodly occaſions,what infamie to loſe them, and afterwardes what repentance would follow for not embraſing them: That the condicions of *Italy* were not ſuch,that in the other Potentats was power of them ſelues to oppoſe againſt thenterpriſe, and much leſſe was their dowte, that for this indignacion or feare,they would haue recourſe to the french king:for that neither the Duke of *Myllan* hauing ſo highly offended him, durſt neuer eftſoones truſt him, neither ſuch thoughtes moued the Pope: And the king of *Naples*, when he had recouered his kingdom,would heare no more ſpeaking of the french men: Beſides their entrie into *Pyſa* (albeit greeuous to others) was not an accident ſo furious, nor a perill ſo neare,as in regard of that,the other Potentats ſhould runne raſhly into thoſe remedies which are vſed in the laſt diſpaire,no more then in ſleight diſeaſes the Phiſicion makes no haſte to giue ſtronge medicines, eſteeming that the patient hath time enough to take them: That if in this weakenes and ſeparacion of the other *Italians*, they were fearfull to make reckoning of ſo goodly occaſion,it were an exſpectacion vaine,to tary to be able to doe it with more ſewertie, the other Potentats being returned into their former ſtrẽgths,& no leſſe aſſured from the feare of them on thother ſide the Mountes: That for a remedie of too great a feare, they had to conſider that all worldely actions were ordeyned to many perills: But wiſe men knewe that there falles not alwayes in queſtion all the ills that may happen: for that either by the benefit of fortune,or by aduenture, many daungers are diſſolued, and many auoyded with induſtrie and helpe of the time: And therefore it is no office in men deliberating vppon enterpriſes, to confound (as many affirme conſidering litle the proprietie of names and ſubſtance of thinges) feare with diſcreſſion,and much leſſe are to be reputed wiſe,thoſe ſortes of people, who making certeine all perills that are dowtfull,(and therefore haue feare of all,) doe rule their deliberacion as if they ſhould all happen, ſeeing in no manner can merit the name of wiſe or diſcreete,ſuch

The Duke of Venice reaſoneth in fauor of the Pyſans and preuaileth.

" men as feare more then they ought, thinges that are to fal: That ſuch title & praiſe
" was farre more conuenient for men valiant and coragious, for that looking into the
" ſtate and nature of daungers (and in that regard different from the raſh ſort in whom
" is no impreſſion of ſenſe or iudgement of perills) they doe notwithſtanding diſco-
" uer how often men, ſome time by aduenture, and ſome times by vertue, are deliue-
" red from many difficulties: So that thoſe that in deliberating call not into councell
" aſwell hope, as feare, doe moſt commonly iudge for certeine, the euents that are vn-
" certeine, and reiect more eaſily then others, occaſions profitable and honorable: In
" imitacion of whom, and withall ſetting afore our eyes, the weaknes and ſeparacion
" of the other Potentats, the great power and fortune of the common weale of *Ve-*
" *nice*, the magnanimitie and glorious examples of our elders, we may embraſe with
" a franke reſolucion, the protection of the *Pyſans*, by whoſe meane, we may in ſhort
" time ſee our ſelues abſolut Lordes of that citie, A ladder moſt conuenient to rayſe
vs to the Monarchie of all *Italy*: Thus the Senat receiued the *Pyſans* into protection
by decree publike, and ſpeciall promiſe to defend their libertie: which deliberacion
was not in the beginning conſidered by the Duke of *Myllan* as was conuenient: For
by this meanes being excluded to enterteyne any bandes there, he held it very ac-
ceptable to be deliuered of ſuch expenſes: he eſteemed it alſo not out of the way of
his profit, that *Pyſa* at one time ſhoulde be thoccaſion of great charges both to the
Venetians and the *Florentyns*: Laſtly he perſwaded him ſelfe that the *Pyſans*, for the
greatnes and neighbourhood of his eſtate, and for the memorie of thinges done by
him for their deliuerie, would be ſo dedicated to him, that they would alwayes pre-
ferre him before all others.

Pyſa in the protection of Venice.

He tooke delite to feede the humor of theſe deuiſes and deceitfull hopes, with a
perſwacion wherewith (litle remembring the ordinary inconſtancie of humane
thinges) he nouriſhed him ſelfe, to haue as it were vnder his feete, fortune, whoſe
ſonne he would not ſtick with publike vaunting to ſay he was: ſo much was he puf-
fed vp with vayne glorie by the proſperous ſucceeding of his affayres, and no leſſe o-
uerruled with ſingular weening, for that by his meanes and his councells the french
king firſt paſſed into *Italy*, appropriating to him ſelfe the chaſſe giuen to *Peter de me-*
dicis by the *Florentyns* with loſſe of his eſtate, the rebellion of the *Pyſans*, and the fle-
ing of *th Arragons* from the realme of *Naples*: And afterwards with a councel chaun-
ged, he was the cauſe by his deuiſes and authoritie, of the confederacion of ſo many
Potentats againſt the french king, of the returne of *Ferdinand* into the kingdom of
Naples, of the departing of the french out of *Italy* with condicions vnworthy ſuch a
greatnes: And laſtly in the action of the Capteine who had in charge the citadell
of *Pyſa*, wherein his induſtrie or his authoritie had more power then the wil & com-
maundements of his king: with which rules meaſuring thinges to come, and iudg-
ing the wiſedom and pollicie of all others to be farre inferior to the excellencie of
his ſpirit, he flattered him ſelfe to be alwayes able to addreſſe & gouerne the affayres
of *Italy* as he would, and with his induſtrie to turne and wynde the mindes of euery
one: This fonde perſwacion he could not diſſemble neither in him ſelfe, nor in his
peoples, and no more in wordes and geſtures, then in demonſtracions and actions,
making it a thinge acceptable to him that euery one beleued and ſpake ſo by him: In
ſo much that *Myllan* day and night was repleniſhed with voyces vayne and glori-
ous, celebrating with verſes latyne and vulgar, and with publike orations full of flat-
tery, the wonderful wiſedom of *Lodovvyk Sforce*, of the which they made to depend
the peace and warre of all *Italy*: they magnified his name euen to the third heauen,

Lodowyk vauntes him ſelfe to be the ſonne of fortune.

and

& the ſurname of *More*, (impoſed vpon him from his youth for that he was of complexion browne, and for thopinion of his craftes which now were manifeſt) he was contented to reteyne willingly ſo long as he remeyned Duke of *Myllan*: Then no leſſe was thauthoritie of this *More* in the other caſtells of the *Florentyns*, then it had bene in the citadell of *Pyſa*, ſo that in *Italy*, it ſeemed that aſwell ennemies as frendes were ruled by the meaſure of his will ſo cloking his ſuttelties with apparances of frendſhip, that his intencions were not diſcerned, till his purpoſe was executed: for albeit the kinge of the french, hearing the greeuous complaintes made to him by th Embaſſadors of *Florence*, was not a litle diſcontented, & to thend at leaſtwiſe that their other places might be rendred, had diſpatched *Robert de Veſte* his Chamberlaine with new commiſſions, and letters ſpecial from *Monſr de Ligny*: yet his authoritie bearing no more power with others, then with him ſelf, the audacitie of *Monſr de Ligny* was ſo great (aſſuring many that he proceeded not but by the kinges will) that his Maieſties commaundements bare ſmall reputacion by meane of his newe commiſſions ioyned to the froward will of the caſtell keepers: In ſo much that the baſtard of *Vyenne* Lieftenant to *Ligny* in *Serazana*, after he had drawne his companies thether with the commiſſioners of the *Florentyns*, to receiue poſſeſſion of them, he gaue them to the *Genovvays* for the price of fiue and twenty thowſand duckats. The Capteine of *Serazanella* did the like for a ſumme of money, of which the author and onely meane was the *More*, who hauing oppoſed againſt the *Florentyns* (but vnder the name of the *Genovvays*) *Frecaſſe* with a hundreth horſe and foure hundreth footemen, gaue hindrance that the *Florentyns*, who by meane of their bandes ſent to receiue *Serazana*, had recouered certeine peeces in the contrey *Lunigane*, ſhoulde not recouer all their places they had loſt there: And a litle after, *Entragues* late capteine of the citadell of *Pyſa*, vnder whoſe garde alſo remeyned yet the caſtells of *Pietra Santa*, and *Mutron*, together with that of *Librafrate*, which not many monethes after he gaue to the *Pyſans*, ſold the reſidue to the *Lucquoys* for ſix and twenty thowſand duckats, as preciſely was directed to him by the Duke of *Myllan*: who firſt wiſhed they might fall to the *Genovvays*, but afterwards chaunging aduiſe, he thought it better to gratifie them of *Lucque*, to thende they might haue occaſion to miniſter ready aydes to the *Pyſans*, and to reduce them more to his deuocion by this benefitt: All theſe thinges were caried into *Fraunce*, for the which albeit the king ſhowed him ſelfe much diſcontented with *Ligny*, and pronounced *Entragues* baniſhed out of all his realmes: yet at the returne of *Bonne* (who not participating with the money of the *Pyſans*, had treated at *Genes* the ſale of *Serazana*) his iuſtificacions were accepted, and graciouſly receiued an Embaſſador of the *Pyſans* ſent with him to perſwade the king that the *Pyſans* would remeyne faithfull ſubiects to the crowne of *Fraunce*, and to proteſt their fidelitie by othe, albeit a litle after, his commiſſions not being liked, he had franke leaue to depart: to *Monſr de Ligny* was impoſed no other payne, then (to ſhowe that he had no more the kinges fauor) the grace to lye in his Maieſties chamber as he was wont, was taken from him, to the which he was immediatly reſtored: and *Entragues* remeyned onely in contumacie, but no long time: to which thinges gaue good ayde (beſides the kinges nature with other meanes and fauors) A true perſwacion that was made, that ſuch were the neceſſities of the *Florentyns*, that they could not endure ſeparacion from him: for that the ambicion of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Myllan* being manifeſt, it was a certeine probabilitie in diſcourſe & reaſon, that if they were not repoſſeſſed of *Pyſa*, they would neuer accorde to be confederat with them for the defenſe of *Italy*, whereunto they ſought to induce them by

threatnings and meanes rigorous,and did not for the preſent,aſſaie any other thing againſt them,but reſted ſufficed,(with the bandes they had put into *Pyſa*)to ſupport that citie, and not ſuffer her wholly to loſe her iuriſdiction (the daunger of the kingdom of *Naples* drawing them from all other care)for *Virginio*, who had gathered at *Bagno de Rapolano* and in the contrey of *Peruſin*, many companies of ſouldiers, marched with the other *Vrſins* towards *Abruzze*, holding alſo the ſame way with their bandes,*Camylla* & *Pavvle Vitelli*,by whom the borow of *Montliou* (refuſing to giue them vittells) was put to the ſacke: which ſo amaſed the other places of the church by the which they ſhould paſſe, that notwithſtanding thexpreſſe defenſes of the Pope,they were receiued in all townes and releeued with vittells: By the reapport of theſe marchings, but much more for the brute of an aſſured ſuccor comming by ſea out of *Fraunce*,by which the french affayres ſeemed to ſtand vpon good tearmes in the kingdom of *Naples*; *Ferdinand* no leſſe deſtitute of money,then enuyroned on all ſides with aſpectes of daungers and difficulties of warre, and not able without great ſuccors, to ſuſteyne ſo great a burthen, was conſtrayned to ſtudy for new remedies to his preſent defence: it is ſo,that in the beginning the other Potentats had not comprehended him in their league: And albeit ſince he had recouered *Naples*, the king of *Spaine* made inſtance to haue him admitted to the confederacion, yet the *Venetians* would neuer agree to that poynt, perſwading them ſelues that his neceſſities would be a ready meane to aduaunce thexpectacion of their plott that one part of that realme might fall into their obedience: So that *Ferdinand* left to the miſeries of many aduerſities, and made naked of all hopes (for he exſpected no newe ſuccors from *Spaine*,and the other confederats would not intangle them ſelues with ſo great exſpenſes) was conſtrayned to couenant with the Senat of *Venice*,(promiſing with all obſeruances to the Pope and the kinge of *Spaine*:) That the *Venetians* ſhould ſend to his ſuccors into the realme of *Naples*, the Marquis of *Mantua* their Capteine with ſeuen hundred men at armes,fiue hundreth light horſemen,& three thowſand footemen, menteyning ſtill their armie by ſea which was there already: with this condicion notwithſtanding to reuoke thoſe aydes at all tymes when they ſhould haue neede to imploy them in their proper affayres: That they ſhould lende to him fiueteene thowſand duckats to ſerue his neceſſities preſent: And for the ſecuritie of theſe expenſes,*Ferdinand* to aſſigne vnto them *Otrante*, *Brunduſa*,and *Trane*,with conſent that they might ſtill reteyne *Monopoli* and *Puligniana* which then were in their hands,vnder this couenant to render them,when their expēſes ſhould be reſtored and ſatisfied: prouided alwayes,that neither by reaſon of the warre, nor for the garding or fortificacions which they ſhoulde make, they ſhoulde not redemaunde of him aboue two hundred thowſand duckatts: Thoſe portes being in the ſea ſuperior,& therfore of great oportunitie to *Venice*,augmented much their greatnes: which (no man now oppoſing againſt them, and ſince they embraſed the protection of *Pyſa*,not hearing more of the councells of ſuch, as wiſhed that to windes ſo fauorable,they had giuen leſſe ſayles) began to be ſtretched thorow all the partes of *Italy*: for beſides the thinges of the kingdome of *Naples* and *Tuskane*,they had of new taken to their pay,*Aſtor* Lorde of *Faenza*,and accepted the protection of his eſtates: A man very conuenient to keepe in feare the *Florentyns*,the citie of *Bolognia*, with all the reſidue of *Romagnia*.

Couenants betwene Ferdinand king of Naples and the Venetians

To theſe particular aydes of the *Venetians*,were added other ſuccors of the confederats,the Pope,the Duke of *Myllan*,and they ſending to *Ferdinand* a ioynt ſupply of bandes of men at armes interteyned at their common paye: And albeit the Duke

of

of *Myllan*, in whom remeyned as yet many ſemblances to keepe thaccord at *Verceill*, (notwithſtanding the moſt parte of thoſe thinges were directed by his councells) woulde not either in the leuies of men or money, or other demonſtracions, that his name were vſed: yet he agreed ſecretly to contribute euery moneth tenne thowſand duckats for the ſuccors of the kingdom of *Naples*.

The marching of the *Vrſins* and the *Vitellies* aſſured greately the affayres of *Abruzze* which were in no ſmall confuſion, againſt the french men: ſeeing *Terame* & the citie of *Chieta* were drawne into rebellion, with great dowt that *Aquilea* the principall towne of that region, would doe the like: which they at their comming hauing reconfirmed in the deuocion of the french, and recouered *Terame* by compoſicion, and ſacked *Iulyanoue*, almoſt all *Abruzze* was with one fortune eftſoones ſo reeſtabliſhed, that thaffayres of *Ferdinand* began to ſhowe manifeſt declinacion thorowe the whole kingdome: for that almoſt all *Calabria* was in the power of *Monſr d'Aubigny*, notwithſtanding his long ſicknes, for the which he ſtayed in *Terace*, gaue oportunitie to *Conſaluo* to keepe the warre kindled in that prouince, with the *Spaniſh* bandes, and ſtrength of ſome Lordes of the contrey: Beſides, *Caietta* with many places aſſiſting followed the obedience of the french: The Prefect of *Rome*, with his companie and the forces of his eſtate, after he had recouered the peeces of *Montcaſin*, inuaded the land of *Lauora* on that ſide: And *Monſr Montpenſier*, albeit by the want of money he was muche reſtrayned to vſe his forces, yet he compelled *Ferdinand* to incloſe him ſelfe in ſtronge places, being vexed with the ſame neceſſitie of money, and many other wants, but wholly reappoſed vpon the hope of the ſuccors of *Venice*, which for that contract betwene them was made not long before, coulde not be aduaunced with readines and expedicion equall with the exſpectacion of his affayres: *Montpenſier* labored to betray *Beneuent* by intelligence, but *Ferdinand* eyther hauing dowt or ſome aduertiſement of the practiſe, preuented thexecucion by his ſuddeine entring the towne with his bandes: The french notwithſtanding came neare to *Beneuent*, and lodging vpon the bridge of *Fynoche*, they tooke *Sinezana*, *Apice*, and many other townes bordering: But theſe places bearing no fauor to their armie for vittells, they diſcamped, hauing alſo regard to the tyme drawing on to gather the tribute of the cattell of *Powylla*, one of the greateſt reuenues of the kingedom, for that it was wont to amount euery yeare to lxxx. thowſand duckats, which were all gathered almoſt in the ſpace of a moneth: *Monſr Montpenſier* to depriue them of this commoditie, and no leſſe for thextreme neceſſities of his people, turned his way to *Powylla*, whereof one parte was holden by him, and the other at the deuocion of *Ferdinand*, marching after him by the ſame way, with intencion rather to hinder by art and diligence the actions of the ennemie vntill his ſuccors were ariued, then to fight with them in playne battell.

The french nauie arrine at Caietta.

About this tyme arriued at *Caietta*, an armie by ſea of the french, of xv. great veſſells, and ſeuen others of leſſer burden, in which were imbarked at *Sauone* eyght hundreth launceknightes, leauyed in the contreyes of the Duke of *Gueldres*, and thoſe *Swyſſers* and *Gaſcoyns* appoynted before by the kinge to be ſent with thoſe great ſhips which were to be armed at *Genes*: To this nauie the armie of *Ferdinand* which were aboue *Caietta* to ſtoppe the paſſage of vittells (being in deede for want of money ill appoynted) gaue ſuch place, that they entred the hauen without impedimēt, ſet their footemen on land, & with the ſame fortune toke *Itry* with other places aſſiſting, And after they had made a great pray thorow the cōtrey, they hoped to haue *Seſſe* by the meane of *Dom Baptiſta Caracciol*, by whom they had promiſe to be put ſe-

cretely within it: But *Dom Federyk* (who with the bandes that followed him being withdrawne to the borders of *Tarenta*, was afterwardes ſent by *Ferdinand* to the gouernment of *Naples*) beinge aduertiſed of the conſpiracie, marched thether with ſpeede equall to the daunger, and made priſoner the Biſhop with certeine others conſenting to the treaſon.

In *Povvylla*, where was the force and ſtrength of the warre, the affayres ſucceeded with diuerſitie of fortunes to both the one and the other armie, which were diſperſed into the townes, aſwel for the ſharpnes of the ſeaſon, as ſtraitnes of the place not ſufficing to receiue one of the armies wholly: Their exerciſes were to make incurſions and roades on horſebacke to pill and pray the cattell, vſing rather induſtrie and agilitie, then vertue or force of armes. *Ferdinand* was lodged in *Fogge* with one part of his people, and had beſtowed the reſidue, partely in *Troye*, and partely in *Nocere*: where vnderſtanding that betwene *S. Seuera* (within which towne was lodged *Virginio Vrſin* with three hundreth men at armes come to be vnited with the armie of *Montpenſier*) and the towne of *Porcina* (where was *Marian Sauella* with a hundreth men at armes) was brought almoſt an infinit quantitie of Muttons & other natures of cattell: he marcheth thether with ſix hundred men at armes, eyght hundred light horſemen, and fiueteene hundreth footemen: And comming by the breake of the day afore *S. Seuera*, he planted him ſelf there with his men at armes to giue reſiſtance to *Virginio* if he made any erupcion, & making his light horſemen to skowre abroad, they ouerſpred forthwith the whole contrey, and led away almoſt lx. thowſand head of cattell: whereto *Marian Sauella* offering to make reſiſtance, and yſſuing forth of *Porcina*, they conſtrayned him to retyre with the loſſe of thirty men at armes: This loſſe and ſhame procured *Monſr Montpenſier*, (reaſſembling all his forces) to march towardes *Fogge*, for the recouery of the praye and honor loſt: where being fauored with a ſuccor aboue his hopes or exſpectation, he encowntred betwene *Nocere* and *Troye*, eyght hundreth launceknightes newly arriued by ſea, and entred into the pay of *Ferdinand*: Theſe launceknightes departing from *Troye* where they were incamped, went to *Fogge* to ioyne with *Ferdinand*: A iorney more vpon their owne braine and raſhnes, then by the kinges commaundement, and altogether againſt the councell of *Fabrice Colonne*, incamped likewiſe at *Troye*: And albeit they ſaw by thextremitie of their perill and place, that their fortune had left them no poſſibilitie of ſafetie, either by fleing or by fighting, yet they were obſtinate and refuſed the libertie of the lawe of armes to be made priſonners, but were killed euery creature of them, exchaunginge their liues with a great deathe and ſlaughter of thennemie: After this, *Montpenſier* preſented him ſelfe before *Fogge* in aray of battell: but *Ferdinand* not ſuffering others to goe out then light horſemen, the french men went to incampe in the woode of *Nicoronata* where after they had remeyned two dayes with no ſmall difficulties for vittels, and hauing recouered the moſt part of the cattel, they appeared eftſoones afore *Fogge*, & abiding there a whole night, they returned the day following to *S. Seuera*, but not with all the pray they had recouered, for that in their retrait, the light horſemen of *Ferdinand* tooke a great part from them, In ſo much, as the cattell being harried by the one and the other, neither part drew any great profit of the reuenues of that tribute. Not many dayes after the french men made weary with want of vittells, went to *Campobaſſo* which was holden by them, and tooke by force *Coglioneſſa* or *Grigoneſſa* A towne faſt by, where the *Svvyzzers* againſte the will of the Capteines, vſed ſuch execucion and crueltie, that albeit it brought great aſtoniſhment vpon the contrey, yet it eſtraunged from them thaffections of many:

And

And *Ferdinand* laying to defende his estate aswell as he could, whileſt he yet exſpected the Marquis of *Mantua*, he reordeyned his bandes, by the meane of ſixteene thowſand duckatts which the Pope had ſent him, and with ſuch other proporcions as he could leauy of him ſelfe.

About this time, did ioyne with *Montpenſier* the *Svvyzzers*, and other footbands which were come by ſea to *Caietta*, as alſo on the other part, the Marquis of *Mantua*, now entred into the kingdom of *Naples* by the way of *S. Germyn*, taking in his marching partly by force, partely by compoſicion, many places (albeit of ſmall importance) about the beginning of Iune, vnited his forces with the king at *Nocere*, whether *Cæſar* of *Aragon* led the bandes that had lyen vpon the borders of *Tarenta*: And ſo by reaſon of the places, the forces of both the factions being almoſt made neighbours, the french more ſtronge in footemen, and *th Italians* more mighty in horſemen, the euent of thinges ſeemed very dowtfull, being not poſſible to diſcerne to whether of the parties the victorie ſhould incline.

The Marquis of Mantua for the Venetians in the kingdom of Naples.

In this meane while, the french king made care for prouiſions to reskew his people, And vnderſtanding of the loſſe of the caſtells of *Naples*, and that his bands were not ſuccored by the *Florentyns* neither with men nor money, for that they had not reſtitucion of their fortreſſes: ſeemed to draw to him a new ſpirit, and awaking out of that ſlumber of negligence with the which he ſeemed to haue returned out of *Fraunce*: he began eftſoones to turne his thoughtes to the actions of *Italy*: wherein to be more at libertie from all thinges that might reteyne him, and (ſhowing to acknowledge the benefits receiued in his daungers) that he might with more cõfidẽce haue recourſe againe to the aydes celeſtial, he takes a iorney in poſt to *Tours*, & after to *Parys*, to ſatisfie to the vowes he made to *S. Martyn*, & *S. Denys* the day of the battell of *Furnoua*: And returning from thoſe places, with the ſame diligence to *Lyons*, he kindled more and more in thoſe deſires and thoughtes, whereunto of his owne nature he was moſt inclined: for he interpreted it as an action much to his reputacion and glorie, to haue made a conqueſt of ſuch a kingdom, being the firſt of all the french kinges, in whoſe perſon haue bene renewed in *Italy* theſe many worldes, the memorie of the armies and victories of the french: he made perſwacion to him ſelf that the difficulties which he encowntred in his return from *Naples*, proceded more by his proper diſorders then by the powers or vertue of *th Italians*, whoſe name (concerning the action of warre) caried no reputacion with the french: To his inclinacions to diſcẽd eftſones into *Italy*, were not a litle furthering thinticemẽts of th Embaſſadors of *Florence*, of the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad vincla*, and of *Triuulce*, who was come to the Court for the ſame occaſion, with whom were aſſiſtant in that inſtance *Vitellezze* and *Charles Vrſin*, together with the *Count Montoire*, ſent to his Maieſtie in that negociacion by the Barons of *Naples* holding parte with the french: as alſo there came to him at laſt by ſea, the Seneſhall of *Beaucaire*, by whom were declared many hopes of the victorie, in caſe his Maieſtie did not deferre to ſende a ſufficient ſuccor: as of the contrary to delay a releeffe ſo neceſſary, were to abandon the kingdom and be giltie of the death of ſo many noble Capteines and ſouldiers: To theſe were ioyned the fauorable perſwacions of many the great Lordes of *Fraunce*, euen ſuch as afore had giuen councell againſt thenterpriſe of *Italy*: they aduiſed the king to giue a new life to that expedicion, to auoyd the diſhonor that would fal vpon the crowne of *Fraunce*, to loſe by cowardiſſe that which they had conquered with ſo great felicitie and fortune, but much more to preuent the ſpoyle of ſo great a part of the nobilitie as lay open to deſtruction in the realme of *Naples*: Neither were theſe

The french king makes a poſting pilgrimage to Towers and S. Dennys.

councells hindred by the emocions which the Kinge of the Spaniſhe made on the frontyer of *Parpignian*, ſeeing the preparacions being greater in brute then in effect, and the forces of that king more mighty to defend his proper realmes, then meete for thinuaſion of an other, it was iudged ſufficient to ſende to *Narbone* and other townes vpon the frontyers of *Spaine*, bandes of men at armes with conuenient companies of *Svvyzzers*: So that in the preſence of the councell of the kinge wherein were aſſembled all the Lordes and perſons notable then at the Court: it was determined that *Tryuulce* ſhould returne to *Aſt* with as much diligence as he could vnder the title of the kinges Lieftenant, leading with him eyght hundreth launces, two thowſand *Svvyzzers*, and two thowſand *Gaſcoyns*: That after him the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould paſſe the Mountes with other bandes: and laſtly ſhould march the kings perſon with all other prouiſions: and paſſing with a power royall, there was no dowt but the ſtates of the Duke of *Sauoye*, of the Marquis of *Montferat* and *Saluce*, (very fit inſtruments to make warre vpon the Duchie of *Myllan*) woulde be for him: Like as alſo it was beleued, that except the Canton of *Berne*, who had promiſed the Duke of *Myllan* not to moue againſt him, all the other *Svvyzzers* would reſort to the kinges paye with no leſſe readines then full numbers: Theſe reſolucions were made with conſents ſo much the more generall, by how much was great the deſire of his Maieſtie, who afore they entred into councell, had much coniured the Duke of *Burbon* to ſet forth with vehement & liuely ſpeeches, how reaſonable and neceſſary it were to make a ſtronge warre: and of him ſelfe in open councel, with the ſame affection he refuted th Admirall, who (not ſo much in impugning directly, as propownding many difficulties) aſſayed to qualifie indirectly the wills of the councell, hauing but a fewe fauorers of his opinion: The kinge aduauncing his particular deſire aboue all councell, aſſured them publikely that it was not in his power to make other reſolucion, for that ſuch was the will of God that he ſhoulde in perſon marche eftſoones into *Italy*: it was agreed in the ſame councell, that a nauie of thirty ſhippes, (whereof was one moſt huge carrack called the *Norman*, and an other groſſe carrack of the region of the roades) ſhould paſſe along the coaſt of the Occean into the hauens of *Prouence*, where ſhould be armed thirty gallies and gallions with a mighty ſuccor of men, money, munition and vittells for the ſeruice of *Naples*, which was ſuppoſed to ſtand vpon ſuch condicions of neceſſities and wantes, that afore this nauie could be diſgeſted into order and poynt, it was determined to ſend forthwith certeine veſſells charged with vittells and ſouldiers: it was ordeyned alſo in this councell, that *Rigault* the kinges Steward ſhoulde goe to *Myllan*, for that the Duke, (notwithſtanding he had not redeliuered the two carrackes, nor ſuffered to rigge a nauie for the kinge at *Genes*, but onely reſtored the veſſells taken at *Rapale*, & not the twelue gallies reſtrayned in the port of *Genes*) labored to excuſe him ſelfe vppon the diſobedience of the *Genovvays*, and had alwayes with ſundry practiſes interteyned ſome of his people about the king, to whom he had newly ſent *Anthoyne Maria Paluoiſin*, both to aſſure his Maieſtie that he was diſpoſed to obſerue thaccord paſt, and to demaund prolongacion of tearme to pay to the Duke of *Orleans* the fifty thowſand duckats promiſed in the ſame accord: of which deceites and ſuttelties, albeit he reaped but a very litle frute, the king being well informed of his intencion, aſwell by the examples of his actions paſt, as for that by his letters and inſtructions which were ſurpriſed, it came to light that he ſtirred vp with continuall ſolicitacion the king of *Romains* and king of *Spaine* to make warre in *Fraunce*: yet hoping that feare perhaps would induce him to thinges whereunto his will was eſtraunged, *Rigault* was charged, that (without ſpea-

The french king determineth to ſend Triuulce into Italy as his Lieftenãt.

ſpeaking of the diſobedience paſt) he ſhould ſignifie to him that it was in his power, to deface the memorie of offences, in beginning now to obſerue, as to reſtore the gallies, to redeliuer the carrackes, and by giuing ſufferance to arme a nauie at *Genes:* And that he ſhoulde adde to theſe aduertiſements that the kinge was determined to returne into *Italy* in perſon, which ſhould be to his great harmes, if whileſt he was offered the meane, he would not reenter into that amitie, whereof his Maieſtie was perſwaded, that he had vndiſcreetely made accompt, rather by vaine ſuſpicions, then for any other occaſions: This brute of theſe great prouiſions being come into *Italy*, much troubled the mindes of the confederats: but aboue all *Lodovvyk Sforce* ſtanding in the mouth of the daunger, & to be the firſt oppoſed to the furie of thennemie, ſuffered no leſſe perplexities then the conſideracion of his perill required, ſpecially vnderſtanding that ſince the departure of *Rigault*, the king had diſmiſſed & giuen leaue to all his agents with hard wordes and bitter demonſtracions: By reaſon whereof, looking deepely into the greatnes of his daunger, as vppon whoſe eſtate would fal the ſubſtance of the warre: he had eaſily accorded to the kings demaunds, had it not bene for the ſuſpicion and conſcience of thoffences he had made to him, the ſame cauſing on al ſides ſuch a diſtruſt, that it ſeemed more hard to find a meane to aſſure both the one and the other, then not to accord to the articles: for taking from the ſewertie of the one, that which was conſented to aſſure the other, the one would not referre to the faith of the other, that which the other refuſed to referre to his owne: So that neceſſitie compelling *Lodovvyk* to take the councel that was moſt greeuous, he thought (at leaſt to make ſlow his daungers) to interteyne *Rigault* with the ſame connings which he had vſed to that preſent, aſſuring him with great firmenes, that he would bring the *Genovvays* to obey whenſoeuer the kinge woulde giue into the citie of *Auignion* ſufficient ſekuritie for the reſtitucion of the ſhippes, & that both parties woulde promiſe (giuing mutually oſtages for all obſeruacions) not to enterpriſe any thing preiudicially one to thother: which practiſe continuing many dayes, had laſtly for many cauillacions & difficulties obiected, the ſame effect which others had had before: But *Lodovvyk* to whom it belonged not to waſt time vnprofitably, diſpatched during theſe areaſonings, Embaſſadors to the king of *Romaines*, to induce him to paſſe into *Italy* with the ayde of him and the *Venetians*, to whom alſo he ſent meſſengers to require that Senat, (to thende to prouide for the common perill) to contribute to that charge, and to ſend into *Alexandria* a ſufficient proporcion of force to make head againſt the french: To this they offered a ready action: But they ſhowed not ſuch facilitie to aſſiſt the paſſage of the king of *Romaines* bearing litle frendſhip to their common weale for thoſe peeces which they poſſeſſed in the firme land apperteyning to thempire and houſe of *Auſtrich*: Neither were they content, that at a common expenſe, ſhould paſſe into *Italy* an armie, which ſhould wholy depend vpon *Lodovvyk*: Notwithſtanding *Lodovvyk* continuing ſtill to ſolicit & make inſtance, for that beſides the other reaſons that moued him, the onely forces of the *Venetians* in the ſtate of *Myllan* were ſuſpected to him: The Senat alſo fearing leaſt he, in whom they knew was no litle feare, woulde ſuddeinly draw to reconcilement with the french king, gaue in the ende their conſents, and for the ſame occaſion, ſent Embaſſadors to the king of *Romaines*: Beſides theſe coniectures, the *Venetians* and the Duke feared, leaſt the *Florentyns*, aſſoone as the kinge were paſſed the Mountes, would not make alteracion or inſurrection in the riuer of *Genes:* To meete with which accident, they ſent to *Iohn Bentyuole* interteyned in the pay of the confederats with three hundreth men at armes, to make warre vpon the *Florentyns* in the

frontyer of the contrey of *Bullognia*, promiſing that at the ſame time they ſhould be vexed by the *Syennoys*: wherein as to giue him more courage to this action, they offered to be bownd, that if he tooke the towne of *Piſtoya*, to keepe it for him: ſo albeit he fed them with hopes, yet his mind was farre remoued from that ſeruice, and fearing not a litle the comming of the french, he ſent ſecretly to the king, to excuſe him ſelfe for matters paſt vpon the neceſſitie of the place wherein *Bolognia* was ſeated, & to offer a good will to depend vpon his Maieſtie hereafter, & for his ſake, to abſteine from vexing the *Florentyns*.

But touching the prouicions for *Naples*, the wil of the king (albeit very vehement and forward) was not ſufficient to put in execucion the reſolucions of the councell, notwithſtanding aſwel for his honor, as for the daungers of the kingdom, there needed a moſt ready expedicion: for the Cardinall of *S. Mallovv*, in whoſe direction, beſides the managing of the treaſure, reſted the ſubſtance of the whole gouernment, albeit he impugned not theſe doings apparantly, yet he made ſo ſlow all expedicions with delaying the neceſſary payments, that not one prouiſion was aduaunced in due tyme: it was thought that he did thus, either for that he iudged it was a better meane to perpetuat his greatnes (not making any expenſe which apperteyned not to the preſent profit or pleaſures of the king) not to haue occaſion to propownd euery day the difficulties of thaffayres and neceſſities of money: or elſe for that (as many dowted) being corrupted with preſents and promiſes, he had ſecret intelligence with the Pope, or with the Duke of *Myllan*: To which dilatorie and ielous dealings, the expreſſe commaundements of the king ful of diſdayne redoubled with wordes reprochfull, could giue no remedie: for that according to thexperience he had of his nature, he ſatisfied him alwayes with promiſes contrary to the effects: In ſo much as thexecucion of thinges determined, hauing bene begonne to be lingred by his meane: there hapned an accident, by the which they became more ſubiect to delayes, and almoſt deſperat altogether: for the king in the ende of May, and when was generall exſpectacion of his ſpeedy paſſage into *Italy*, determined to goe to *Parys*, alleaging theſe reaſons, that following the cuſtome of the auncient kinges of *Fraunce*, it was neceſſary afore he parted out of *Fraunce*, to take leaue of *S. Denys* with all the ceremonies vſuall, and likewiſe of *S. Martyn* in paſſing by *Tours*: And that being determined to march into *Italy* with a great prouicion of money, it was needefull (to auoyd the neceſſities wherein he had falne the yeare before) that he induced the other cities of *Fraunce* to contribucion by thexample of *Parys*, of whome he ſhould not obteyne that he deſired, onles he went thether in perſon: That being in thoſe quarters, he ſhould make to march in greater diligence the men at armes that came from *Normandie* and *Picardy*: he aſſured them that afore he departed from *Lyons*, he would diſpatche the Duke of *Orleans*, and would make his returne thether againe within one moneth: But it was ſuppoſed that the moſt true & principal cauſe of his going, was for that he was amarous of one of the ladies of the Queenes chamber, being gone a litle before to *Tours* with her Court: wherein he was ſo reſolute, that neither the councels of his peoples, nor thimportunat humilities followed with teares of *th Italians*, coulde withdrawe him from a voyage of ſuch deuocion: They ſhowed him how hurtfull it would be to waſte tyme proper for the warre, ſpecially in ſo great a neceſſitie of his ſeruice in the kingdome of *Naples*: to what ſlaunder he ſhould be ſubiect in the mouthes of all *Italy*, to drawe backe when he ought moſt to goe forward: That the reputacion of enterpriſes chaunged for euery litle accident and light brute: That it was hard to recouer it, after it began once to declyne, yea though

though he ſhould make greater offers, then afore were either promiſed or needful: That of all worldely thinges, nothing was more voluble then renowme, which falling once into a clowde or ſhadow, ſhines neuer after with a cleare light: Theſe perſwacions much leſſe that they could draw his wauering minde from wandring, ſeeing with an obſtinacie vnruled, he vtterly deiected them, eſteeming it perhappes a breache of his religion, to goe out of *Fraunce* afore he had gon on pilgrimage to the Sainct he ſo deuoutly worſhipped: In ſo much that after he had yet taried a moneth longer at *Lion*: he tooke his way to goe to *Tours*, not hauing otherwayes diſpatched the Duke of *Orleans* then only by ſending *Triuulce* into *Aſt* with a very ſlender companye, not ſo much prouided for the warres, as inſtructed to confirme in his frendeſhip and deuocion, *Phillipp* new ſucceeded to the Duchie of *Sauoye*, by the death of the litle Duke his Nephewe: And touching the prouicions for *Naples*, all that was done afore his departure, was the diſpatche of ſix ſhippes loaden with vittells to *Caietta*, carying many hopes that the mayne armie by ſea ſhould followe with ſpeede: And to ſet order with the Marchantes (but very late) to aduaunce forty thowſande duckats to *Montpenſier*, to whom the *Swyzzers* and the launceknightes had proteſted, that if they were not payed before the ende of Iune, they would paſſe to the campe of thennemies: The Duke of *Orleans*, the Cardinall of *S. Mallow*, and al the councell, remeyned at *Lyon*, with commiſſion to haſten the prouicions, wherein if the Cardinall proceeded ſlowely in the preſence of the kinge, it was nothing to the lingring he vſed in his abſence.

But the affayres of *Naples* could not attend ſuch ſlow remedies, the daungers being drawne into thoſe tearmes (both for thaſſembly of armed bandes on euery ſide, and many difficulties diſcloſed by both the parties) that if the delayes were long, the warre would determine by neceſſitie: for *Ferdinand* after he had ioyned to his peculiar force, the bãds of the *Venetians*, tooke the towne of *Caſtelfranke*, where arriued at his campe accompanied with two hundreth men at armes *Iohn Sforce* Lord of *Peſere*, and *Iohn Gonſague* brother to the Marquis of *Mantua*, Capteines of the confederats: In ſo muche as the proporcion of his campe amounted to xij. hundreth men at armes, fifteene hundreth light horſemen, and foure thowſand footemen: At the ſame tyme the french men were incamped at *Circelle* tenne myles from *Beneuent*, towards whom *Ferdinand* marched, and approching them within foure myles, he pitched his campe before *Frangette de Montfort*, A place of ſo good prouicion & prouidence, that it was not taken at the firſt aſſault: The french rayſed their campe from *Circella* to reskewe it, but they came not in tyme, for that the launceknightes which were within, yelded them ſelues for feare of the ſecond aſſault, and left the place to diſcreſſion: which occaſion knowen to the french, had bene the cauſe of their felicitie, if either by indiſcreſſion or ill fortune, they had not ſuffered it to be loſt: for (as was confeſſed generally) they had at eaſe that day broken the whole armie of thennemy, ſo vniuerſally confuſed in the ſacke of *Frangette* that they gaue no regarde to the directions of the Capteines, who ſeeing no other diſtance betwene the french and them then a valley, labored with all diligence to reaſſemble them: *Montpenſier* ſawe well enough into thoccaſion, and *Virginio* was not ignorant in thoportunitie offered, the one commaunding, and the other perſwading the victory to be certein, deſired with teares in their eyes, to marche ouer the valley, whileſt in the campe of *th Italians* all thinges were in tumult, ſome of the ſouldiers buſie in the pillage, and ſome laboring to packe away the things they had pylled, no one within rule or commaundement of his Capteine: But *Monſr de Perſy* one of the chieftaines of tharmy

next to *Monſr Montpenſier*, ouerruled either with the naturall lightnes of a younge man, or elſe enuying the glory of the D. *Montpenſier*, perſwaded vehemently againſt the paſſage ouer the valley, alleaging that they ſhoulde riſe euen vnder the feete of thennemie, which waighed with the ſtronge ſcituacion of their campe, he made an argument to the ſouldiers of no ſmall daunger, And therefore wiſhing openly that they ſhould not fight, he was the onely hinderer of ſo good a councel, and ioyned to their misfortune a perpetuall diſhonor, the rather for that the *Svvyzzers* & launce-knightes receiuing courage by him, drew into mutiny and demaunded money: for this cauſe *Montpenſier* compelled to retyre, returned to *Circelle*, where, as they were the day after in the action of thaſſaulte, *Camylla Vitelli*, whileſt about the walls he did thoffice of an excellent Capteine, was ſtricken in the head with a quarrel, whereof he dyed: for which accident the french men leauing thinuaſion of the place, brake vp from thence, and marched towards *Argana*, diſpoſed to aſſaye the hazard of battell if occaſion were offered: To which reſolucion was flat contrary the councell of the armie of *th Arragons*, with whom ſpecially the Commiſſioners of the *Venetians* conſented in opinion, for that ſeeing into the condicion of thennemies, they iudged that to their preſent want of vittels was ioyned a generall lacke of money, & waighing withall that the ſuccors out of *Fraunce* were intangled with delayes and reſpits, they hoped that their miſaduentures and neceſſities woulde riſe dayly growing and increaſing, ſtanding ſubiect to as great diſpleaſures in other partes of the kingdome: for that in *Abruzze*, *Annyball* naturall ſonne to the Lord of *Camerin*, being voluntarily gon to the ſuccors of *Ferdinand* with foure hundred horſemen leauyed at his proper charges, had newely broken the armie of the Marquis of *Bitonte*: beſides there was exſpectacion of the comming of the Duke of *Vrbyn* with three hundreth men at armes lately entred into the pay of the confederates, whoſe fortune and greater condicions hauing determined to followe, he had abandoned thalliance of the *Florentyns* (to whom he was yet bownd for more then a yeare) vnder this excuſe, that being feodarie of the Church, he was bownd in reaſon and equitie of office to obey the commaundements of the Pope: And *Graciano d'Aguerre*, who had taken the field to encownter him, was charged in the playne of *Sermone* by the Count of *Celane* and the Count *de Popoli*, with three hundreth horſes and three thowſand footemen, whom he put to flight: But with the loſſe of thoccaſion of the victorye about *Frangette*, the fortune alſo of the french began manifeſtly to declyne, concurring in them at one tyme theſe natures of difficulties, extreme want of money, ſkarcetie of vittells, hate of the people, diſagreement of Capteines, diſobedience of ſouldiers, & the ſtealing away of many from the campe, partely by neceſſitie, and partely by will: They had no meane to draw out of the kingdome any great proporcion of money, neither had they receiued from *Fraunce* any ſumme notable, ſince the forty thowſand duckats leauyed for their releeffe, were too late ſent from *Florence*: In ſo much as no leſſe for that cauſe, then for the neighbourhood of many townes ſupported by tharmie of thennemie, they could not rayſe prouiſions neceſſary for their foode and ſuſtenance: And in their armie was nothing but diſorder, aſwell for that the courages of the ſouldiers were abated, as for that the *Svvyzzers* & launceknightes drawing into tumult, demaunded importunatly their payes: And touching the diſcorde of the Capteines, that which moſt hurt all their deliberacions, was the continuall contradiction of *Perſy* againſt *Montpenſier*: to be ſhort, ſuch were their neceſſities and diſorders, that the Prince of *Biſignian* was compelled to depart with his people to goe to the gard of his owne eſtate for feare of the bands of *Conſaluo*, by whoſe examples

Camylla Vitelli ſlayne.

The french begin to decline in Naples.

amples, the particular ſouldiers of the contrey abandoned the campe by trowpes, wherein they had reaſon, for beſides they neuer receiued paye, yet the frenche and *Svvyzzers* vſed them very ill, aſwell in the diuiſion of booties, as in diſtribucion of vittells: Theſe difficulties, but chiefly the extreme want of vittells, conſtrained the french armie by litle & litle to retyre and wander from one place to an other, which diminiſhed greatly their reputacion with the people: And albeit the ennemies followed them as it were in a continual chaſſe, yet they had no hope to be able to fight as was ſpecially deſired by *Montpenſier* and *Virginio*: for that not to be enforced to battell, they incamped alwayes in places of ſtrength, & where no impediment could be giuen to their commodities: At laſt, the french being incamped vnder *Montcaluole* and *Caſalarbore* neare to *Arriana*, *Ferdinand* ouertaking them within the ſhoote of a crosbow (but alwayes keeping him in ſtronge places) brought them into great neceſſitie of vittells, taking from them in like ſorte the vſe of freſhe water: In ſo much as by the aſpect and conſideracion of theſe perils, they thought it beſt to draw towards *Povvylla*, where they hoped to find commoditie of vittells, And fearing by reaſon of the nearenes of thennemies, the difficulties that ordinarily follow armies that retyre, they rayſed their campe in the beginning of the night, not making any brute to bewraye their goinge, and marched xxv. myles afore they reſted: *Ferdinand* followed them in the morning, but diſpairing to make that ſpeede to ouertake them, which they did to goe from him, hauing ſo much leſſe tyme, as they had more, he incamped before *Geſnaldo*, A towne which heretofore had ſuſteyned a ſeege of foureteene moneths, and now taken by him in one day, greatly to the diſapoynting of the frenche: for that determining to putt them ſelues within *Venouſa*, A towne ſtronge by ſcituacion, and moſt plentifull with vettells, the opinion they had that *Ferdinand* coulde not ſo eaſily take *Geſnaldo*, was the cauſe that they amuſed them ſelues about the ſacke of *Atella* which they had taken, & for the time they loſt there, afore their departure, they found tharmie of *Ferdinand* at their backes, who aſſoone as he had taken *Geſnaldo*, diſpatched way: And albeit they repulſed diuerſe skowtes and foreriders, yet ſeeing the mayne armie marched after with ſuch ſpeede, as they had no meane nor ablenes to recouer *Venouſa* which was eyght myles diſtant, they remeyned in the towne of *Attella*, with intencion to exſpect if ſuccors woulde come from ſome parte, hoping that for the nearenes of *Venouſa* and many other peeces thereabout holding yet for them, to receiue fauors with many commodities of vittells and releeff: *Ferdinand* with a ſpeede accordinge to his fortune, incamped before *Attella*, laboring onely (for the hope he had to obteyne the victorie without perill and blud) to cut them from vittels: for the better auauncement whereof, he caſt many trenches about *Attella*, and loſt no opportunitie to make him ſelfe Maiſter of the places adioyning, forgetting no diligence, trauell, or action of a Capteine pollitike and valiant: And as in warres, there is no further aſſurance of the ſouldier Mercenary, then he findes ſewertie of his paye, and leſſe confidence in his faith and ſeruice, by how much he is ſo ſtrange of his owne nation, that he feareth not the diſcipline of his patron: So the difficulties of the french, made euery day all things more eaſie to *Ferdinand*, for that the launceknightes in the french campe, hauing receiued but two monethes pay ſince they departed from their houſes, and ſeeing by ſo many diſappoyntments of dayes and tearmes paſt, all further exſpectacion was vayne, they drew into councell & went wholly to the campe of *Ferdinand*: In ſo much that hauing meane ſo much the more to greeue thennemie, & to enlarge his armie with more skope, he ſuffered a more hard paſſage of vittels which came from *Venouſa* and

Mercenary ſouldiers for the moſt parte vnfaithfull.

other places about,to *Attella*,wherin was not refreshing to suffice to feede the frēch numbers a very few dayes: for besides,that corne bare a very skant proporcion, yet the *Arragons* pluckt downe a myll standing vppon the riuer which ronneth neare to the walls,whereby they wanted meane to turne their litle store of corne into meale: neither were their discommodities present, recomforted by hoping in any good to come,seeing that from no part appeared so much as one signe of succors: extremities so much the more intollerable to the french, by how much their felicities in the conquest had sayled with so full gales,that they neuer looked backe to those reuolucions which naturally doe follow all humane actions: not that fortune doth so prouide (a reason which many vaine men occupy) but that so it is set downe in the eternall councell of God, who by the same power doth dispose and gouerne all thinges of the earth,by the which he created them of nothing.But the cause of their full ruine,was the misauentures that fel in *Calabria*: for by occasion of the sicknes of *Monsr d'Aubigny*,in which infirmitie many of his people went to tharmie of *Montpensier*, *Consaluo* seruing his turne of his sicknes,tooke many peeces in that prouince,incamping at last with his Spanish bandes & strength of popular souldiers of the contrey, at *Castrouillare*: where hauing aduertisement that the Count *Melete*,and *Albert de S. Seuerin*,with many other Barons were at *Laine* with bands of souldiers almost equall to his,and that increasing their numbers daily, they made their plott to assaile him, when their whole strength was assembled: he determined to preuent them, hoping to surprise them vnprouided by the confidence they had in the scituacion of their place,the castell of *Laine* stāding vpon the riuer *Sabry* which deuideth *Calabria* from the principallitie: & the borow is on the other side the riuer,wherein being intrenched,they were garded by the castell against all inuasions by the high way: lastly betwene *Laine* and *Castrouillare* was *Murana*, with certeine other peeces of the Prince of *Bisignian* which held for them: But *Consaluo* with a councell all contrary, departed a litle before night from *Castrouillare*, accompanied with all his bandes, and leauing the high way, he tooke the large way notwithstanding it was both more longe and harde, for that he was to marche by certeine mounteynes: And being arriued neare the riuer,he commaunded the footemen to take the way to the bridge which is betwene the castell of *Laine* & the borow,which bridge was but negligently garded for thopinion of the sewertie of the place: And him selfe with his horsemen passing the riuer at a foarde two myles higher, was at the borow before day, where finding thennemies without watche and garde, he brake them in a moment sleeping in the securitie of the place: he made prisoners xj. Barons, and almost all the souldiers,for that fleeing to the castell,they fell amongest the footemen, which now were possest of the passage of the bridge: By this honorable victorie being the first which *Consaluo* had got in the kingdom of *Naples*,his strength was so increased,that hauing also with the like vertue and fortune,recouered certeine other places in *Calabria*, he determined with six thowsande men to goe and ioyne with the campe of *Ferdinand*, which was afore *Attella*: And in that campe was arriued a litle before, an hundreth men at armes of the Duke of *Candia*,Capteine of the confederats,but him selfe with the residue of his bandes remeyned in the towne of *Rome*.

The declinacion of the french in the kingdom of Naples.

Consaluo surpriseth the french.

By the comming of *Consaluo*, (caused by the surprise of those which were for the french in *Calabria*:) they that were beseeged were brought into harde straites, their towne being enuyroned on three sides,*th Arragons* occupying one, the *Venetians* an other,and the *Spanyards* the third: In so muche that there was almost left no entrey for vittells,specially the *Venetian* stradiots ronning ouer the whole contrey, and taking

king many french men which brought releeffe from *Venousa*: They also that were within, had no meane to goe on forraging but at howers extraordinary, & that with a stronge garde: And *Pavvle Vitelli* making a saylly at midday with a hundreth men at armes, was drawne by the Marquis of *Mantua* into an ambush, where he lost part of his company.

And being thus depriued of all commodities without, they were at last reduced to that extremitie, that they could not with garde and strength serue their vse of the riuer to water their horses: and within the towne their necessities were no lesse of freshe water for the refreshing of their persons: So that being ouerwearied with so many aduersities, and no lesse abandoned of all hopes, their perills more generall & present, then their succors likely or assured: After they had endured the seege two and thirty dayes, and being now left to the last remedie in warre, they demaunded a safe conduit, which was graunted, vnder the protection whereof, they sent to capitulat with *Ferdinand*, *Monsr de Persy*, *Bartlemevv d'Albyane*, and one of the *Svvyzzer* Capteines: Amongest whom were agreed these couenants following: That there should be no enterprise attempted by either part one vppon an other for xxx. dayes: That during that time, not one of the beseeged, (to whom should be ministred day by day by *th Arragons* necessary vittells) should depart out of *Attella*: That it shoulde be suffered to *Montpensier*, to aduertise his kinge of thaccorde: That if he were not reskewed in the sayd tearme of thirty dayes, he should leaue *Attella*, and all that he had in his power in the kingdom of *Naples*, together with all thartilleries that were there: That the souldiers should be in safetie for their persons and iewells, and with them it should be lawfull to euery one to goe into *Fraunce* either by land or sea: And to the *Vrsins* and other *Italian* Capteines, to returne with their bandes whether they would out of the kingdom: That to the Barons and others which had followed the faction of the french (In case they would returne to *Ferdinand* within xv. dayes) all punishments should be remitted, & restitucion of all the goods they possessed when the warre began: The tearme of this abstinence expired, *Monsr Montpensier*, with all the french, and many *Svvyzzers*, together with the *Vrsins* were conduted to sea castell of *Stabbie*, where they began to dispute, if *Montpensier* as Lieftenant generall vnder his king, and by that meanes aboue all others, were bownde (as *Ferdinand* sayd) to make to be rendred all that was possessed in the kingdome of *Naples* in the name of the french king: for that *Monsr Montpensier* pretended that he was bownd to no more then was in his owne power to render, and that his authoritie stretched not to commaunde other Capteines and castellkeepers which were in *Calabria*, *Abruzze*, *Caietta* & many other townes & peeces, which the king had giuen them in charge, and not to him: The argument being trauersed by many reasons on both sides for certeine daies, they were at last conduited to *Baia*, *Ferdinand* making semblance that he woulde lette them goe: And there (vnder cooller that the vessells wherein they should be imbarked, were not yet ready) they were so long reteyned, that being dispersed betwene *Baya* and *Pozzola*, they fell into such diseases by the ill ayre and many other incommodities, that both *Monsr Montpensier* dyed, and of the residue of his company which were more then fiue thowsand bodies, there skarce returned into *Fraunce* safe and sownd, fiue hundreth. *Virginio* and *Pavvle Vrsin* (at the request of the Pope who was now determined to take from that famulie their estates) were sent prisoners to the egge castell, and their companies conduited by *Iohn Iordan* sonne to *Virginio*, and *Bartlemevv d'Aluiano*, were by the appoyntment of the Pope, stripped in *Abruzze* by the Duke of *Vrbyn*: *Iohn Iordan* also and *Aluiano*, leauing their people

The french send to capitulat with Ferdinand.

Montpensier dyeth.

Virginio Vrsin prisoner.

in the way,& returning to *Naples* by the commaundement of *Ferdinand*,were made prisoners:but *Aluiano*,either by his industrie,or by the secret sufferance of *Ferdinand* (who loued him much) had meane to escape.

After *Ferdinand* had taken *Attella*,he made diuision of his armie into many parts, for the more easie recouering of the residue of the kingdome: he sent before *Caietta*, *Federyk* of *Aragon* & *Prosper Colonne*: And to *Abruzze*,where the towne of *Aquila* was already reuolted to his deuocion,he dispatched *Fabrice Colonne*: And him self taking by force the rocke of *S.Seuerin*,and cutte of the heades of the castell keeper and his sonne the more to terrifie others,went to incampe before *Salerna*, where the Prince of *Bisignian* had parley with him, and compownded for him selfe, for the Prince of *Salerne*,for the Count of *Capaccie*,& for certeine other Barons, with condicion that they shoulde remeyne possessed of their estates, but that *Ferdinand* for his sewertie shoulde keepe in his handes the fortresses for a certeine time: After which accorde they went to *Naples*: In *Abruzze* was not made any great resistance, for that *Graciano*,who was there with viij. hundreth horsemen,hauing no more meane of defense, and lesse exspectacion of succors in a fortune so declining, retyred to *Caietta*: Into *Calabria*,of which the greatest quantitie held yet for the french,returned *Consaluo*,against whom, albeit *Monsr d'Aubigny* made some resistance, yet being in the ende driuen to take *Groppoly* after he had lost *Manfredonie* and *Cosensa*,which had bene sacked before by the french,And lastly seeing all hopes became desperat, and no apparaunce of succors from *Fraunce*,he consented to deliuer vp all *Calabria*,vppon sufferance to returne by land into *Fraunce*.

The Prince of Bisignian compowndeth for him selfe and others.

Monsr d'Aubigny consents to depart the kingdom of Naples.

It is certeine that many of these reuoltes and chaunges hapned by the negligence & indiscression of the french: for albeit *Manfredonia*, for the scituacion of the place was stronge,for the fauors of the people there free from suspicion, and for the fertilitie of the contrey full of plentifull meanes and prouision of vittells, And that the king had left for the gard of it *Gabriell Montfalcon* esteemed a Capteine valiant: yet after it had endured a very short and easie seege, they were constrayned to render it for famine: Like as also (in misfortunes examples doe much) other peeces of good abilitie to defende them selues, became recreant,and yelded, either for feare, (which is propper to cowardes)or for impacience of thincommodities,which such must suffer as are beseeged: Some castellkeepers finding their rockes well prouided for,sold the vittells at their first entrey,and so assoone as thennemie appeared,made their willing necessities and wants a slaunderous detection of their infidelitie & cowardise: By these disorders,ioyned to the negligence of the king, the french lost in the kingdom of *Naples* that reputacion, which the vertue of that man had won vnto them, who holding many yeares after the victorie of *Ferdinand*, the castell of the egge which *Iohn* of *Aniovv* had left in his charge,could neuer be brought to render it,but by compulsion of vittells altogether consumed.

Thus no more remeyning for the recouery of the whole realme then *Tarenta* and *Caietta*,with other peeces holden by *Charles de Sanguyn*: and *Mont Saint Ange* kept by *Dom Iulyan de Lorraine*,who with great merit and praise,made his vertue knowne in all the places thereabouts: it hapned that *Ferdinand*,raised into great glory, and no lesse hopes to be equall in greatnes with his predecessors, went to *Somme*, A towne seated at the foote of the hill *Vesune* to see the Queene his wife, where he became very sicke, either for his trauells past, or by new excessiue disorders: And feeling by his disposicion no hope of recouery, he caused him selfe to be caried to *Naples*,where he dyed not many dayes after,somewhat before the ende of the yeare after

Ferdinand dyeth.

after the death of his father king *Alphonso*: he left behind him, not onely in his kingdom but also thorow all *Italy*, a singular opinion of his vallour, not so much for his victories obteyned, which in times and condicions so deuided merited much, as by the life and readines of his spirit, wherein he was founde resolute in both fortunes, with many other royall vertues, wherein he became a worthy example to many: he dyed without yssue and therefore his Vncle *Dom Federyk* succeeded him, being the fift king seene to succeede in that kingdom in three yeares time.

Assoone as *Federyk* was aduertised of the death of his Nephew, he leauied his seege from before *Caietta*, and went to *Naples* where was the olde Queene his mother in law, who put into his handes new castell, albeit many were of opinion that she would reteyne it for her brother *Ferdinand* king of the Spanish: In this accident were most singular towards *Federyk*, not onely the wills of the peoples, but also thinclinacions of the Princes of *Salerne*, and of *Bisignan*, together with the faith of the Count *Capaccie*, all which were the first that pronownced his name within *Naples*, & going to meete him saluted him as king at his discending from the ship: They were farre better content with him, then with the last king, no lesse for the mildenes and moderacion of his mind (which they honored with great reuerence and humilitie) then for the sewertie of their owne estates, hauing no small suspicion that *Ferdinand* assoone as he had addressed his affayres, had intencions to call to aunswere all those that in any sort had bene fauorers of the french.

Federyk made king of Naples.

But these alteracions and disorders hapning with so great dishonor and domage to the french faction, had no power to giue a new life to the king, & much lesse hasten his prouisions, who stading intangled with the delites & pleasures of the court, made yt foure monethes afore he returned to *Lyons*: And albeit in this amarous negligence, he often times recommended to such as he had left there, the solicitacion and dispatch of all prouisions aswel for sea as land, and the Duke of *Orleans* was prepared to depart: yet by the auncient connings of the Cardinall of *S. Mallovv*, the men at armes which were slenderly payed marched as slowly towards *Italy*, And the nauie by sea which was to be assembled at *Marseilles*, aduaunced so slackly, that the confederats had leasure enough, to sende first to *Ville franche* a large hauen neare to *Nice*, and afterwards euen to the roades of *Marceilles*, an armie by sea leauied at their common charges at *Genes*, to giue impediments to the vessells of *Fraunce* that were to goe to the realme of *Naples*: And to these great and generall delayes proceeding principally from the Cardinall of *S. Mallovv*, wise men dowted, that there was ioyned some other cause more secret, interteyned in the kinges mind with a singular art and diligence of such as with many reasons labored to turne him from the enterprises of *Italy*, for that they thought, that for his proper regard and interest, he ought to be ielous ouer the greatnes of the Duke of *Orleans*, on whom (if the victorie succeeded) the Duchie of *Myllan* shoulde fall: Besides they occupied with him this discourse of perswasions, that it was farre from pollicie and his propper sewertie to goe out of *Fraunce*, afore he had made some contract with the kinge of *Spaine*, who expressing a desire to be reconciled, had sent Embassadors to his Maiestie to induce a truce, and insinuat an agreement: Many councelled him to tary till the Queene was brought to bed, for that it agreed not with his wisedom, & was contrary to the loue he ought to beare to his peoples, to obiect his person to so many perills, afore he had a sonne & heire to receiue so great a succession: A reason which made the deliuerie of the Queene more painefull, and her frute more wretched & vnfortunat, seeing that not many dayes after, the masculyn yssue which God had giuen him, dyed:

So that partely by particular negligence in the king, but more by the errours & vices of his ſimple councell, and partly by the difficulties which others ſuggeſted, the prouiſions waued ſo long in delayes, that the ruine of his people, and whole loſſe of the kingdom, made lamentable vnto them, the operacions of their owne indiſcreſſion: yea the like had hapned to his frendes and confederats in *Italy*, if of them ſelues they had not conſtantly defended their proper eſtates.

It hath bene ſet downe before, how for feare of the french prouicions, and more for the contentment of *Lodouvyk Sforce*, then any thing agreeable to the *Venetians*, there was a plot layd to make paſſe into *Italy* *Maxymilian Cæſar*, with whom whileſt that feare indured, it was agreed that the *Venetians* ſhould giue him for three whole monethes twenty thowſande duckats for euery moneth, to thende he ſhould bring with him a certeine proporcion of horſemen and footemen, vpon the which paſſing of accord, *Lodouvyk* accompanied with th Embaſſadors of the confederats, went to *Manza* (a place on thother ſide the Mountes vpon the confyns of *Almayne*) to communicat with his Maieſtie: where after they had vſed great conference, *Lodouvyk* came backe againe the ſame day to *Bormy*, A towne of the Duchie of *Myllan* on this ſide the Mountes, whether came *Maxymilian* the day following vnder cooller of going on hunting: And after in that enteruiewe of two dayes, they had ſet downe the time and maner of his marching into *Italy*, *Maxymilian* returned into *Iermany* to ſolicit the execucion of thinges that were contracted: But the brute of the prouiſions of *Fraunce* inferior to all exſpectacion, growing now ſo cold, that for that regard it ſemed not neceſſary that the king of *Romaines* ſhould marche: yet *Lodouvyk* determining to ſerue his ambicion of that which afore he had procured for his proper ſewertie, continued ſtill to ſolicit him to deſcend into *Italy*, wherein to remoue all impediments that might hinder his deſire, albeit the *Venetians* would not be concurrant in the promiſe of thirty thowſand duckats which he demaunded ouer and aboue the lx. thowſand that were accorded to him: yet he forbare not to binde him ſelfe alone to that demaund: In ſo much that in the ende *Maxymilian* marched and paſſed into *Italy*, a litle afore the death of *Ferdinand*: of the which when he was aduertiſed, being neare to *Myllan*, he entred into thoughts and deuiſes ſo to handle thinges, as by his meane the kingdom of *Naples* might come to *Iohn* the only ſonne of the king of *Spaine*, and his ſonne in law: But that being farre from the purpoſe of *Lodouvyk* and his ſecrete ambicion, he tolde him that in that action he ſhould diſcontent and trouble all *Italy*, and be the cauſe to diſſolue the vnitie of the confederats, and conſequently to make eaſie the enterpriſes of the king of *Fraunce*, occupying ſuch other conning perſwacions, that his ſutteltie ſo vanquiſhed all the intencions of *Cæſar*, as he did not onely giue ouer and denownce his firſt cogitacion, but alſo fauored and ratified by letters the ſucceſſion of *Federyk*: he deſcended into *Italy* with a very ſmall company of men, but the brute ronne, that there marched after euen to the proporcion and quantitie which he had promiſed: And being come to *Vigeneua*, where he ſoiorned, *Lodouvyk* and the Cardinall of *Santa Croce* (ſent vnto him as Legat by the Pope,) together with the Embaſſadors of the confederats, aſſembled with him in councell to reſolue what were beſt to be done: therein this was thought the firſt and moſt neceſſary action, that he ſhould march into *Pyemont* to take the towne of *Aſt*, and ſeparat from the french king the Duke of *Sauoye*, and Marquis of *Montferat*, as members depending of the Empire: to them he addreſſed aduertiſements to come to ſpeake with him in a towne in *Pyemont*: but his forces being inferior to his title & dignitie, and by that occaſion the effects not aunſwering thauthoritie of the name imperiall,

Lodowyk will aſwell ſerue his turne of the king of Romaines for his ambicion, as he had doe of the french king in his neceſſitie.

periall,they ſhowed contempt, not one of them conſenting to goe to him: like as alſo for thenterpriſe of *Aſt*,there was no apparance that it ſhould happily ſucceede: he made like inſtance to come to ſpeake with him,to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who vnder the name of *Feodarye* of thempire,poſſeſſed the towne of *Modene* and *Regge*:And albeit he offered him for his ſewertie,the faith of *Lodovvyk*,his ſoune in lawe,yet he refuſed to go to him,alleaging that the action were not cõuenient for his honor, for that he held as yet in deputacion,the caſtell of *Genes*.Finally *Lodovvyk* (led ſtill with humors of his auncient couetouſnes, and no leſſe diſcontented that *Pyſa* ſo ambicioufly deſired of him, ſhoulde fall with the daunger of all *Italy* into the power of the *Venetians*,ſought wonderfully to hinder ſuch a matter) and councelled thEmprour to goe to *Pyſa*, perſwading him with diſcourſes full of deceites, that the *Florentyns*, being not mighty enough to reſiſt him and the ſtrength of the confederats, woulde depart by neceſſitie from thalliance of the french king, and could not refuſe to refer thaccord and arbitracion of all their controuerſies to the perſon of *Maxymilian*, to thende that,if not by reconcilement,at leaſt by way of iuſtice, might be determined the differences betwene them and the *Pyſans*: In which regard as *Pyſa* ſhould be put into the handes of *Cæſar*,and all the appurtenances apperteyning to it: So he hoped by his authoritie to make the *Pyſans* conſent, and that the *Venetians* (being concurrant in this action the wills of all the other confederats) woulde not oppoſe themſelues againſt a concluſion ſo conducible to the common benefit,and no leſſe iuſt & honeſt of it ſelfe: for *Pyſa* being aunciently a towne of the Empire, the reknowledging of the rightes of ſuch as aſpired to it,apperteyned to no other then to *Cæſar*: & ſo being committed of truſt into the hands of *Cæſar*,*Lodovvyk* hoped that he ſhould eaſily come by it, either by money, (which makes way into great kingdoms) or for the grace and authoritie which he had with him, the ſame ſeruing as an inſtrument to aduaunce his ambicion: This deuiſe was propownded in the councel vnder cooler,that ſeeing for the preſent,the feare of the french warres ceaſſed, the comming of *Cæſar* might be vſed to induce the *Florentyns* to knitt with the other confederats againſt the french king: A deuiſe not diſpleaſing to *Maxymilian*, who was not a litle diſcontented that his deſcending into *Italy* bred no effect, hoping withall, that where by reaſon of his infinit plots and inuencions,and no leſſe for his diſorders and vnbridled prodigalities,he had alwayes want of money, *Pyſa* would be an inſtrumẽt conuenient,to gather ſome great quantitie either of the *Florentyns*,or others. The deuiſe alſo was approued by all the confederats as a thing very profitable for the ſewertie of *Italy*:The Embaſſador of *Venice* not impugning it,for that that Senat, perceiuing well enough to what endes tended the thoughtes of *Lodovvyk*, dowted not to beguile him eaſily, and hoped that by meane of the preſence of *Cæſar* might be gotten the hauen of *Lyuorne*,which being vnited once to *Pyſa*, the *Florentyns* had no further hope to recouer that citie.

Lodowyk perſwades Cæſar to goe to Pyſa.

It hath bene declared how the confederats afore made many meanes & requeſtes to the *Florentyns* to enter vnitie and league with them, And at the times when moſt they feared the deſcending of the frenchmen, they gaue them hopes ſo to worke & trauell in thinges,that *Pyſa* ſhould eftſoones returne vnder their iuriſdiction:But the couetouſnes of the *Venetians* and *Lodovvyk* being ſuſpected to the *Florentyns*, who woulde not lightly deuide them ſelues from the amitie of the french kinge, bare no ready deuocion to thoſe ſuggeſtions: wherein as one thinge that kept them backe, was a hope to recouer by the comming of the french king, *Pietra ſancta*, and *Serazena*,places which they could not exſpect by any working of the confederats: ſo that

which turned them & drew them quite away, was an ouerweening no lesse vnprofitable to the condicion of their affayres, then cõtrary to the course of the time: They measuring rather their owne merits, and that which they endured for the king, then his nature, or his customs, promised to them selues by the meane of his victorie, not onely the citie of *Pysa*, but almost all the residue of *Tuskane*: In which perswacion they were nourished by the opinion and wordes of *Ieronimo Sauonarole*, who in his sermons pronounced many felicities and augmentacion of imperie appoynted to that common weale after so many trauells & afflictions, publishing in like style most greeuous calamities and euills to happen to the court of *Rome*, and all the other Potentats of *Italy*: wherein albeit this fonde Preacher was not without his aduersaries skorning at this particular doctrine, yet what for his own authoritie, and the simple inclinacions of many, there was no litle faith giuen to his holy aduertisements, no lesse by most part of the popular multitude, then by many of the principall Citisens, wherof, some of innocent deuocion, some by ambicion, and some for feare, reappose such religion in his vayne forewarnings, that the whole estate of *Florence* caried such generall disposicion to continue in the frenche amitie, that the confederatts thought it not vnreasonable to labor to reduce them by force, to that whereunto their wills were so straunge and contrary: They supposed thenterprise to inuade them coulde not conteyne many difficulties for that they were hated of all their neighbours, and no exspectacion or hope of succours from the french king, who abandoning the safetie of his owne people in *Naples*, coulde not in any reason be thought carefull to minister to the wants of others: Besides their great expenses for these three yeares, with so generall diminucion of their reuenues, had so drayned them, that it was not credible that they were able to susteyne long trauells: seeing withall they had for this yeare past continually followed the warres against *Pysa*, wherein thaccidents haue bene diuerse and notable, more for the resolucion of corage shewed in many valiant actes and factions of warre by either part, and by the desperat obstinacie wherewith such thinges were done, then for any huge proporcion or greatnes of armies, and much lesse for the qualitie of places for the which they fought, being but villages and borowes not famous, & therefore of them selues of no great consequence: for (to vse more large discourse) a litle after the citadell was giuen to the *Pysans*, and afore the succors of *Venice* arriued there, the bandes of *Florence* hauing taken the borow of *Buty*, & from thence encamped at *Calcy*, and before they tooke it, beginning (for their better sewertie of vittells) to build a bastillion vpon the Mount of *Doloroſa*: the bandes of footemen that were there for the garde of the place, were broken by their owne negligence, by the enseignes of the *Pysans*: And a litle after, as *Franciſco Secco* was encamped with a great trowpe of horsemen in the borow of *Buty* to see to the safe conuey of vittells to *Hercules Bentyuole*, incamped with the footebandes of the *Florentyns* about the litle castell of the hill *Verrucole*: he was so charged at vnwares by the footemen that came out of *Pysa*, that by thinconueniencie of the place to apply the seruice of his horsemen, he lost a great parte of them: for which successes the affayres of *Pysa* seeming to rise increasing in fortune and that with hope of greater prosperitie for that the succors of the *Venetians* beganne to arriue: *Hercules Bentyuole* lodging in the borow of *Bientina*, hearing that *Iohn Pavvle Monfrin* Capteine of the *Venetians*, was with the first part of their companies come to *Vicopisan* two myles from *Bientina*, fayned to haue feare, In so much that presently he rayſed his companies and went into the fielde, and immediatly assoone as the *Venetian* bandes were discouered, he eftsoones retyred into *Bientina*.

But

But after he saw his ennemie full of boldnes and securitie, he trayned him one day with great pollicie into an ambush, where he put him to the worse, with the losse of the most part of his companies, giuing him the chasse euen to the wals of *Vicopisan*: In which encownter the victory was not in all pointes happye, for that *Fraunciſco Secco*, come to the campe that morning to ioyne with *Hercules*, in the retyre was slayne with a shot of harquebuze: After these followed the other bandes of the *Venetians*, amongest whom were eight hundreth stradiots led by *Iustynian Morosin*: By whose comming the *Pysans* being nowe farre superior, *Hercules Bentyuole* to whome the partes of the contrey were well knowne, neither willing to put him selfe in daũger, nor altogether disposed to abandon the field, encamped in a very stronge place, betwene the borow of *Pontadere*, and the riuer of *Ere*: with thopportunitie of this place, he restrayned much the importunitie of thennemies, who in all that tyme tooke no other place or peece then the borow of *Buty* which yelded to their discression: And as they sent out their stradiots to make pillage of the contrey, there were three hundreth of them ronning vp euen to *Valdere*, charged and broken by certeine bandes which *Hercules* sent after them: The *Florentyns* were in the same seasons vexed by them of *Sienna*, who by thoccasion of the harmes they suffered in the contrey of *Pysa*, and at the incensing of the confederats, sent to incampe afore the bastillion of the bridge of *Valiane*, the Lord of *Plombyn* and *Iohn Sauelle*: But hearing that *Riuuccio de Marciano* arriued with succors, they retyred in great haste from before the bastillion, leauing behind them one part of their artillerie: by reason whereof the *Florentyns* seeing them selues assured on that side, caused *Riuuccio* to turne his force to the quarter of *Pysa*: In so much that their strength being almost equall, the warre was nowe brought to the borowes about the hills: But for that they were at the deuocion of the *Pysans*, thinges fell out more to the disaduauntage of the *Florentyns*: for that the *Pysans* entring by intelligence into the borow of *Pont de sac*, stripped a whole company of men at armes, and tooke prisoner *Lodovvyk Marciana*, yet they abandoned forthwith the sayd borow for feare of the *Florentyn* bandes which were not farre of: But the better to commaund and gouerne the hilles, which were of great importance to them, aswell for the vittells brought from thence to *Pysa*, as for that they gaue impediments to the *Florentyns* in the traffike of the hauen of *Lyuorne*: they fortefied the most part of those borowes, amongest the which *Soiana* was made noble by one accident by chaunce: for the campe of the *Florentyns* beinge marched thether with intencion to take it the same day, and for that cause, hauing spoyled all the passages of the riuer of *Cascina*, and put their men at armes in battell vpon the banke, to cut of the succors of thennemie: It hapned that *Peter Capponi* a chiefe commaunder amongest the *Florentyns*, as he was about to plant thartilleries, was striken in the head by a bullet out of the towne, whereof he dyed presently: An end vnworthy of his vertue, aswell for the ignobilitie of the place, as for the litle importance of suche an enterprise: By the chaunce of this accident, they rayſed the campe without attempting any further action: Besides, the *Florentyns* euen in those tymes were compelled to sende bandes of men into *Lunigiana* to the succors of the castell of *Verroncole* which the Marquis of *Malespina* held beseeged, by the ayde of the *Genovvays*, from whence he easily gaue them the chasse: So that the strength of the *Pysans* was mighty for certeine monethes, for that besides the townesmen and popular souldiers leuied of the contrey became bodies warlike by long experience, the *Venetians* and Duke of *Myllan* had there many bandes of horsemen and footemen, the *Venetian* numbers being greatest: But for that afterwards the Dukes com-

Peter Capponi.

panies began to diminish becauſe they were not payed as appertayned: the *Venetians* vſing that defect to their aduauntage, ſent thether a new ſupply of a hundreth men at armes, and ſix gallies loaden with prouiſion of vittells, wherein they ſpared no neceſſary exſpenſes for the ſewertie of that citie, the ſame hapning in good ſeaſon to winne, and draw to them the affections of the *Pyſans*, who euery day more and more eſtraunged their mindes from the deuocion of the Duke of *Myllan*, as neyther contented with his nigardiſe in the expenſe and prouiſion of thinges neceſſary, nor with his incerteinties and variacions, expreſſing rather a mind neuter, then affection reſolut, for that ſometimes he would be forward in the ſuccor of their affaires, and eftſoones careles and colde, leauing all to aduenture: In ſo much as beginning almoſt to dowt of his will, they impoſed vpon him by imputacion that *Iohn Bentyuole* did not aduaunce to endomage the *Florentyns* according to the commiſſion he had of the confederats, the rather for that they knewe he had fayled him in a greate part of his payments, either through his couetouſnes, or els, that the diſpleaſures of the *Florentyns* were acceptable to him, but not their whole ruyne and oppreſſion: By meane of which operations, he had layed of him ſelfe (touching the ſtate of *Pyſa*) foundacions contrary to his chiefeſt endes and intencions, for thaduauncement whereof he onely induced the councell of the confederats to determine that *Maxymylian Cæſar* ſhould goe to *Pyſa*.

The Pyſans begin to diſclayme the Duke of Myllan.

But now returning from whence we came: after it was reſolued that *Cæſar* ſhould march to *Pyſa*, he diſpatched two Embaſſadors to *Florence* to aduertiſe them, that by reaſon of an enterpriſe which he intended with a mighty armie againſt the Infidels, he iudged it firſt an action chiefe and neceſſary to paſſe into *Italy*, the better to pacifie and aſſure the controuerſies there, for which cauſe he exhorted the *Florentyns* that they would communicat together with the other confederats in the common defence of *Italy*, or at leaſt if they had an other inclinacion, that they woulde make manifeſt their will and intencion: That for the ſame occaſion, and for that it apperteyned to thauthoritie imperiall, he woulde knowe the controuerſies that were betwene them and the *Pyſans*, requiring them, till he had taken knowledge of the reaſons of both the one and other, that they would ſurceaſe the warre, which he aſſured would not be refuſed by the *Pyſans*, to whom he had imparted the like ſignifications: laſtly, he gaue them great ſewertie with ſweete and familiar wordes, that he woulde be ready to adminiſter iuſtice indifferently: To which meſſage (receiuing the offers of th Emprour with reuerence and recommendacion, & expreſſing no leſſe ſhowes of ſingular confidence in his iuſtice and pietie) was aunſwered by the *Florentyns*, that they would giue him particularly to vnderſtande of their intencion by ſpeciall Embaſſadors to be addreſſed to his Maieſtie with ſpeede.

Cæſar ſendes Embaſſadors to Florence.

But in the meane while the *Venetians*, not to leaue to *Maxymylian* or the Duke of *Myllan*, any meane to be Maiſters ouer *Piſa*, ſent thether with conſent of the *Piſans* a new ſupply of a hundreth and fiftie men at armes, ſome ſtradiots, and a thowſande footemen vnder the leading of *Anniball Bentiuole*, ſignifying to the Duke that they had ſent thoſe ſuccors thether, for that their common weale, which loued to chearish free cities, was vniuerſally inclined to ayde the *Piſans* to recouer their contrey, as in deede by the ſuccor of thoſe bandes, they went thorow with the recouerie of almoſt all the borowes of the hills: In regard of which benefits, and for the franke readines of the *Venetians* to gratifie their demaundes which were in great number, ſometimes wanting men, ſometimes lacking money, and moſt commonly ſuffering neceſſities of vittells and municions: The will of the *Piſans* was become ſo conformable

mable to the desires of the *Venetians*, that all that office of deuocion and confidence which they were wont to owe to the Duke of *Myllan*, being now transported into them, they greatly desired that that Senat would continue their protectors, defenders, and patrons: And yet they solicited still the comming of *Cæsar*, for hoping that what with the strength they had already within *Pysa*, and the bandes which his Maiestie would leade with him, they should with more facilitie get *Liuorne*: On the other side, the *Florentyns*, who besides other encombrances, were at that tyme pressed with a great skarcetie of vittells, were occupied with no small feares, being left alone to resist the power of so many Princes: for that in *Italy*, there would not rise one in their ayde and fauor, and from their Embassadors in *Fraunce*, they were certefied by letters, that they could hope for no reskew in the king, to whome they had recõmended their daungers with many sutes and humilities, though not to haue of him a full succor, yet to be releeued with some quantitie and proporcion of money: But their petitions were in vayne, and all their requests embrased with the same coldnes of care wherewith he comforted the perplexities of his peculiar peoples in the kingdom of *Naples*: *Peter de medicis* alone did not molest them, because it was an article in the councell of the confederats, not to vse in this action, either his name, or his fauor, knowing by experience, that the *Florentyns* for that feare, did the more increase their vnitie for the preseruacion of their libertie: And *Lodowvyk Sforce*, vnder cooler to be ielous of their safetie, but more discontented with the greatnes of the *Venetians*, ceased not to apply all his discourse of witt & perswacion, to induce them to refer all thinges to the arbitracion of *Cæsar*, wherein he alleaged many great and sensible daungers, and insinuated with arguments and reasons, that this was the only meane to draw the *Venetians* from *Pysa*, and so consequently to accomplish their full reintegracion: A thing very necessary for the vniuersall stabilitie of *Italie*, and no lesse (for that occasion) desired by the king of *Spaine*, and all the other confederats: But the *Florentyns* not suffering them selues to be carried with fayre and deceitfull apparaunces, and much lesse amased with the contemplacion of so many daungers and difficulties, determined to make no declaracion with *Cæsar*, neither to refer their rightes to his arbyttrement, if first they were not restored to the possession of *Pisa*, for that they were not assured either of his will or of his authoritie, being manifest that hauing not of him selfe any forces, or money, he proceeded as it best seemed to the Duke of *Millan*: Neither did they discerne in the *Venetians*, any disposicion or neede to leaue *Pisa*: Therefore they prepared with a franke and liberall resolucion of courage, to fortifie and refurnishe *Liuorna* aswell as they could, and to drawe all their strength into the contrey of *Pisa*: And yet, for that they would not appeare estraunged from the league, laboring withall to appease *Cæsar*, they sent Embassadors who founde him at *Genes* where he was then arriued: Their commission was (for aunswer of the thinges propownded by his Embassadors at *Florence*) to aduertise him and perswade him, that it was not necessary to proceede to any declaracion, because, for the reuerence they bare to his name he might promise to him selfe of the common weale of *Florence*, euen as much as he would desire: And to beseech him to thinke, that for his most holy resolucion to reduce *Italie* to peace, there was nothing more conuenient then immediatly to restore *Pisa* to the *Florentins*, for that it was the roote and riuer from wh ence spronge all their deliberacions so discontenting to his Maiestie and the confederats, & *Pisa* also being in that regarde, the cause that made some to aspire to the Empire of *Italie*, who to that ende labored to keepe it in continuall trauells of warre, by which wordes (notwithstanding it was not o-

The Florentyns haue small hope to be succored by the french king.

The Florentyns send aũswer to th Embrour.

therwayes expreſſed) was ſignified and ment the ambicion of the *Venetians*: That alſo it was not agreeable to his iuſtice, that ſuch as had bene diſpoiled by force, ſhould be conſtrayned contrary to the diſpoſicion of the lawes imperiall, to referre their rightes to compromiſe, if firſt they were not reſtored to their poſſeſſion: concluding that the common weale of *Florence* obteyning this beginning of him, and by that meane, remeyninge no cauſe to deſire any thinge but peace with euery one, they would make all ſuch declaracions as he ſhould thinke conuenient, and reappoſing wholly in his iuſtice, would with ready humilitie recommende vnto him the knowledge of their rightes.

This aunſwer ſatisfied not *Cæſar*, who deſired aboue all thinges that they might enter into the league vnder faith and promiſe to be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of *Pyſa* within a tearme conuenient: notwithſtanding after many diſcourſes and debating of reaſons, they could draw no other aunſwer from him, then (vpon the plotforme of *Genes* as he entred the ſea) he told them they ſhould vnderſtande further of his will by the Popes Legat which was at *Genes*, by whom, being ſent backe againe to the Duke, who from *Tortone* whether he had accompanied *Cæſar*, was returned to *Myllan*, they went into the ſame citie, where as they were demaunding audience, they receiued Commiſſions from *Florence*, (already vnderſtandinge the frute of their legacion) commaunding them without ſeeking other aunſwer, to returne home: So that being come to the hower appoynted for their audience, they turned their demaund to haue aunſwer, into a ſignification of their office, that returning to *Florence*, they were bolde to lengthen their way, to come to doe him reuerence afore they parted out of his contrey, as well apperteyned to the frendſhip which their common weale had mutually with him: The Duke thinking they would demaund aunſwer according to their direction from the Legat, had aſſembled all the Embaſſadors of the confederats, and the whole maieſtie of his owne councell, to make ſhow (according to his manner) of his eloquence, and his arte, & to take pleaſure in the calamities of others: But being not a litle confuſed with the nature of their propoſicion altogether diſappoynting his exſpectacion and looking, he asked them ſuddeinly what aunſwer they had of *Cæſar*: to which demaund they aunſwered, that according to the lawes of their common weale, they might not communicat nor treate of their commiſſion, with any other Prince, then with him to whom they were aſſigned Embaſſadors: he replyed ſomewhat troubled: If we giue you aunſwer, for the which we know that *Cæſar* hath referred you to vs, would you not heare it: It is not forbidden to heare (ſay they) & much leſſe can we let an other to ſpeak: he aunſwered, we are content to giue you the aunſwer, but that can not wel be don, if you pronownce not that which you haue ſayd to him: The Embaſſadors eftſoones aunſwered, that beſides they had no power for the ſelfe ſame reaſons alleaged before, yet it would be ſuperfluous, for that it was neceſſary that *Cæſar* had imparted their propoſicion with thoſe, to whom he had giuen thimmediat charge to make the aunſwer in his name: for theſe reſolut dealings of th Embaſſadors, he could not, neither in wordes, nor in ieſtures diſſemble his indignacion, And with moodes full of variacion and diſcontentment he diſmiſſed th Embaſſadors with all the reſidue which he had aſſembled, receiuing in him ſelfe one part of the mockerie, which he ment to haue giuen to an other.

In the meane while, *Cæſar* departed from the hauen of *Genes* with ſix gallies which the *Venetians* had in the ſea of *Pyſa*, and with many other veſſells of the *Genovvays* very well furniſhed with artillerie, but not with fighting men, for that there was

was no other men of warre,then a thowſand launceknightes: with whom he ſayled to the hauen of *Spetia*,and from thence went by land to *Pyſa*: And there hauing ioyned to his armie fiue hundreth horſemen & a thowſand other launceknights which had marched by land,he determined to incampe before *Lyuorne*,hauing for his back the companies of the Duke of *Myllan*, and one part of the *Venetian* bandes: his intencion was to charge it both by ſea & land, ſending the other *Venetian* companies to *Pont de ſac*, to thende the *Florentyn* campe which was not ſtronge, ſhould not be able to moleſt the *Pyſans*, nor giue ſuccors to *Lyuorne*: But there was no enterpriſe which leſſe aſtoniſhed the *Pyſans*,then that of *Lyuorne*,ſufficiently furniſhed with mē and artillerie, with dayly exſpectacion of ſuccors from *Prouence*: for that a litle before,to augment their forces with the reputacion wherein were at that tyme in *Italy*,the armies of the french,they had with the conſent of the french king,interteined to their pay,*Monſr d'Albigois* one of his capteines with a hundreth launces, and a thowſand footemen aſwell *Svvyzzers* as *Gaſcoins*,which were to come by ſea to *Lyuorne* vpon certeine ſhipps, which by their directions were loden with graine,to releeue the generall want of vittells raigning in all the landes of their obedience:This deliberacion,made with other thoughts,and for other endes,then for their defence againſt *Cæſar*,albeit it was full of difficulties,for that both *Monſr d'Albigois* with his company already conduted to the ſhippes,refuſed to take the ſea, only ſix hundreth footemen being imbarked: yet it found ſuch plentifull fauors of fortune, that there could not be deſired a prouiſion, neither more great nor more conuenient: ſeeing that the ſame day that a Commiſſioner of *Pyſa*, (ſent before by *Cæſar* with a greate ſtrength of horſemen and footemen to make bridges & plankes for the armie which was to follow) arriued before *Lyuorne*,the nauie of *Prouence* conteyning fiue ſhippes and certeine gallions,together with a great carracke of *Normandie* which the kinge appoynted to reuittell *Caietta*, were diſcouered aboue *Lyuorna* with ſo fauorable gales and tydes,that without any reſiſtance of the fleete of *Cæſar* (for they were conſtrayned by the tyme to ſpred abroad aboue *Melorie*,a rocke very famous,for that in a ſea battell made there in tymes paſt betwene the *Genovvays* and the *Pyſans*, the *Pyſans* were ouerthrowne) they entred the port without other loſſe, then of one gallion loden with corne,which was taken,as being ſtrayed from the other nauie.

Cæſar is come to Pyſa.

This ſuccor gaue no leſſe life & courage to thoſe that were within *Lyuorne*, then much aſſured the mindes of the *Florentyns*,who interpreted this ſuddeine comming of the ſhippes to a ſigne, that though earthly and worldly forces would fayle them, yet God beholding their calamities, would not abandon them according to thaſſurance which often tymes *Sauonarola* had preached to the people euen when euery one was moſt aſtoniſhed: But notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements of vittells & ſuccors,the King of *Romains* ceaſed not to marche with his campe to *Lyuorna*, whether hauing ſent by land fiue hundreth men at armes,a thowſand light horſemen, & foure thowſand footemen, he paſſed vppon gallies euen to the mouth of the poole which is betwene *Pyſa* & *Liuorna*: And hauing appointed the one parte of the place to be inuaded by the Count *Caietta* whom the Duke of *Myllan* had ſent with him, he preſented him ſelfe afore the other: wherein albeit the firſt daye he had no ſmall a doe to ſetle his campe there for the perillous impediments which thartilleries of *Lyuorna* gaue to him: yet after he had approched his armie before day on that ſide to the fountaine,and hauing a chiefe deſire to be firſt maiſter of the hauen,he began to batter with the cannon, *Magnane*, which was well fortefied by them within,who ſeeing the campe drawne on that ſide,had on thother ſide ruyned *Polazzotte* and the

Cæſar matcheth to Lyuorna.

tower ſtanding on that ſide to the ſea,as a thing not only not gardable,but alſo conuenient to make them loſe the newe tower. He cauſed at the ſame tyme to come neare the hauen,his armie by ſea, to beate the partes on the ſea ſide: for the french ſhippes,after they had landed their men,and vnladen one part of their corne as they were bownd,returned into *Prouence*, and the *Normans* ſet ſayle to *Caiette*, notwithſtanding many importunities & requeſtes to haue them tary,thinking to haue made thē to the ſeruice of this defenſe:The batterie that thundred againſt *Magnane*,nouriſhing an intencion to aſſault the towne afterwards by ſea, profited very litle: for that the defenſe was ſufficient againſt all aſſaultes,and had litle regard to the furie of the ſhot,the defendants alſo very often making ſayllies to enterteyne skyrmiſh with thennemie.But as the hopes of the *Florentyns* began by the fauor of the windes, ſo it was a deſtinie that in the benefit of the windes ſhould be wrought their whole perfection,for by a great ſtorme riſing vpon the ſuddeine, the windes and all the ill diſpoſed weathers agreeing,the nauie of *Cæſar* was greatly cruſhed, and the great ſhip *Grymavvd* a *Genovvay* which had caried his Maieſties perſon,after ſhe had long endured the conflict of the weather and waues, and wrought againſt the rage of the ſtorme,ſhe was drowned right againſt the new tower of *Lyuorne* with all the men & artillerie that ſhe bare within boarde: the like hapned at the poynt towardes *S. Iacques*,to two gallies of the *Venetians*, and all the other veſſells ſo diſperſed and ſhaked by this calamitie,that they became vnprofitable for the preſent enterpriſe, ſpecially the defendants following the fauor of this accident, yſſued out and recouered the gallion,which before had falne into the power of the ennemies: The conſideracion of the loſſes and miſeries hapned by this ſhipwracke, procured *Cæſar* to returne to *Pyſa*,where after many councels,euery one diſtruſting the poſſibilitie of thenterpriſe of *Lyuorne*,it was agreed to leauy the campe from thence, and transfer the warre to an other part: And therefore *Cæſar* went to *Vicopiſan*,and cauſed to be built a bridge vpon *Arne*,betwene *caſcine* and *Vico*,and an other vpon *Cilecchio*: But whileſt he occupied men with exſpectacion that he would paſſe ouer,he departed vpon the ſuddeine,and returned by land the right way to *Myllan*,hauing brought forth no other action in *Tuskane*,ſauing that foure hundred of his horſemen ſackt *Bolgheri*, a towne almoſt vnknowen in the ſhoares of *Pyſa*: he excuſed his ſuddeine departure vppon the difficulties that increaſed vpon him euery day,aſwell for that they ſupplyed him not with money as often as he demaunded,as for that the *Venetian* Commiſſioners would not conſent that the greateſt part of their bandes ſhould yſſue out of *Pyſa* for the ſuſpicion they had of him, beſides that they had not fully ſatisfied him of their porcion of the threeſcore thowſand duckats, for which iniuries (extolling greatly the Duke of *Myllan*) he made many greeuous complaintes againſt them: he paſſed by *Pauya*, where was taken a newe councell: And albeit he had publiſhed that he would eftſoones returne into *Almanie*, yet he agreed to reappoſe in *Italy* all the winter with a thowſande horſemen, and two thowſande footemen,ſo that they woulde make pay to him for euery moneth,of xxij.thowſand florins of *Rhein*: wherein whileſt the action of this plot was ſolicited,with exſpectacion of aunſwer from *Venice*, he went from thence to *Lomelline*,at the tyme when there was loking to receiue him at *Myllan*,being a thing fatal & ordeyned to him (asw as wel approued by thexperiences following) not to enter into that citie: from *Lomellina*,with a mind chaunged, he turned his way to *Cuſagne* ſix myles from *Myllan*, from whence contrary to all opinions,& vnweeting to the Duke and his Embaſſadors which were there,he went to *Coma*: where vnderſtanding as he ſat at dinner,that the Popes Legat,to whom he had

Cæſar leaueth his campe from Lyuorna

Cæſar excuſeth his ſuddeine departure.

had sent that he should not follow him, was arriued: he arose from the table, & embarked with so great hast, that there was skarce leasure to the Legat to deliuer to him a few words within the barke: to whom he aunswered in short, that he was constrayned to goe into *Almanie*, but that he would returne with speede: And albeit, after he was brought by the lake of *Coma* to *Vellasie*, he was aduertised that the *Venetians* would condiscend to all thinges that were agreed vppon at *Pauya*: yet he continued his voyage, and gaue them new hopes to returne to *Myllan*: But a very fewe dayes after, according to thinconstancie and variacion of his nature, he left one part of his horsemen and footebandes, and sayled directly into *Almanie*, hauing showed with a very litle honor to the name imperiall, his weaknes in *Italy* wherein long tyme before had not bene seene any Emprours armed: *Lodovvyk* dispayring now by the going away of *Cæsar* (without new remedies for new accidents) to be able any more to draw *Pysa* to him selfe, and much lesse to keepe it out of the handes of the *Venetians*, withdrew from thence all his people, making it some consolacion to his displeasurs, that the *Venetians* onely should remeyne intangled with the warre against the *Florentyns*: wherein also he nourished this perswacion, that the long trauells and perplexities of both the one and other part, might with tyme rayse vp some occasions fauorable to his desires: By the departure of the bandes of *Lodovvyk*, the *Florentyns* whose power was strongest in the contrey of *Pysa*, recouered againe all the borowes about the hills: by reason whereof the *Venetians*, constrayned to leauy newe prouisions to hinder their further procedings, adioyned so many bandes more to the companies they enterteyned already within *Pysa*, that in all, their armie contayned foure hundred men at armes, seuen hundred light horsemen, & more then two thowsand footemen: In this meane while in the kingdom of *Naples*, there was almost an ende put to all the residue of the warre against the french: for that the towne of *Tarente*, pressed with famin, was rendred with her castells to the *Venetians*, who had beseeged it by sea, and who, after they had kept it certeine dayes, growing into suspicion that they would appropriat it to them selues, rendred it at last to *Federyk*, by the great instance of the Pope and the Kinge of *Spayne*: And as it was vnderstanded at *Caietta*, that the great ship *Normain*, hauing fought aboue the port *Hercules* with certeyne *Genovvay* shippes which she encowntred, and sayling afterwards in her course, was ouerbeaten with the rage of stormes, and drowned: So the french men that defended *Caietta*, whether the new king was eftsoones marched with his campe, albeit the brute went that there were vittells & municions enough to beare out the seege certeine monethes: yet entring into thexamples and actions of their kinge, in whome they iudged woulde be as slowe disposicion to minister to their succours, as he was careless of so great a part of his nobilitie, and to reskew so many places holding for him: they accorded with *Federyk*, by the solicitacion of *Monsr d'Aubigny* (who for some difficulties hapning in the assignement of the fortresses in *Calabria*, was not yet departed from *Naples*) to leaue the towne and castel, and returne by sea into *Fraunce* with safetie and protection of their liues and goods: By reason of this agreement, the french king seeing him selfe deliuered of so many cares and thoughtes to minister succors to the kingdom of *Naples*, and on thother side, being indifferently greeued with the harmes and infamies of those warres, determined to sette vppon *Genes*: wherein he hoped much in the faction of *Baptistyn Fregosa* (aforetimes Duke of that citie,) and in the trayne and followers which the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad vincla*, had in the towne of *Sauone*, and in those riuers: he applyed also to the fauor of his deuise, the occasion and consent of the tyme, for that in those seasons *Iohn Lovvys de fiesco*,

Cæsar stealeth in haste into Iermany.

The computacion of the Venetian armie within Pysa.

Tarente and Caiette are rendred to Federyk new king of Naples.

The french king determineth to set vpon Genes.

and the famulie of the *Adornes*, were in diſcorde, and all the *Genovvays* generally ill contented with the Duke of *Myllan*, both for that in the ſale of *Pietra Sancta*, he had preferred the *Lucquoys* before them, and alſo, hauing promiſed to reduce it eftſoones to their hands, vſing in that action (the better to appeaſe thindignacion conceiued againſt him) the authoritie of the *Venetians*, he had nouriſhed them many moneths with vayne hopes: But for feare of this determinacion of the king, *Lodovvyk* (who for thoccaſion of *Pyſa* was almoſt eſtraunged from the *Venetians*) was compelled to knit of new with them, and to ſend to *Genes* the horſemen and footemen of the *Almains* which *Cæſar* had left in *Italy*, for whome (if this neceſſitie had not happened) there would haue bene neither employment nor prouicion made.

Whileſt theſe thinges were thus in deuiſe & ſolicitacion, the Pope (finding now a great oportunitie to occupy the eſtates of the *Vrſins*, for that the principals of that famulie were reſtrayned in *Naples*) pronownced rebells in the conſiſtory, *Virginio* & the reſidue of that race, & confisked their eſtates, for that contrary to his commaundement they had taken pay of the french: After which beginning he proceeded in
1497. further action to aſſayle their landes, hauing ordred that the *Colonnoys* ſhoulde doe the like in all thoſe places where they confyne with the *Vrſins*: This enterpriſe was much comforted by the Cardinall *Askanius*, no leſſe for the auncient amitie he had with the *Colonnoys*, then for a ſetled diſſention and diſagreement interteyned of long againſt the *Vrſins*: The Duke of *Myllan* alſo gaue readily his conſent, but it diſpleaſed not a litle the *Venetians*, in whome were ſecret deſires to winne that famulie and draw them to their deuocion: And yet not being able with any iuſtificacions to hinder the Pope from purſuing his rightes, and withall holding it nothing profitable in that tyme to alyenat him from them: they conſented that the Duke of *Vrbyn*, Mercenary in common to the Pope and to them, ſhould march to ioyne with the bands
The Duke of Candia generall of the Popes armie. of the Church, ouer whom was Capteine general the Duke of *Candia*, and in the office of Legat, the Cardinall *La luna* borne at *Pauya*, A Cardinall wholly depending vpon *Askanius*: to this armie alſo, king *Federyk* of *Naples* ſent *Fabricius Colonne*: This armie now drawne into a campe, after it had compelled many peeces to be rendered, marched to incampe at *Tryuignian*, which towne menteyning a valiant defence for certeine dayes, yelded at laſt to diſcreſſion: But during the defenſe of that towne, *Bartlemevv d'Aluyano* yſſuing out of *Bracciane*, put to flight within eyght myles of *Rome*, foure hundreth horſemen that guided the artilleries to the campe Eccleſiaſticke: And an other day ronning with the ſame fortune euen to the croſſe of *Montmarie*, he lacked not much of taking the Cardinall of *Valence*, who comming out of *Rome* to the chaſſe, found his beſt ſafetie in the ſwiftnes of his horſe: After the rendring of *Tryuignan* the campe dreweto the yle, where after they had battered one part of the rocke with thartillerie, they obteyned it by cõpoſicion: At length all the warre was reduced to *Bracciana*, where the *Vrſins* had layed vp all the hope of their defenſe: for that the place which had bene made ſtronge before, was of new reforteſied with municions and rampiers, and the ſuburbes reenforced, hauing at the entry thereof erected a baſtyllion, and beſtowed within it a ſufficient ſtrength of men vnder the gouernment of *Aluyano*, whoſe youth gaue him a body diſpoſed, and his wit no leſſe quicke and reſolut, then his diligence incredible, increaſed in him (with exerciſe in armes) thoſe hopes & exſpectacions to the which in tymes ſucceeding, his actions were nothing inferior: The Pope ceaſed not to increaſe dayly his armie which he had of new refurniſhed with eyght hundreth launceknights of thoſe that had bene employed in the warres of *Naples*: There were dayly skyrmiſhes and tryal

of

armes on both partes,and that with great contencion, the campe without planting their artillerie in many seueral places,and they within, not forgetting to repaire and fortefie with present diligence and assurance: And yet within fewe dayes,the defendants were constrayned to abandon the suburbes, which being taken, the ecclesiasticks gaue a furious assault to the towne,wherein albeit their fortune made them able to aduaunce their enseignes vpon the walls, yet by the vertue of the defendants they were eftsoones forced to retyre,suffering a great losse,in which action was hurt *Anthony Sauelle:* The defendants expressed the like vallour in an other assault,repulsing the ennemy with a furie more resolut & a losse more generall,for that two hundred of them were either slayne or very sore wounded,wherein appeared with great merit the particular vallour of *Aluyano*,to whom was iustly giuen the principall glory of that defense: for that within, he was of a liuely readines to all offices necessary, and without, with continuall erupcions and sallies, he kept tharmie of thennemie day and night in alarams: In this speciall action, he added much to his reputacion, that by his disposing,certeine light horsemen yssuing out of *Ceruette* (which the *Vrsins* helde) should make incursions euen to the campe,and he him selfe taking thoccasion of this tumult,charged them out of the towne,& put to flight the footebands that garded the artilleries, of which, he caried into *Bracciana* certeine small peeces: And albeit at length,rather ouerlayed with numbers,then ouercome in vallour, he and his companies were ouerwearied with the continuall trauells and perplexities of that warre,hauing neither the day nor the night fauorable to their quietnes: yet they began eftsoones to readresse them selues with hope of succors, for that *Charles Vrsin*,and *Vitellozze*,who was knit to the *Vrsins* by a bond of the faction of *Guelffes*,& being now passed into *Italy* vpon the vessells of *Prouence* come to *Lyuorne*, with money of the french king to reerect their bandes dispersed in the kingdome of *Naples:* they prepared to succor them in so great a daunger: for which cause *Charles* went to *Soriana*,to reassemble the olde souldiers,frendes and followers of the *Vrsins:* and *Vitellozzo* in *Citta de Castello* made the like leauy of the souldiers and footemen of the contrey,adioyning with great diligence,his whole strength to *Charles* at *Soriano*, hauing in his regiment two hundreth men at armes, and xviij. hundreth footemen of his owne, with proporcion of great artillerie vppon wheeles after the manner of *Fraunce:* By reason whereof the Capteines ecclesiastick,foreseeing that if they marched forward,it could not but be daungerous to be inclosed in the middest of a circle,betwene the new succors, and the olde ennemies within *Bracciana*,and withall, holding dishonorable to the renowme of merit and vallour,to leaue them in pray al the contrey thereaboutes, wherein he had sackt and made hauocke of diuerse borowes: they leauied their campe from before *Bracciana*, and retyring all their great artilleries within *Anguillare*, they marched directly to that quarter where thennemies were: And encowntring them betwene *Soriana* and *Bassan*, they fought together with great furie for certeine howers: But in the ende(the succesſe of warres depending chiefly vpon the innocencie of the quarrell) albeit at the entry into the encownter, theccleſiasticks tooke prisoner *Franciot Vrsin*, yet their whole campe was put to flight, with the losse of their baggage and artilleries: They lost, what in the slaughter,and by taking prisoners,more then fiue hundred men, Amongest which prisoners were the Duke of *Vrbyn*, *Iohn Peter* of *Gonsague* Count of *Nugolare*, with many other bodies of marke: the Duke of *Candia*,lightly hurt in the face, and with him the Popes Legat,and *Fabrice Colonne* found safetie by fleeing into *Roncillon*. Aboue all the residue,*Vitellozze* caried the honor and merit of this victorie, for that

The encownter of Soriano

the bandes of footemen of *Citta Castello*, who had bene afore trayned and managed by him and his brethren, with the orders and disciplines of the french, were that day greatly ayded by his industrie, & hauing armed them with pykes longer by an arme length then those which were customably vsed, they had so much aduauntage when they came to the shock with the footemen of thẽnemies, that wounding them with the oddes of length in their pykes, they put them easily to the chase, so much the more to their greater honor, by how much in the contrary battell, there were eight hundred footemen of *th Almaines*, of which nation the infanterie of *Italy*, haue had a continuall feare euer since the discending of king *Charles*: After this victory, the victors begon to ronne without resistance ouer all the contrey on this side *Tyber*, And afterward hauing passed part of their companies ouer the riuer beneath the hill *Rotonde*, they still inuaded those wayes where they supposed was any retrait for thennemie: In regard of which daungers, the Pope applying his witts to the necessities of his affayres, studying to make a new leauy of men of warre, called to his succors from the kingdom of *Naples*, *Consaluo*, and *Prosper Colonne*: And yet not many dayes after, what by the diligence of th Embassadors of *Venice*, to doe pleasure to *th Vrsins*, and the solicitacion of the king of *Spayne*, fearing least these beginnings would draw some ill consequence or innouacion to the league: A peace was made, with a most ready inclinacion aswell of the Pope, who naturally hated exspences, as of the *Vrsins*, who being no lesse poore in money, then naked in frendes, knew that their necessitie in the ende would compell them to yeld to the power of the Pope: The articles of the Pope were these: That it shoulde be suffered to the *Vrsins* to continue in the paye of the french till the ende of the tyme for the which they were hyered by the king, with expresse mention that they shoulde not be bownde to take armes against the Church: That all the places which they had lost in this warre should be restored, paying to the Pope fifty thowsand duckats, of the which thirty thowsand to be payd assoone as *Iohn Iordan* and *Pavvle Vrsin* shoulde be set at libertie, (for *Virginio* not many dayes before dyed within the castell of the egge, either of an ague, which was naturall, or by poyson which was violent and therefore much suspected) and the other twenty thowsand duckats within eight monethes: for assurance of which payment, *Anguillare* and *Ceruetre* should be committed of trust into the keeping of the Cardinalls *Askanius* and *S. Seuerin*: That all the prisoners taken in the iorney at *Soriana*, shoulde be redeliuered, except the Duke of *Vrbyn*, for whose libertie, albeit th Embassadors of the confederats made great trauell, yet the Pope would solicite nothing: for that he knew the *Vrsins* had ho meane to rayse the money they were to pay to him but by the raunsom of the Duke, for whome a litle after, was agreement made for xl. thowsand duckats, but with this adiection, that he should not be deliuered afore *Pavvle Vitelli* (who remeyned prisoner to the Marquis of *Mantua* at the rendring of *Atella*) had obteyned his libertie without paying any raunsom.

Capitulacions betwene the Pope and the Vrsins.

The Pope hauing thus to his litle honor dispatched his hands of the warre against the *Vrsins*, made distribucion of money to the companies which *Consaluo* brought with him, whom ioyning to him his owne bandes, he sent to take *Ostia* as yet holden in the name of the Cardinall of *S. P. ad vincla*: wherein his succesſe communicating with his common fortune, was no lesse easie then speedy, for that assoone as he had braked his artilleries, the castell keeper rendred all to discression: After which victory, *Consaluo* made his entry into *Rome* almost in maner triumphant, with a hundreth men at armes, two hundreth light horsemen, & fifteene hundred footemen, all souldiers of the spanish, leading before him as prisoner the castell keeper, whome a litle after

Consaluo enreth Rome.

after he ſet at libertie: There came to meete him many Prelats of the Popes howſhold, with Cardinalls, followed with much people, and almoſt all the Court ronning with great deſire to ſee a Capteine whoſe name bare ſo great fame and merit in *Italy*: By thoſe Prelats he was led to the preſence of the Pope ſitting in the conſiſtory, who receiuing him with great honor, gaue him in teſtimony of his vallour, the roſe which Popes are wont to beſtow euery yeare: After this, *Conſaluo* returned to reioyne eſtſoones with king *Federyk*, who had inuaded the eſtate of the Prefect of *Rome*, and reſumed all thoſe places, which taken from the Marquis of *Piſcaire* in the conqueſt of the kingdom, were beſtowed vpon him by the french king: And hauing taken *Sore* and *Arci* (but not the caſtells,) he lay incamped before the rocke *Guillaume*, for that he had had by accord the eſtate of the Count *d'Olyuer*, before he ſold his Duchie of *Sora* to the Prefect of *Rome*.

But as there is no earthly bliſſe ſo perfect, which hath not his aleye with ſome bitternes or bale, nor no proſperitie ſo well aſſured, which draweth not with it his proper aduerſities: So notwithſtanding theſe felicities heaped vpon *Federyk*, yet he was not without his perplexities, not onely by his frendes, ſeeing *Conſaluo* kept one part of *Calabria* in the name of the king of *Spayne*, but alſo of his enemies reconciled: for that the Prince of *Biſignian*, being one euening ſore hurt by a certeine Greeke, as he went out of the new caſtell of *Naples*, the Prince of *Salerne* was in ſuch feare that the blow was giuen by the kings commaundement in reuenge of thoffences paſſed, that immediatly (not diſſembling the cauſe of his ſuſpicion) he went from *Naples* to *Salerna*: And albeit the king ſent to vſe at his will, the Greeke deteyned in priſon, to iuſtifie (as the truth was) that he had giuen the blow for an iniurie to him done by the Prince of *Biſignian* in the honor and perſon of his wife: yet (in auncient & great grudges it is hard to eſtabliſh a faithfull reconciliacion, for that it hath his propper impediments either by ſuſpicion, or deſire of reuenge) the Prince of *Salerne* coulde neuer after diſpoſe him ſelf to truſt him: which ielouſie, giuing yet ſome hope to the french (keeping ſtill the *Mont S. Ange*, and other ſtronge places,) of ſome new innouacion or inſurrection in the kingdom of *Naples*, procured them with more conſtancie to ſtand to their defenſes.

The french prepare new enterpriſes againſt Italy.

In theſe ſeaſons, were tokens and demonſtracions of farre greater daungers in *Lombardye*, by the emocions of the french, aſſured for the preſent by the threatnings of the Spaniſh: for that paſſing betwene them, rather light incurſions and apparances of warre, then any thinge of notable action, ſauing that the french burned the towne of *Sauſſes*: They had begon a parley of accord, and for the more eaſie negociacion of it, had made a ſurceaſing of armes for two monethes: By meane whereof the french king, hauing a more facilitie to harken after the affayres of *Genes* and *Sauona*, diſpatched to *Aſt* an armie of a thowſand launces, three thowſand *Svvyzzers* and a like number of *Gaſcoyns*, aduertiſing *Tryuulſo* his Liefetenant in *Italy*, to applye aydes to *Baptiſtyn* and the Cardinall of *S.P. ad vincla*: his intencion was to ſend after, the Duke of *Orleans* with a ſtronge armie, to execute in his proper name thenterpriſe of the Duchie of *Myllan*: And to make more eaſie thaccion of *Genes*, he ſent *Octauyan Fregoſe* to require the *Florentyns* to inuade at the ſame tyme *Lunigana* and the riuer of the Eaſt, ordeyning alſo that the ſowtherne riuers ſhould be troubled by *Pavvle Baptyſta Fregoſe* with ſeuen gallies: This enterpriſe was begon with ſuch aſtoniſhment to the Duke of *Myllan*, not prepared ſufficiently of him ſelfe, and leſſe ſewertie of the aydes promiſed by the *Venetians*: that if it had proceeded with the ſame directions and councells, it coulde not but haue brought forth ſome effect of

importance,and more easily in the Duchie of *Myllan*,then in *Genes*:for at *Genes Iohn Lovvys de fiesque*,& the *Adornes*,who were entred into reconcilement by the meane of *Lodovvyk*,had leauyed many bandes of footemen, and rigged at the charges of the *Venetians* and *Lodovvyk* an armie at sea,to the which were ioyned six gallies sent by *Federyk*: But the Pope interteyning the name of a confederat, more in councells and demonstracions,then in workes and meaninges, woulde not in those daungers contribute to any exspenses, neither by sea nor land: The proceedings of this expedicion were that *Baptistyn*,and with him *Tryvulce*,marched to *Nony*, of which towne *Baptistyn* had ben despoiled afore by the Duke of *Myllan*,but not of the castell, which he had alwayes kept,and held yet: But by reason of their comming in such stronge order,the Count *Caiezze*,which was there in garrison with threescore mē at armes, two hundreth light horsemen,and fiue hundred footemen, distrusting muche to be able to defend it,retyred to *Sarauall*: The conquest of this towne augmented greatly the reputacion of the banished: for besides that the towne is capable of many people,it stoppes the passage from *Myllan* to *Genes*,and by reason of thopportunitie and seate of the place,it is very conuenient to endomage the contrey assisting: After this,*Baptistyn* made him selfe Lord of certeine other peeces neare to *Nony*,and at the same tyme the Cardinall with two hundreth launces, & three thowsand footemen, hauing taken *Ventimille*,coasted ouer to *Sauona*,where finding no insurrection by the inhabitants,and hauing espiall that *Iohn Adorne* approched with a stronge bande of footemen,he retyred to *Altare*,A place of the Marquis of *Montferat* distant eyght myles from *Sauone*: But *Tryvulce* in the beginning,did an action of greater importance: for that hauing a desire to giue occasion to kindle the warre in the Duchie of *Myllan*,notwithstanding the kinges commission was to execut first the affayres of *Genes* and *Sauone*: he tooke *Bosco* a borow of great importance in the contrey of *Alexandria*: Wherein this was his pretext & cooler,that for the sewertie of the bands which were gone to the East riuers,it was necessary to take from those of the Duke, the meane to goe into *Alexandria* vpon the landes of the *Genovvays*: But tempring his desire,with regard to the kinges commaundement,which he thought not reasonable to impugne manifestly,he forbare to passe further, losing a most fayre occasion: for that all the contrey there about drew into great sturre and tumult for the taking of that place, some for feare,as the multitude popular,some for desire of innouacion, which commonly is familiar with the condicion of witts least moderat: And of that side,there was no greater strength for the Duke,then fiue hundreth men at armes,and six thowsand footemen: besides,*Galeas de Saint Seuerin*, who was with in *Alexandria* began to distrust his defense without greater forces: And *Lodovvyk* him selfe, being vexed yet but with apparances and threatnings, showing him selfe no more tymorous in this aduersitie, then by the propertie of his nature he expressed in all other accidents,solicited the Duke of *Ferrara* to worke some accorde betwene the french king and him: But the soiorning of *Tryvulce* betwene *Bosco* & *Nony*,gaue sufficient tyme to *Lodovvyk* to furnish him selfe, and good respit to the *Venetians* (who seeming most ready and prepared for his defense,had sent afore to *Genes* fifteene hundreth footemen) to send into *Alexandria*, bandes of men at armes & light horsemen: yea the *Venetians* appoynted the Count *Petillane* generall of their regimentes, (for that the Marquis of *Mantua* was withdrawne from their paye) to marche with the moste parte of their companies to the succors of that state: Thus thinges begon with so great hope,now growing cold,*Baptistyn* hauing nothing profited at *Genes*,(for the citie was quiet for the prouisions that were made) returned to

ioyne

ioyne with *Tryuulce*, publiſhing that his exployts brought forth no ſucceſſe of ſeruice, for that the riuer of the leuant was not aſſayled by the *Florentyns*, who iudged it not a councell wiſe to enter into warre, if firſt the thinges of *Fraunce* appeared not more proſperous and more puiſant: In like ſort came and ioyned with *Tryuulce*, the Cardinall *ad vincla*, by whom was done no other execution, then that he had taken certeine places of the Marquis of *Finale*, for that he declared him ſelf for the defenſe of *Sauone*: The french armie drawne now all into one ſtrength, made certeine offers to *Caſtellat*, a place neare to *Boſco* which had bene afore tyme fortefied by the Capteines of the Duke: But the armie of the confederats which reaſſembled in *Alexandria*, increaſing dayly in qualitie of ſouldiers and quantitie of prouiſions: And of the contrary, both money and vittells beginning to fayle amongeſt the french, and their Capteines not a litle impatient to obey *Tryuulce*, it was neceſſary for him to leaue *Nony* and *Boſco* to garriſon, and retyre neare the towne of *Aſt*.

It was beleued that the diſtribucion of the bandes into ſeuerall places, brought great harme to thenterpriſe, as often tymes hapneth in the like examples: And that if they all ioyned into one ſtrength, had bene at the beginning addreſſed to *Genes*, thexpedicion perhaps had drawne ſome better ſucceſſe: ſeeing that beſides thinclinacion of factions, and indignacion conceiued for *Pietra ſanta*, one part of the horſemen and footemen of the *Almains*, which the Duke ſent thether, reuolted from the ſeruice and returned vpon the ſuddeine into their contrey: It might be alſo, that euen thoſe who the yeare before had hindred the kinges diſcending into *Italy*, and the ſuccors of the kingdom of *Naples*, applying now the ſame meanes, did giue impediments to the preſent enterpriſe by the difficultie of prouiſions: This likelihood of truth was iuſtified with a brute that ronne, that the Duke of *Myllan* (to the oppreſſion of his ſubiectes) made great preſents to the Duke of *Burbon*, and others that had grace and fauor with the king, in which infamie the Cardinall of *S. Mallovv* had not the leaſt intereſt: But whatſoeuer was in it, it is moſt certeine that the Duke of *Orleans* appoynted to paſſe to *Aſt*, and called vppon by the vehement ſolicitacion of the king, made all his preparacions neceſſary for thexpedicion: But he lingred, either for that he diſtruſted the continuacion of the prouiſions, or, (as ſome interpret) he had no forwardnes to depart out of *Fraunce*, the king being continually ill diſpoſed of his health, and (in caſe of ſterrilitie) the ſucceſſion of the crowne apperteyning to him.

But the king reaping no frute of his hope for the mutacion of *Genes* and *Sauona*, continued with more diligence his practiſes begonne with the King and Queene of *Spayne*, which hetherto had bene lingered for this onely difficultie, that the frenche king deſiring that he might be in libertie to proſecute his enterpriſes on this ſide the Mountes, would not that in the truce then in negociacion, ſhould be comprehēded the things of *Italy*: And the kings of *Spayne*, ſhowing that they made no difficultie to conſent to his will for other reſpect then in regard of their honor, ſolicited much that the Italian actions might be comprehended, alleaging that the common intencion of them both being to make a truſſe, to thende a peace might more eaſily ſucceede, they might afterwards with greater libertie of honor & honeſtie, depart from the confederacion which they had with *th Italians*: In ſo much that after many meetings and diſcourſes of th Embaſſadors of both ſides, (the Spaniſh ſuttelties in thend carying it) they made a truſſe for them, their ſubiectes, and dependants, and alſo for ſuch as either of them ſhould name: which truſſe beginning betwene them the fift day of march, (but betwene ſuch as ſhoulde be nominated, fifty dayes after,) ſhoulde

laſt vntill the ende of the next October: Euery one of them named thoſe eſtates & Potentats of *Italy* which were their confederats & adherents, but the kings of *Spaine* named moreouer king *Federyk* and the *Pyſans:* After this, they agreed to ſend men to *Montpellyer* to ſollicit a peace, where were to aſſemble th Embaſſadors of the confederats: In this practiſe the kinges of *Spayne* gaue hope to vnite them ſelues with the french king againſt *th Italians* vnder a certeyne occaſion iuſtificable, and from that tyme, they commoned of factions & meanes to deuide the kingdom of *Naples:* The truſſe, albeit it was made without the participation of the confederats of *Italy*, yet it was agreeable to them all, but ſpecially acceptable to the Duke of *Myllan*, to whom nothing was more welcome then the meane to make ceaſe the warre in his quarter: But the power remeyning free to offend one an other in *Italy*, vntil the xxv. of April, *Tryuulce*, *Baptiſtyn*, and *Sereuon* taking the aduauntage of that article, returned with fiue thowſand men to the riuer of the Sowth, where they aſſaulted the towne of *Albinge*, which albeit they had almoſt caried at the firſt aſſault, yet they ſuffered repulſe by a very ſmall ſtrength of thennemie, for that their entry was in diſorder: Afterwards they fell vpon the Marquiſdom of *Finale*, to giue occaſion to *th Italian* armie to make to their ſuccors, hoping by that meanes to draw them to battell: which not ſucceedinge accordinge to their exſpectacion, they did no further action of importance, the diſcord of the Capteines continuing in increaſing, & their payments fayling dayly more and more by reaſon of the truſſe: In which tymes, the confederats had recouered all their places loſt before (except *Nony*) which alſo they obteyned at laſt by compoſicion, notwithſtanding the Count *Caiazze* which had beſeeged it, had bene repulſed: There remeyned in the power of the french no other thinge of the places conquered, then certeine litle townes in the Marquiſdom of *Finale:* during all which emotions and ſtyrrs, the Duke of *Sauoye*, who had bene ſolicited on all partes with no ſmall promiſes, and the Marquis of *Montferat* (whoſe gouernment had bene confirmed by the king of *Romains* to *Conſtantyn* of *Macedonia*) ſtoode newters, declaring neither for the king nor for the confederats.

In this yeare was nothing done of importance betwene the *Florentyns* & the *Pyſans*, notwithſtanding the warre continued without intermiſſion: ſauing that the *Pyſans* led, vnder the direction of *Iohn Pavvle Mantfron* foure hundred light horſemen, and fifteene hundred footemen, to recouer their baſtyllion vppon the bridge of the poole, which they loſt when the Emprour went to *Lyuorne*: The Count *Riuucce* hauing eſpiall of this enterpriſe, put him ſelfe vpon the way of *Lyuorne*, to reskewe the baſtyllion with a good trowpe of horſemen: the *Pyſans* not looking to be charged but by the way of *Pontadere*, were ſet vpon as they begon to aſſault the baſtyllion, & being eaſily put to the chaſſe, many of them were made priſoners: But at laſt, armes and actions of warre ceaſed alſo betwene them, by reaſon of the truſſe, notwithſtanding it was with an ill wil accepted of the *Florentyns*, who iudged it very inexpedient for their affayres to giue leaſure to the *Pyſans* to take breath, ſeeing withall, that notwithſtanding the truſſe, neceſſitie compelled them to continue the ſame expenſes, both for dowt of *Peter de medicis*, alwayes conſpyring againſt them, and for feare of the *Venetian* bandes within *Pyſa*, aſpyring to the ſoueraigne imperie of the whole.

The Duke of Myllan practiſeth againſt the Venetians touching Pyſa.

Thus armes being layd a ſide on all partes, or at leaſt at poynt to ceaſe from all action: The Duke of *Myllan*, albeit in his lateſt daungers, he had expreſſed with what great contentment he embraſed the Senat of *Venice* for the ready and full ſuccours he had receiued from them: no leſſe exalting with publike and heroicall words the vertue and power of the *Venetians* then greatly commending the prouidence of *Iohn*

Galeas

Galeas first Duke of *Myllan*, for that he had committed to the faith of the same Senat the execution of his Testament: yet hauing no patience to endure that the pray of *Pysa*, followed by him with so many paynes and practises, should be transferred to them, as was likely in manifest apparance of reason, And therefore assaying to obteyne with industrie and councell, that which he could not winne with armes and force: he so wrought, that the Pope, and the Spanish Embassadors (to both which such a greatnes of the *Venetians* was displeasing) should set downe, that to leaue to the french no foundacion in *Italy*, as also to reduce all into one concord, it were necessary to induce the *Florentyns* to enter into the common league, causing *Pysa* to be restored to them, seeing otherwayes they could not be brought to it: for that so long as they were seperated from the residue, they would not cease to stirre vp the french king to discend into *Italy*, to whom in such an action, they might (hauing their scituacion in the middest of *Italy*) with their money, and with their forces, doe thinges of great importance: But this proposicion was impugned by th Embassador of *Venice*, as very preiudiciall to their common safetie, alleaging withall thinclinacion of the *Florentyns* to be such to the french king, that not with this benefitt, it was not reasonable to trust them, if they deliuered not sufficient securitie to obserue the thinges they should promise: And that in a matter of so great estate, there was no other sewertie, then to put *Lyuorne* into the handes of the confederats: This was very artificially alleaged by him, to thend to haue alwayes a greater meane to gaynesay the proposicion, knowing well they would neuer consent to commit to deputacion a place of such respect for their estate: wherein, the matter drawing afterwardes such successe as he loked for, he still opposed against it with such vehemencie, that the Pope and the Duke of *Myllans* Embassador, not daring to obiect against him for feare to estraunge the *Venetians* from their frendship, the deuise rested there: And there begon betwene the Pope and the *Venetians* a new plot to turne away with violence the *Florentyns* from the amitie of the french: (The ill condicions of that citie giuing corage to whom so euer would offend it.)

For from the beginning that thauthoritie popular was founded, there was not introduced those temperatures, which assuring the libertie with due and reasonable meanes, might haue bene the let, that the common weale should not haue bene disordered by the ignorance and licence of the multitude: In so much that the Citisens of greatest qualitie and condicion, being lesse esteemed then seemed conuenient, and on thother side, their ambicion being suspected to the people, and many oftentymes intruding into deliberacions waighty who were but litle capable, and the soueraigne Magistrate to whome was referred the summe of the most waighty affayres, being chaunged from two monethes to two monethes, the common weale was gouerned with a great confusion: To this was added the great authoritie of *Sauonarola*, whose auditorys were almost entred into secret intelligēce: And albeit ther were amongest them many honorable Citisens, and they surpassing in number such as were of thoppinion contrary, yet it seemed Magistracies and publike honors were distributed rather to those that followed him, then to others of better merit: And therefore the city being manifestly deuided, in thassemblies and councels publike, one faction charged an other, no man making conscience (which hapneth in states falne into diuision) to hinder the benefit publike, to embase the reputacion of his aduersaries: These disorders were so much the more daungerous, by howe much, for the long trauells and great exspenses suffered by the sayd citie, there was that yeare a generall darth and want of vittells of all natures, by reason whereof it

Disorders in Florence for the gouernment.

might be presumed that the people vexed with hungar, would be desirous of newe thinges.

P. de medicis determineth once againe to returne to Florence.

This ill disposicion of the ciuill affayres of *Florence*, gaue hope to *Peter de medicis*, (who besides those occasions was pushed on by certeine particular Citisens) to be able with ease to be Maister of his long and iust desire: And therefore applying industrie and diligence to thoportunitie of the tyme, he communicated his intencion with the Cardinall *Saint Seueryn* his auncient frend, and with *Aluyano* in whom he much reappосed for the merits of his vallour and long familiaritie: And herein being also secretly incouraged by the *Venetians*, to whom it seemed that by the trauells of the *Florentyns*, the affayres of *Pysa* would be assured: he determined to surprise the towne of *Florence*, the rather being aduertised that they had created their supreame Magistrate (which they cal *Gonfaloniere* of iustice) *Bernardyn de Nero*, A man of auncient grauitie and authoritie, and had bene of a continued frendshipoe with his father and him: hauing in the same election ioyned to him in assistance of that Magistracie certeine others, in whom (for auncient merit and benefits) he supposed was no small inclinacion to his greatnes: The Pope fauored this plot with his full liking and consent, desiring to deuide the *Florentyns* from the frenche kinge with iniuries, seeing he could not separate them with benefits: Neither was the Duke of *Myllan* against it, to whom it seemed that albeit he could not make a foundacion or intelligence stable with that citie, becaus of the disorders of the present gouernment: yet, on thother side, he tooke no delite in the returne of *Peter*, aswell for the wronges he had done him, as for dowt least he should depend too much of the authoritie of the *Venetians*. But assoone as *Peter* had leauyed, what by his owne meanes, and with the ayde of his frendes and fauorers, as much treasure as he could possible, hauing receiued (as was beleued) some small quantitie in prest of the *Venetians*, he went to *Siena*, and after him *Aluyano* with the horsemen & footemen, marching alwayes by night, and by wayes particular, to thende his comming might be conceiled from the *Florentyns*: At *Siena*, by the fauor of *Iohn Iacques*, and *Pandolphe Petrucci* principalls in that gouernment, and assured frendes to his house, he was secretly refurnished with bandes of souldiers: So that with six hundreth horsemen, & foure thowsand footemen of choyse, two dayes after the truce was begon, (wherein they of *Sienna* were comprehended) he put him on the way to *Florence*, hoping that ariuing there by the breake of the day, and at vnwares, he should finde his entrey easie, either for the general disorder or special tumult, which he exspected would rise in his fauor: A plot which happely had drawne some good yssue for him, if fortune had not supplyed the negligence of his aduersaries: for, as in the beginning of the night, he was lodged in the tabernacles (certein smal houses vpon the high way) with intencion to march the residue of the night, so he was so hindred by wonderfull raynes and stormes continuing long, that he could not present him selfe before *Florence*, till long space after the sunne rising: A chaunce which gaue leasure to such as made profession to be his particular enemies (for the communaltie and all the rest of the Citisens stirred not, exspecting quietly what woulde be the yssue of thinges) to take armes with their frendes and followers, and to prouide that the citisens suspected should be called & restrayned in the publike pallaice by the Magistrats: And lastly to make them selues stronge at the gate which leades to *Siena*, was at their request *Pavvle Vitelli* ariuing there the night before, in his returne from *Mantua*: In so much as no commotion appearing in the citie, & *Peter* not stronge enough to force the gate (which he had approched within a bow shoote:) And after he had remeyned there foure howers, fearing

P. de medicis ayded by the of Siena.

P. de medicis fayleth of his enterprise.

fearing with his daunger the ſuddeine comming of their men at armes, whome he thought (and his conceite was true) the *Florentyns* had ſent for from the ſeruice of *Pyſa:* he returned to *Sienna* where *Aluiano* parting from him, and let into *Tody* by the *Guelffes*, he ſacked almoſt all the houſes of the *Gebelyns*, and put to the ſlaughter liij. of the principall bodies of that faction: According to which example, *Anthonie Sauelle* entred into *Terny*, and *Gatteſquies*, by the fauor of the *Colonnoys*, and lett into *Viterby*, did the like execucions againſt the *Guelffes* in both the one and the other place, and all the peeces thereabouts: without that the Pope prouided for ſo great diſorders in the ſtate eccleſiaſtike, becauſe he abhorred all exſpenſes in like caſes, & bearing by the propertie of his nature, no compaſſion to the calamities of others, he was nothing troubled with thoſe thinges that offended his honor, ſo that his profits or pleaſures were nothinge hindered: yet he coulde not auoyde the ſecret iuſtice of God, expreſſed in domeſticall miſeries, troubling his houſe with examples tragicall, and a whordom and crueltie horrible aboue all the barbarous regions: for where he had determined from the beginning of his election pontificall, to appropriat all tẽporall greatnes to the Duke of *Candia* his eldeſt ſonne: The Cardinall of *Valence* (who altogether eſtraunged from prieſthood, aſpired to the exerciſe of armes) hauing no patience to ſuffer that place to be vſurped by his brother, & enuying withall that he had better part then he in the loue of *Madonne Lucrecia* their common ſiſter: inflamed with luſt, and with ambicion (mighty miniſters to all miſchiefs) cauſed him to be killed one night as he rode alone in the ſtreetes of *Rome*, caſting his bodye ſecretly in the riuer of *Tyber:* The brute was (if ſuch an enormitie be worthy to be beleued) that in the loue of *Mad. Lucrecia* were concurrant, not onely the two brethren but alſo the father, who when he was choſen Pope, taking her from her husband being inferior to her degree, he maried her to *Iohn Sforce*, Lorde of *Peſere:* And afterwards, not able to ſuffer her husband to be his corriuall, he made diſſolucion of the mariage already conſomated, hauing made proofe, before Iudges & delegats of his owne creacion, by witneſſes ſubborned & afterwards confirmed by apoſtolicall ſentence, that her husband was imperfect in the operacion of nature, and vnable to cohabitacion: The death of the Duke of *Candia*, afflicted not a litle the Pope burning aboue all other Popes in a vehement loue to his children: And as it is the greateſt tryall of wiſedom and courage of men, to be temperat in mortall chaunces: ſo, ſuch as are not accuſtomed to aduerſities, haue leaſt rule ouer their paſſions, & they that neuer felt but proſperitie, can litle iudge of the worthines of patience: This Pope was ſo vnacquainted with the accidents of fortune, & much leſſe enured with earthly loſſes and priuacions, that from his infancie to that age all thinges had happely ſucceeded to him: the ſame making this affliction ſo greeuous and intollerable to him, that in the conſiſtory, after he had with a great compaſſion of minde, and publike teares, greeuouſly bewayled his miſerie, accuſing many of his propper actions, and manner of liuing which he had vſed till that day: he aſſured with wordes full of efficacie, that hereafter he would gouerne his life with other thoughtes, and with a forme of liuing more moderat and ruled: And for a beginning he aſſigned preſently certeine of the number of Cardinalls, to ioyne with him in the reformacion of maners & orders of the Court: wherein after he had employed certeine dayes, at what tyme began to be manifeſt the author of the death of his ſonne, (for the which at the firſt, he had the Cardinall *Askanius* and the *Vrſins* in ſtronge ſuſpicion) he left there his former holy intencion, his teares, and all his complaints, and returned more diſorderly then euer, to thoſe thoughtes and operacions, wherin he had conſumed his

The Cardinal of Valence killeth his brother the Duke of Candia, being both the Popes ſonnes.

The Pope abhominable in the luſt of his daughter.

age till that day.

The faction and intelligence which Peter de medicis had in Florence is discouered.

There hapned in those seasons new trauells within *Florence*, by reason of thenterprise of *Peter de medicis*: for thintelligence and faction which he had with certeyne particlers in the citie, was discloſed: by reason whereof many noble Citisens were imprisoned, and some fled, And after the Magistrates had vsed meanes iudicial to verifie the order of the conspiracie, not onely many were condemned to death which had solicited him to come and giuen him releese of money: but also *Bernardyn de Nero*, to whom was imputed no other thing, then that knowing the practise, he had not reuealed it, which fault (of it selfe punishable by the head by the statutes of the *Florentyns*, and by thinterpretacion which most part of lawyers giue to the common lawes) was found so much the more haynous in him, by howe much he was chiefe Magistrate when *Peter* came to *Florence*, as if he had bene more greatly bownd to do the office rather of a person publike, then priuate: But the parents and kindred appealing from the sentence, to the great councell of the people, and that by vertue of a law made when the popular gouernment was establisshed: Those that had bene authors of the condemnacion, fearing least the compassion of the age, of the nobility, and of the multitude of parentes, woulde moderat in the mindes of the people, the straitnes of the iudgement, wrought so muche that they obteyned, that to the lesser nūber of the Citisens, should be referred the resolucion, whether the appeale should be suffered to be prosecuted or restrayned: wherein, being more stronge the authoritie and number of them which held it a thing daungerous, and no lesse drawing to sedicion, seeinge that the Lawes them selues suffered, that to auoyde tumultes, the statutes in like cases might be dispensed withall: some of those that helde the chiefe offices, were with great importunities, and almost by force, and with threatninges, constrayned to consent, that notwithstanding thappeale interposed, execucion was done the same night: To which extreame iustice, appeared more affectioned then the others, the followers of *Sauonarole*, not without his proper infamie, forbearing to disswade (euen his auditors) the violacion of a law publisshed a few yeares before by him selfe as a statute conuenient and necessary for the preseruacion of the common libertie.

The Pope inuesteth Federyk in the kingdom of Naples.

In this yeare, *Federyk* king of *Naples*, hauing obteyned of the Pope thinuestiture of the kingdom, and making his coronacion perfect with all solemnities, recouered by accord, *Mont Saint Ange*, which had bene valiantly defended by *Dom Iulian de Lorraine*, whom the french king left there: he reconquered also *Ciuita*, with other peeces holden by *Charles de Sanguyn*: And assoone as the truce was ended, he chassed out of the realme the Prefect of *Rome*, conuerting his forces to execute the like action vpon the Prince of *Salerne*, who being at last beseeged, in the rocke of *Dyana*, & abandoned of all succors, had permission to goe his way in safetie with his goods, leauing that part of his estate which he had not yet lost, in the handes of the Prince of *Bisignian*, with condicion to passe it ouer to *Federyk*, assoone as he vnderstoode that he was conduted in safetie to *Sinigale*.

New practises betvene the kinges of Fraunce and Spayne.

About the ende of this yeare (the dyet which had bene transferred from *Montpellier* to *Narbonne*, being afore interrupted by the immoderat demaunds of the king and Queene of *Spayne*) the french king & the sayd king of *Spayne*, returned eftsoones to new practises, wherein were founde the same difficulties that before: for that as the french king had determined not to consent to any accord wherein *Italy* shoulde be comprehended: so it was against the pollicie of the *Spanyard* to leaue him a libertie free, & a way open to subdue the iurisdiction of it: And yet it was farre from the

desires

desires of the Spanish to interteyne warres with him on thother side the Mountes, because it was a warre full of troubles and exspenses, and no hope of honor or profit: At last the truce was concluded betwene them, to indure (without limitacion) till it were reuoked and two monethes after: There was no Potentat of *Italy* comprehended in it to whom the king of *Spayne* gaue signification of the trusse and the articles and capitulacions of the same, alleaging that in him was no lesse power to resolue the contract without the knowledge of the other confederats, then the duke of *Myllan* made it lawfull (without their consent or priuitie) to conclude the peace of *Verceill:* And albeit (according to the forme and couenants of the league) he had begon the warre in *Fraunce*, and continued it many moneths, without receiuing one porcion of the money promised by the confederats, wherein he had iust occasion not to make care of them that had consented to his disappoynting: yet he had by many meanes and tymes aduertised them, that if they would make payment of the hundreth and fifty thowsand duckats, which they ought to him for the exspenses of the warre he had made, he was contented to accept that payment, in reckoning of all other actions and enterprises hereafter (hauing determined to enter *Fraunce* with a stronge armie:) Whereunto as the confederats would show no wil or inclinacion, and much lesse keepe faith, or be carefull ouer the common safetie: So he in that regard, and seeing withall that the league made for the libertie of *Italy*, was turned into an vsurpacion and oppression of the regions of the same, for that the *Venetians* not contented with so many portes falne to their share in the kingdom of *Naples*, had made thē selues Lordes ouer *Pysa* without any right he could not but hold it indifferent, reasonable, and iust, seeing by others, the affayres common were disordered, to prouide for his owne particular with a truce, bearinge notwithstandinge suche a forme and manner, that it may rather be called an admonicion, then a will to seperat from the league: for that it was alwayes in his power to dissolue or reuoke it, which he would doe, when he shoulde discerne an other intencion, with other prouisions, in the Potentats of *Italy*, for the stay of the common benefit: About this tyme dyed *Iohn* Prince of *Spayne*, onely sonne to the Kinge and Queene, to whome the accident brought no small sorowes and heauines, for that, besides disappoynting of the succession, his death gaue no litle impediments to the sweete delites & pleasures which they reckoned to reape in their new tranquillitie and rest.

To this was also ioyned the death of *Phillip* Duke of *Sauoye*, leauing for a posteritie, one sonne of litle age, and therefore of no iudgement touching his exspectacion or towardnes: This late Duke, after he had wauered long tyme in suspense and newtralitie, beholding all their actions without mocion or inclinacion particular, seemed at last to fauor the faction of the confederats, who had promised to pay him euery yeare, twenty thowsand duckats: And yet euery one of them had so great dout of his faith, that they could assure nothing of his promises and trueth, if the frenche king should discend to make any stronge enterprise.

Phillip Duke of Sauoye dyeth.

With this yeare, ended the two yeares touching the deputacion of the castell of *Genes*, which the Duke of *Ferrara*, (receiuing it in trust) did eftsoones render to *Lodovvyk* his sonne in law: he first demaunded of the french king, that according to the capitulacions of *Verceill*, he would see him satisfied of the halfe of thexspenses employed in the garde and keeping of it, whereof the king consented to make paymēt, so that the Duke would put into his handes the castell, as he sayd he was bownd for the inobseruacion of the Duke of *Myllan:* To this the Duke of *Ferrara* aunswered, that that was not verefied, and that to put the Duke of *Myllan* in contumacie, it were

The castell of Genes rendred to the Duke of Myllan.

neceſſary to haue interpellacion: The kinge offered to committe the money into a third mans hand, to thende that afore payment were made, there might be conſtruction in iuſtice, reaſon, and lawe, whether he ought not to render to him the caſtell: But the inſtance made to the contrary by the *Venetians* and his ſonne in lawe, caried farre more force in the fancie of the Duke of *Ferrara:* wherein he was not onely moued by the prayers and ſolicitacions of *Lodovvyk*, who not many dayes before, had indued the Cardinall *Hippolite* his ſonne, with tharchbiſhoprike of *Myllan*: but alſo he had regard to the daungers that threatned him, if he ſhoulde prouoke the malice of ſo mighty ennemies, ſpecially at a tyme wherin was continuall diminucion of the hope that the french men would diſcend: So that, applying his actions to thinclinacion of the tyme, he firſt called home from the Court of *Fraunce*, his ſonne *Ferrand*, and then ſurrendred the caſtell to *Lodovvyk*, who ſatisfied all charges for keeping it, together with the porcion which apperteyned to the king to pay: By reaſon wherof, the *Venetians*, to expreſſe how much they congratulated his doings, toke his ſayd ſonne into their pay, with a hundred men at armes: This reſtitucion made with no iuſtice, albeit was of great importance againſt the kinges reputacion in *Italy*, yet he diſſembled the wronge, and made no ſuch apparance of diſliking as was conuenient to the grauitie of the diſhonor: And that which more is, the Duke of *Ferrara*, excuſing the action by an Embaſſador ſent to his Maieſtie, that by reaſon of the neighbourhood of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Myllan*, (both prepared to pronownce warre againſt him) he was conſtrayned to obey neceſſitie: yet the king gaue as negligent eare, as if the nature of the matter had bene light and trifling: Wherein this might be one reaſon of the kinges negligence, that, beſides he proceeded almoſt at auenture in all his actions, yet he was ouerwearied with a continuall care and trauell of minde, ioyned to his auncient deuocion to repaſſe into *Italy*, hauing now greater occaſions then euer, for that he had made truce with the king of *Spayne*, renewed thalliance with the *Svvyzzers*, and many late cauſes of diſagreement hapned amongeſt
" the confederats: But as for the moſt part, matters of enterpriſe do nouriſh their pro-
" per impediments, and to Princes their deſires doe ſeldom ſucceede, when their neg-
" ligence is more common then their reſolucions certeine: ſo, the kinges diſpoſicion was ouerruled with newe meanes ſubborned by ſuche as were in moſte principall grace about him: Wherof ſome ſet afore him his pleaſures, others encouraged him to embraſe thenterpriſe, but with ſo mighty preparacions both by ſea and lande, and with ſo great prouiſions of money, as could not be refurniſhed but with a long ſpace and interpoſicion of tyme, others made the action ſlowe & impoſſible by many difficulties and obiections: And the Cardinal of *S. Mallovv* forgat not his accuſtomed delayes in thexpedicion of money: In ſo much, that not onely the tyme to marche into *Italy*, was more incerteine then euer: but alſo many things were ſuffered to ſuſpend and miſcary, which were almoſt brought to their perfection: for the *Florentyns* (continually incenſing the king to marche) had contracted with him, to take armes on their ſides, aſſoone as the warre ſhould begin by him, and for that effect, they did agree that *Monſr d'Aubigny* with an hundred and fifty french launces (the hundred to be payed by the king, and the fifty to be mercenary by them) ſhoulde paſſe by ſea into *Tuskane*, to be generall of their armie: And the Marquis of *Mantua*, who when he returned victorious from the kingdom of *Naples*, had bene diſhonorably diſappoynted of the pay of the *Venetians*, for ſuſpicion that he ſolicited to be mercenary to the french king: did now with great diligence and in good earneſt, negociat with him to that ende: The new Duke of *Sauoye* was confirmed in his good amitie and

alliance:

alliance: *Bentyuole* promiſed to follow his authoritie, aſſoone as he were come into *Italy*: And the Pope, dowting whether he ſhould ioyne with him, (as he was continually labored) determined at the leaſt not to be againſt him.

But all exſpectacions began nowe to diſſolue, and mens mocions and mindes to grow colde for the detraction and negligence which the king vſed: for that, neither his men of warre, (as was promiſed) paſſed into *Italy* to reaſſemble at *Aſt*: neither was *Monſr d'Aubigny* diſpatched, and much leſſe money ſent to pay the *Vrſins* & the *Vitellis* his ſouldiers, (A thing of no litle importance for the warre he ment to make) By reaſon whereof the *Vitellis* inclining to enter pay with the *Venetians*, the *Florentyns* who feared they ſhoulde not haue ſufficient reſpit to giue aduertiſement to the king, kept them interteyned for one yeare in common, for the ſeruice of the king & them ſelues: The king commended much theſe actions in them, but he made no ratificacion nor prouiſion of payment for his part: onely he ſent *Gemell* to them, to intreate them to lend him for the furniture of his enterpriſe, an hundred & fifty thowſand duckats: Laſtly, the king (as he did at other tymes) meaſuring the wils of others by his owne, left all thinges to confuſion, and departed almoſt vppon the ſuddeine from *Lyon*, to goe to *Tovvars*, and then to *Amboyſe*, with his accuſtomed promiſes to returne immediatly to *Lyon*.

The Duke of Myllan proſecutes his practiſe againſt the Venetians.

For which reſpects, hope fayling in all thoſe that followed his faction in *Italy*: *Baptiſtyn Fregoſe* was the firſt that reconciled him ſelfe with the Duke of *Myllan*, who taking courage by theſe good euentes and ſucceſſes, diſcouered euery day more and more, the ill diſpoſicion he bare towards the *Venetians* for the regard of *Pyſa*, ſoliciting (with continuall importunities) the Pope, and the king of *Spayne*, eſtſoones to call into queſtion (but with more efficacie) A parliament for the reſtoring of the ſame citie: And the better to aduaunce the practiſe, the *Florentyns*, receiuing councell and direction from him, diſpatched an Embaſſador to *Rome*, but with a commiſſion quallified to proceede ſo aduiſedly, that the Pope & the reſidue might perceiue, that if *Pyſa* were rendred to them, they would ioyne in vnitie with the others for the defenſe of *Italy*, againſt the french: But in caſe the reſtitucion of the citie ſucceeded not, to keepe all things from the knowledge of the french, to whom they were carefull to giue any occaſion to hold them dowtfull or ſuſpected: This conference continued many dayes at *Rome*, wherein was omitted nothing by the Pope, th Embaſſadors Spaniſh, the Duke of *Myllan*, and the king of *Naples*, that might reaſonably induce the *Venetian* Embaſſador to hold it neceſſary for the common ſewertie of *Italy*, that by the redeliuery of that citie, the *Florentyns* might participat in the generall league againſt the french: They told him that the Senat of *Venice* ought to conſent thereunto together with others, to thende, that the rootes of all emotions and troubles being ſupplanted, there ſhould remeyne to no eſtate or degree in *Italy*, any occaſion to call eſtſoones forreine armes ouer the Mountes: They told him alſo that if in that regarde the vnitie of *Italy* ſuffered impediment, there woulde perhaps be giuen, matter & occaſion to others to take new councells, by the which (to the common preiudice) might happen ſome alteracion of importance. But to this, was quite contrary the deliberacion of the Senat of *Venice*, who couering their couetouſnes with many coolers, and no leſſe perceiuing from whome proceeded principally ſo great an inſtance, made aunſwer by the ſame Embaſſador, complayning not a litle that ſuch a mocion proceeded not of a reſpectiue care to the vniuerſall benefit, but of an ill tempered affection which ſome of the confederats bare to them: for that (ſayth he) the *Florentyns*, hauing with the french men a ſecret affinitie and coniun-

ction of minde, and being perſwaded that by their returning into *Italy*, the moſt part of *Tuskane* would diuolue to their rule and iuriſdiction: it was without dowt, that to reeſtabliſh them in *Pyſa*, would not ſuffice to draw them from ſo ambicious inclinacion: But of the contrary, the reſtitucion was a thing daungerous, for that by how much they ſhould be mighty and ſtronge, by ſo much would they be hurtfull to the ſewertie and quiet of *Italy*: he ſayd that in this reſtitucion, it went of the honor and faith of euery one, but principally of their common weale, ſeeing the confederats hauing promiſed the *Pyſans* with one conſent to protect their libertie, & afterwards (euery one in particular putting an vnwilling hand to furniſh the expenſes of the cõmon buſines) impoſed the whole burden vpon them alone, who (for that cauſe) had refuſed no charges, cares, nor trauells, it coulde not but turne to their ſpeciall diſhonor, to leaue them abandoned when they were in moſt neceſſitie of ſtaye and comfort, and to withdraw their faith and promiſe, which though others eſteemed litle, yet with them it had alwayes caried this reputacion, not to ſuffer ſtayne or violacion in any ſorte: he alleaged it was a thinge moſte greeuous to the Senat of *Venice*, that (without reſpect reaſonable) others ſought to lay vppon them by imputacion, that which had bene begon with one common and generall conſent, and continued for the benefit of euery one, and that with ſo great an ingratitude, they were puniſhed for their good workes: That thintollerable exſpenſes which they had defrayed in this enterpriſe and many others, ioyned to ſo many perills and trauells ſuſteyned ſince the creacion of the league, deſerued not ſuch recompenſe & retribucion, their actions bearing that nature and quallitie both for exſpenſes, pollicie, and care, that they may ſay with reaſon and iuſtice, that *Italy* hath bene preſerued by their meane: for that neither the battell of *Taro* was fought with other armes then theirs, nor the kingdom of *Naples* recouered with other forces then of their common weale: That no other armie conſtrayned *Nouare* to render, and chaſed the french king to returne beyond the Mountes: That no other ſtrength then theirs, was oppoſed againſt him in *Pyemont*, as often as he aſſayed to returne: And that it coulde not be denyed that thoſe actions proceeded not principally of the deſire they had to protect the ſafetie of *Italy*, ſeing as their eſtates were alwayes furtheſt remoued from perills, ſo, for their occaſion, there were no diſorders hapned which they ought to readdreſſe or amẽd: for they called not the frenche kinge into *Italy*, nor accompanied him when he was come ouer the Mountes, & much leſſe for ſparing their proper treaſures, haue they ſuffered to fall into perill, the affayres common and vniuerſall: No, rather neceſſitie and occaſion haue ſo required, that the Senat of *Venice* did giue remedy to the diſorders happened by the faultes of others, to the common harmes of the whole: All which operacions, albeit they were not knowẽ, or though they were ſo ſoone committed to forgetfulnes, yet they would not for all that (forbearing the ill excuſable example of others) defile neither the faith nor dignitie of their common weale, the rather, for that to the preſeruacion of the libertie of the *Pyſans*, was ioyned the ſewertie and well doing of all *Italy*.

The death of king Charles the eyght.

Whileſt thinges paſſed in theſe practiſes amongeſt the confederats, with a manifeſt and generall diſagreement, there hapned a newe accident, which engendred effects diuerſe and much different from the thoughtes of men: The night before the eyght day of April, king *Charles* dyed at *Amboyſe*, of a catterhe which the Phiſicions cal *apoplexie*, the ſame riſing in him with ſuch abundance, as he beheld a match plaied at tennyſſe, that in fewe howers he ended at the ſame place his life, duringe the which, he had with greater importunitie then vertue, troubled the whole worlde,

with

with great apparance of daunger to kindle eftſoones newe fiers of innouation and troubles: for that it was beleued of many, that being puſhed forwardes with a vehement deſire to returne into *Italy*, he had in the ende, either of his proper knowledge, or by the emulacion of ſuch as bare enuy to the Cardinall of *S. Mallovv*, remoued al the difficulties that had withholden thaction: In ſo much, that albeit in *Italy* (according to his variations) ſometymes he increaſed, and ſometymes he diminiſhed the opinion that men had that he would marche: yet he kept them in continuall ſuſpicion, and made his intencions to trouble their coniectures and councells: And for that cauſe, the Pope puffed with ambicion to rayſe his ſonnes, had begon already to ſolicit with him touching ſome ſecret innouacion, the Duke of *Myllan* hauing done the like (as was bruted) to thende he would not liue in continuall feare.

Lowys Duke of Orleans ſucceedeth to the crowne.

King *Charles* dying without yſſue, the realme of *Fraunce* deſcended to *Lovvys* Duke of *Orleans*, as nearer in blud then any other of the maſculyne lyne: to whome (remeyning then at *Bloys*) came to doe reuerence, the kinges garde, and all the generall trayne of the Court, together with the nobilitie of the kingdome, by whome he was ſaluted as king with titles and inuocacions royall, notwithſtanding ſome did ſecretly murmure, that (according to thauncient ſtatutes of the lande) he was vnworthy to aſpire to the crowne, againſt the which he had taken armes in the warres of *Brittaine*.

The death of Sauonarola.

The day after the death of king *Charles*, (a day obſerued in many places by a celebracion and ſolemnitie of palmes) tooke ende the authoritie, life, and doctrine of *Sauonarola*: who hauing bene long tyme before accuſed by the Pope, that he preached ſlaunderouſly againſt the manners of the Clergy and Court of *Rome*, that he nouriſhed ſects and diſcordes in *Florence*, & that his doctrine was not fully catholyke, and for thoſe reaſons called to *Rome* by many writs, refuſed to appeare there, alleaging many excuſes: and therefore after much a doe he was at laſt (the yeare before) ſeparated by the Pope with cenſures from the fellowſhip of the Church: of which ſentence (hauing abſteyned from preaching for certeine monethes) he had eaſily obteyned abſolucion, if he had longer continued, for that the Pope, who held ſlender reckoning of *Sauonarola*, had proceeded againſt him more by the incenſing and perſwacion of his aduerſaries, then any other occaſion: But he iudging that it was for his ſilence, that his reputacion came ſo to be diminiſhed, or at leaſt, that it brake the purpoſe for the which he ſtirred (for he was principally aduaunced for his vehemẽcie in preaching) he fell eftſoones to deſpiſe the Popes commaundements, and returned publikely to his olde office, wherein affirming that the cenſures publiſhed againſt him were vniuſt & of no force, he opened his mouth eftſoones to blaſpheme the Pope and the whole court of *Rome* with great vehemencie: of this aroſe no ſmall emotion, for that his aduerſaries (whoſe authoritie increaſed dayly in greatnes with the people) deteſted ſuch inobedience rebuking the action, for that by his innouacion and raſhenes, the Popes minde was drawne in vncerteinties and alteracion, in a tyme ſpecially, wherein the reſtitucion of *Pyſa* being negociated by him and the other confederats, it was neceſſary to doe all thinges to confirme him in that inclinacion: On the other ſide, his diſciples and partakers defended and iuſtified him, alleaging that men ought not for the regard of humane thinges, to trouble the operacions diuine, nor conſent that vnder ſuch coolers, the Popes of *Rome* ſhould begin to intrude into thaffayres of their common weale: But after there were certeine dayes ſpent in this contencion, & the Pope wonderfully inflamed, ſending out new thunderbolts with threates of cenſures againſt the whole citie: he was at laſt commaun-

ded by the Magistrats of the citie to forbeare to preach, to whom though he obeyed, yet diuerse of his brethren supplyed his office in sundry Churches: And the diuision being no lesse amongest the spiritualtie then the layetie, the Fryers and brethren of other orders ceased not to preach feruently against him: arising at last into such high and malicious inflammation, that one of the disciples of *Sauonarole*, & one of the Frear minors, agreed to enter into the fier in the presence of the whole people, to thende that the disciple of *Sauonarole* either being burned or preserued, the people might be left satisfied and certeine whether *Sauonarole* were a Prophet or an abuser: seeing that at tymes afore, he had affirmed in his sermons, that for the iustificacions of the truth of his prophecies, he could in all necessities obteyne of God the grace, to passe without hurt, thorow the middest of a flaming fire: And yet notwithstanding greuing not a litle with the resolucion made without his priuitie touching a present experience, he labored to breake it with all his deuises and diligence: But the matter being so farre proceeded of it selfe, and earnestly solicited by certeine citisens desiring to haue the towne deliuered of so great troubles, it was necessary at last to passe further: In so much as the two religious brethren, accompanied with all their brotherhoods and couent, came at the day appointed to the place afore the publike pallaice, where was not onely a general concurrse of the people of *Florence*, but vniuersall assemblies of the cities adioyning: There the Fryer Minors were aduertised that *Sauonarole* had ordeyned, that his disciple and brother entring the fire, should beare in his hand the Sacrament: which deuise they impugned greatly, alleaging that there was sought by that meane to put in daunger thauthoritie of Christian faith, which in the mindes of thignorant would not a litle decline if that holy oste should be burned: by which contencion, *Sauonarole* being there present, & perseuering in his resolucion, there arose such factions and disagrements, that the action of experience proceeded no further, the same diminishing so much of his credit, that the day following in a tumult then hapning, his aduersaries tooke armes: whereunto being ioyned thauthoritie of the souereigne Magistrat, they entred the Monastery of *S. Marke* where he was, and drawing him out of the place, they ledde him with two other of his brethren to the common prisons: In this tumult, the parentes of those that had bene executed the yeare before, killed *Francisque Vatori* a Citisen of great authoritie, and the most apparant fauorer and follower of *Sauonarole*: the chief mocion inducing this quarrell, was, that aboue all others, his authoritie had depriued them of the facultie to haue recourse to the iudgement of the councell popular: *Sauonarole* was afterwards examined with torments but not very greeuous, and vpon the examinacion, a processe published, which (taking away all imputacions that were layed on him for couetousnes, corrupcion of manners, or to haue had secret intelligence or practise with Princes) conteyned, that the matters by him prophesied, were not pronownced by reuelacion diuine, but by his propper opinion grounded vpon the doctrine and obseruacion of holy Scripture: Wherein he had not bene moued by any wicked intencion or purpose, & much lesse by that meane, to aspire to any office or greatnes in the Church: onely he had a holy desire, that by his meanes might be called a generall councell wherein might be reformed the corrupt customes of the Clergie, and the estate of the Church of God, (so farre wandred and gone astray) to be reduced, as neare as might be, to the resemblance of the tymes drawing nearest the Apostles: A glory, which, to giue perfection to so great and holy an operacion, he esteemed farre aboue the obteyning of the popedom: for that the one could not succeede but by meane of an excellent doctrine and vertue,

and

and a singular reuerence of all men: where the Popedom most often was obteyned, either by siniſter meanes, or elſe by the benefitt of fortune: vppon which proceſſe confirmed by him in the hearing & preſence of many religious perſons euen of his owne order, but (if that be true which his owne faction bruted afterwardes) with wordes darke, and ſuch as might receiue diuerſe interpretacions: there were taken from him and his two other companions with ceremonies inſtituted by the church of *Rome*, the holy orders, and that by ſentence of the generall of the *Iacobins* and of the Biſhop *Romolyn*, Commiſſioners delegate by the Pope: And ſo being paſſed ouer to the power of the ſecular Court, they were (by their iudgements) hanged and burned, being at the ſpectacle of the degradacion & execucion, no leſſe multitudes of people, then at the day of the experience of entring the fire, when was an infinit concurſſe to beholde the yſſue of the miracle promiſed by *Sauonarole*: This death conſtantly endured (but without expreſſing any word whereby might be diſcerned, either their innocencie or fault) quenched not the diuerſitie of iudgements and paſſions of men: for that many ſuppoſed he was but an abuſer: and others (of the contrary) beleued, that the confeſſion that was publiſhed was falſely forged, or perhaps, in his aged and weake complexion, the torments had more force then the truth: wherin they excuſed that manner of frailtie with the example of *S. Peter*, who neither impriſoned, nor conſtrayned with torments, or by any other extraordinary force, but at the ſimple wordes of the handmaides and ſeruantes, denied that he was the diſciple of his Maiſter, in whom he had ſeene ſo many holy miracles.

The ende of the third booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

LOWYS Duke of Orleans ſucceedeth to the crowne of Fraunce: he determineth to recouer his Duchie of Myllan: Pyſa and Florence make warre: Lodowyk Sforce fleeth from Myllan: the Florentyns giue batterie to Pyſa, and agree with the french king: Pope Alexander aſpireth for his ſonne to the iuriſdiction of Romagna: Lodowyk Sforce recouereth Myllan, but being betrayed by the Swyſſers, he is taken, and led into Fraunce.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſſe of Guicciardin.

IT was almoſt an vniuerſall coniecture amongeſt *thItalians*, that by the death of king *Charles*, al the regions of *Italy* were now deliuered of thoſe feares, afflictions, & daungers which the power and nation of the french did threaten: Their opinions were induced by this reaſon, that the newe Kinge *Lowys* preſently aſcended to the crowne, would not intangle the beginning of his raigne with forrein warres, hauing firſt to looke with great ſtudy into the ſtate of his owne go- *Lowys 12.*

uernment at home, which commonly to kinges newly inueſted, bringes many cauſes of new councells & alteracions: But the ſpirits of ſuch as diſcourſed with iudgement vpon the trayne and euent of things, nouriſhed alwayes a ſecret ſuſpicion, that thafflictions that then were but defferred, would with tyme redouble, and riſe growing to greater daungers and more generall harmes, ſpecially ſo great an Empire being falne vpon a king rype in age, full of experience, ruled in his councells, reſolut in action, moderat in exſpenſes, and in all things (without compariſon) holding more of him ſelfe, then did his predeceſſor: and to whom withal, did apperteyne (as in the right of the crowne of *Fraunce*) not onely the inheritance of the realme of *Naples*, But alſo he menteyned that the Duchie of *Myllan* was his freehold by the ſucceſſion of the Lady *Valentina* his grandmother, who was maried by *Iohn Galeas Viſconte* his father (afore that, of viccare of thEmpire, he had obteyned the title of the Duke of *Myllan*) to *Lovvys* Duke of *Orleans*, brother to kinge *Charles* the ſixt: At which mariage, there was added to the ſtate of the dowrye (which was the citie & contrey of *Aſt* with great ſummes of money) an expreſſe condicion, that as often and when ſo euer as the lyne maſculyne of the ſayde *Galeas* ſhoulde fayle, the Lady *Valentina* ſhould ſucceede to the Duchie of *Myllan*, or ſhe being dead, her next heires and diſcendents: which couenant albeit ſtronge enough of it ſelfe, was confirmed (if the frenche tradicions be true) by the authoritie of the Pope (thimperiall ſeate beinge voyd at that tyme, for the Popes of *Rome* pretend that the adminiſtracion of thEmpire vacant belongeth to them:) by which meanes, the blud male of *Iohn Galeas*, determining afterwards by the death of *Phillipp Maria Viſconte*, *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, ſonne to the Lady *Valentina*, began to pretēd to the ſucceſſion of the ſayd dukedom: But as thambicion of Princes is ready to helpe on their titles with euery apparant coler, ſo there aſpired at the ſame time to the ſayd dukedom, not only thEmprour *Federyk*, alleaging that it was reuerted to the Empire, for that the lyne nominated in thinueſtiture made to *Iohn Galeas* by *Vinciſlaus* king of *Romaines*, was extinct and diſſolued: But alſo *Alphonſo* king of *Aragon* and *Naples*, who was inſtituted heire by the Teſtament of Duke *Phillipp*: And amongeſt the reſidue, *Frauncis Sforce* with a fortune, force, and felicitie, more fauorable then the others, quarrelled the ſame title, who to giue a better ſhadowe to the armies which he leuyed in that cauſe, alleaged that his wife *Blanche*, the onely daughter (but a baſtard) of *Phillipp*, had peculiar intereſt in that ſucceſſion: So that *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, who (being taken priſoner at the battell of *Agincourt* in the warres betwene thengliſh and french, and remeyning reſtrayned in England xxv. yeares) was able to doe nothing, by reaſon of his pouertie and hard fortunes to iuſtifie his title, and much leſſe could he obteyne ayde of king *Lovvys* the xj. notwithſtanding he was his neareſt kinſman: the reaſon was, that the ſame king, in the beginning of his raigne, was much moleſted and manifeſtly inuaded in diuerſe partes of his kingdom, by the great Lordes and Barons of the ſame, ſhadowing their conſpiracies with a ſhowe of publike profit: But becauſe the king ſaw that their intencions drew with them priuat regardes and particular intereſts, he kept them alwayes in bridle, and eſteemed his eſtate and ſewertie to conſiſt in the embaſing of the great ones of his realme, but chiefly his neareſt competitors: And for that reaſon, *Lovvys* Duke of *Orleans* ſonne to *Charles*, albeit he was his ſonne in law, could draw no fauors or ſuccors from him: the ſame driuing him, after the death of his ſayd father in law, together with his impaciēce that the Lady *Anne* Ducheſſe of *Burbon* the kinges ſiſter, was preferred afore him to the gouernment of *Charles* the eyght then in minoritie, to trouble *Fraunce* with a very ſlender ſucceſſe,

The title of the french king to the Duchie of Myllan.

and

and after retyred into *Britain* with a worse fortune: for ioyning with those that were against thintencion of *Charles*, to obteyne *Brittain* by marying with *Anne* heire of the state by the death of *Frauncis* her father leauing no yssue male, (yea aspiring secretly to the same mariage) he was taken in an encownter betwene the french and the *Brittons* neare *S. Aulbyn* in that contrey, & from thence led prisoner into *Fraunce*, where he remeyned two yeares: In so much as fayling then of meanes, and finding no succors in king *Charles* after he was out of prison, he ioyned no further action to that enterprise, but when the king left him within *Ast*, he made him selfe Lord of *Nouaro* with a very litle profit: But being now become king of *Fraunce*, he held nothing of greater affection, then to reconquer the Duchie of *Myllan* as a succession iustely apperteyning to him: This desire planted in him from his youth, was eftsones wonderfully increased and aduaunced, by the successe he had at *Nouaro*, and withall, for that he greatly hated *Lodovvyk Sforce* by reason of the insolent demonstracions and behauiors which he vsed to him, when he had the kings deputacion in *Ast*: Therfore, not long after the death of king *Charles*, by resolucion set downe in his elect councel, he intitled him self not only king of *Fraunce*, and (for the regard of the realme of *Naples*) king of *Ierusalem* & both the *Cycillyes*, but also soueraigne Duke of *Myllan*: And because he would make knowen to the world what was his inclinacion to the things of *Italy*, he wrote letters full of amitie and congratulacion touching his ascending to the crowne, to the Pope, the *Venetians* and the *Florentyns*, and withall dispatched mē of speciall credence, to giue hopes of new enterprises, but chiefly of his determinacion to conquer the Duchie of *Myllan*: wherin the tyme running, nourished for him many fauors and oportunities, for that the death of his predecessor had innouated in the mindes of the *Italians* many new humors & inclinacions, much differing from the cogitacions & purposes they had afore: for the Pope (whose ambicious thoughts could not be satisfied if *Italy* stoode in tranquillitie) wished that thinges might grow to hurly burly, seeking his peculiar aduauncement in the common diuision of principallities and states: A desire not vnlikely to deriue from such a mind, to whom all thinges were hatefull that held of equitie, conscience, or religion, and nothing vnsauery that smelled of troubles, innouacion, and chaunge: And the *Venetians*, being now deliuered of the feare they had of king *Charles* for the wronges & iniuries they had done him, expressed manifestly that they had no distrust in the new king, which dispositicion increased dayly more and more: for that *Lodovvyk Sforce* (notwithstanding he knew that he had to doe with an ennemy more mighty and lesse plyable) feding him selfe with this hope, (the same also beguiling *Federyk* of *Aragon*) that the frenche kinge coulde not with such expedicion execute any action on that side the Mountes, forbare not to oppose him selfe against the *Venetians* in the quarrell of *Pysa*, wherein his spyte present would not let him see the daunger that was to come: an error familiar with Princes ambicious, who measuring the euent of things more by their propper fancie and imaginacion, then by any rule or comparison of tymes and reasons, are often in that securitie, caried to their vndoing, as men that wander and beleue an eccho which beguiles them to their extreame ruine: The *Florentyns* onely began to estraunge them selues in minde from the amitie of the french: for albeit this new king had bene their protector afore, yet now that he is made great with the estate & dignitie of the crowne, he had with them no league of amitie, neither in regarde of faith giuen, nor for benefitts receiued, as his predecessor had by meane of those capitulacions which were made at *Florence* and *Ast*: for regard of which they would alwayes lay them selues open to many perills and perplexities, rather then to

Lowys 12. king of Fraunce intitleth him selfe Duke of Myllan.

abandon his alliance: Beſides, the diſcord which continually increaſed betwene the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Myllan*, was the cauſe that the feare being ceaſed which they had of the forces of the confederats, and withal hoping more in the fauors certeine and preſent of *Lombardy*, then in the ſuccors abſent & dowtfull of *Fraunce*, they tooke occaſion to hold leſſe reckoning of his frendſhippe or confederacion: In this different diſpoſicion of mindes, were alſo no leſſe diuerſe, thembaſſages that were ſent: for the Senat of *Venice* diſpatched with great ſpeede to the king, one of their Secretories remeyning at that tyme in negociacion with the Duke of *Sauoye*: And to eſtabliſh with theſe beginnings, the foundacions of a well aſſured alliance, as the dayly affayres and occurrants of tymes required, they made an election of three other Embaſſadors to goe to his Maieſtie, not onely to congratulat his right worthy aſcending to the crowne, but alſo to proteſt in forme of excuſe, that what they had done contrarye to the likinge of the late kinge *Charles*, proceeded of no other mocion, then of a tymerous ſuſpicion (confirmed by many apparant ſignes and demonſtracions) that not contented with the kingdom of *Naples*, he would lift vp his mind to thoſe meanes which might make him Lord ouer the whole Monarchie of *Italy*: The Pope alſo, whoſe deuocion had this determinacion, to appropriat to his ſonne *Cæſar* at that tyme Cardinall, all temporall greatnes, rayed his thoughtes to highe thinges, and ſending Embaſſadors to the french kinge, was at a poynt to ſell to his Maieſtie ſpirituall graces, receiuing in recompenſe, poſſeſſions temporall: for he was not ignorant that the french kinge had great deſire to refuſe *Iane* his wife, both barrein & deformed, who was giuen to him almoſt by force by *Louuys* the eleuenth: And that he had no leſſe liking to marie *Anne* now widowe by the death of the late king, not ſo much for the aũcient affection thatwas betwen thẽ afore the encownter of *S. Aulbyn*, as that by the prorogatiue of that mariage, he ſhoulde inſinuate into the Duchie of *Britain*, an eſtate great and very conuenient for the crowne of *Fraunce*: this chaunge could not be done without the authoritie of the Pope: The *Florentyns* in like ſorte fayled not to ſende Embaſſadors to the king, aſwel to teſtifie thauncient cuſtom and deuocion of that citie to the crowne of *Fraunce*, as to put his Maieſtie in remembrance of their merits, and the bondes and promiſes of the late king: wherein they were much ſolicited by the Duke of *Myllan*, hauing two intencions, the one that by their meanes the practiſes of the *Venetians* might be hindered, (both the one and other common weale intreating of the affayres of *Pyſa*) and alſo that if they obteyned any credit, amitie, or authoritie, they might vnder ſome occaſion, employ all to worke an accord betwene him and the french king, A thing not a litle deſired and ſought by him: All theſe Embaſſadors were well receiued of the kinge, who began euen at the firſt to ſownde euery one of them ſeuerally, notwithſtanding he had no meaning to put any thinge to action in *Italy*, afore he had firſt aſſured the realme of *Fraunce*, by newe leagues and confederacions with the Princes his neighbours and borderers.

The Venetians ſend Embaſſadors to the french king.

The Pope apt to diſpenſe with al things for the greatnes of his ſonne.

But it was a thing fatal, that the fire of *Pyſa*, to the which the Duke of *Myllan* gaue the firſt kindling, & nouriſhed by an inflamed deſire to aſſubiect it to him ſelf, ſhould in the ende breake his brande vpon the heade of the author, and conſume him with his propper flame: for that aſwell by his naturall ielowſie which was infinit in him, as for daunger of the greatnes of the *Venetians*, which he ſaw to aſpire not onely ouer him, but alſo aboue the other Potentats of *Italy*, he could not endure with reaſonable patience, that the frute of his deuiſes & trauells, ſhould be gathered by them, or transferred to the reputacion of their imperie: wherein, taking occaſion vpon the

diſpoſicion

disposicion of the *Florentyns*, resolute to pursue in all accidents the quarrell of *Pysa*, And seeming to him that by the death of *Sauonarola* and *Frauncis Valory* which were stronge parties against him, he might now reappose more in that citie then he could doe in tymes past: he determined to ayde the *Florentyns* in the recouery of *Pysa* with armes, seeing neither with his practises, authoritie, nor the power and meanes of others, he coulde hetherunto worke no good effect of that plott: he perswaded him selfe vainely, that either afore the french king could execute any action, *Pysa* would be reduced by composicion or force to the iurisdiction of *Florence*, or else the Senat of *Venice*, (guided by that wisedome which he woulde neuer suffer to gouerne him selfe) would neuer desire either for enuie, or other lesse occasion, that, (to the common daunger of the whole) the french armies shoulde eftsoones returne into *Italy*, seeing it was an vniuersall trauell to chase them out so lately.

This indiscreete resolucion was furthered by a disorder which hapned against the *Florentyns* in the contrey of *Pysa*: for their people which were at *Pontadere*, hauing aduertisement by their espyals that a trowpe of seuen hundred horsemen, & a thowsand footemen of the *Pysans*, were returning home with a great pray of cattell which they had taken in the fieldes of *Voltere*, yssued out almost all vnder the conduite of the Count of *Riuucce* & *Guillaume* of *Pazzi*, Commissioner for the *Florentyns*, to cut betwene them & home for the recouery of the booty: And encowntring with them in the valley of *S. Reale*, and as they had almost put them to disorder and recouered the most part of the praye, there ioyned to the *Pysans* an hundreth and fiftye men at armes sent out of *Pysa* to the succors of their fellowes, who finding the *Florentyn* armie both weary and disordered with the trouble of the pillage, and the authoritie of the Count not able to range the horsemen to the feight, they were put all to the chase, notwithstanding the footemen made some head and resistance, among whom many passed by the sword, & most of their horsemen taken prisoners with the chiefest of their leaders: in so much as the Count and Commissioner for *Florence*, saued them selues with great difficultie within *S. Reale*, where they imposed one vppon an other (as is the custom in chaunces of aduersitie) the fault of the disorder hapned.

This iorney brought no litle affliction to the *Florentyns*, who to readdresse with speede so great a daunger, and not able to refurnish their companies with expedicion, and Counte *Riuucce* general of their whole armie, hauing lost his reputacion, for that his regiment was broken, determined to turne to the affayres of *Pysa*, the *Vitellies* who were then in the contrey of *Aretze*: But afore that contract was perfected, they were constrayned to accord to *Pavvle Vitelli* the title, dignitie, and reputacion of Capteine generall of their armie: This ouerthrow constrained them eftsoones to demaund succors of the Duke of *Myllan*, and that with so much the more instance, by how much since the chasse, they had besought the french king, that to put them out of daunger with his forces and with his authoritie, he would send three hundred launces into *Tuskane*, and ratifie the reteyning of the *Vitellies* according to the contract made in the tyme of the late kinge *Charles*, prouiding his porcion of their payment, and also that he woulde cause the *Venetians* to absteyne from further vexing them: of all which requestes, they reaped but gracious wordes without any effect, for that the king would not bring him selfe suspected with the *Venetians*, nor make any sturre in *Italy* afore he put beginning to the warres of *Myllan*. But in these necessities and estate of thinges, the Duke of *Myllan* was neither cold nor negligent, who dowting leaste the *Venetians* (by the occasion of this victory) would enter further into the iurisdiction of *Pysa*, then they could be afterwards repulsed but with great difficulty,

Pavle Vitelli Capteine generall of the Florentyn armie.

made knowen to the *Florentyns* that he had a firme intencion to succor them, but firſt he would eſtabliſh with them, what ſortes and proporcions of prouiſions were neceſſary not onely for his defenſe, but alſo to achieue the enterpriſe of *Pyſa*, to the which (for that there was no feare of any action in the frenche kinge for that yeare) were turned vniuerſally the eyes of all *Italy*, being then free from all other troubles: for albeit in the territories of *Rome* the famulies of *Colonne* & *Vrſin* had taken armes, yet their wiſedoms preuayled more in the quarrell, then either their hatreds or their iniuries.

Quarrell betwene the famulies of Colonne and Vrſin.

This was the ſubſtance of the quarrell: The *Colonnoys* and *Sauelles*, ſtirred vp belike for thoccupacion which *Iacques Counte* made of *la tour Mathias*, had inuaded the places and territories of the *Counts*: And of the other part, the *Vrſins* (for the affinitie and coniunction of factions) tooke armes in their fauor: So that many borowes and villages, being vſurped both by the one and other partie, they fought together at laſt with all their forces at the foote of *Motitelle* in the cõtrey of *Tyuoly*, where, after a long and braue battell, the inflamed paſſion of the parties puſhing them on no leſſe then either regard of glory, or conſideracion of daunger of their eſtates, the *Vrſins* (whoſe armie conteyned two thowſand footemen & eyght hundred horſemen) were broken and put to the chaſe, their enſeignes loſt, and *Charles Vrſin* taken priſoner, and of the ſide of the *Colonnoys* was hurt *Anthony Sauelle* a Capteine of no ſmall reputacion, who dyed of his wound not many dayes after: After this ſucceſſe of the battell, the Pope, ſeeming that commotions in the contrey ſo neare to *Rome*, were diſpleaſing to him, made as though he woulde ſolicite an accord, which, whileſt he interteyned in action (not with good meaning and faith, for he was diſguiſed in all his doings) the *Vrſins* readdreſſed their armie with new ſupplies & planted a campe afore *Palombare*, A principall towne belonging to the *Sauelleis*, which the *Colonnoys* (who after the victory had occupied many places of the *Counts*) prepared to reskew: But both the parties finding at lengthe the diſſembled behauiors of the Pope, ſometymes giuing courage to the *Colonnoys*, and eftſoones comforting the *Vrſins*, and that he did but nouriſh the warre & giue them medicines to weaken them both, to thend he might with more facilitie oppreſſe them when their ſtrengthes were conſumed: they came altogether to a parley (without thinterpoſing of a third) at *Tyuoly*, where, of them ſelues, they eſtabliſhed an accord by the which *Charles Vrſin* was ſet at liberty, the places taken in the controuerſie reſtored to their proper owners, & the quarrell for the Earledoms of *Albe* and *Tailleconſſe* referred to tharbitracion of king *Federyk*, to whom the *Colonnoys* were mercenary ſouldiers.

Theſe ſtormes thus reſolued into calmes, and the quarrells that earſt caried apparant ſhowes of blud and murder, being nowe quallified by wiſedom and temperance, there was not diſcerned in any part in *Italy* any tokens of warre, but about the contrey of *Pyſa*: wherein, albeit the Duke of *Myllan* had determined in the beginning not to ſuccor the *Florentyns* openly, but to miniſter to their wantes with ſecret aydes of money: yet ſuffering his minde to be continually ouer ruled with paſſions of diſdayne and enuy, and not abſteyning from wordes inſolent and full of threats againſt the *Venetians*, he determined now to declare him ſelfe publikely, and to cut of all regardes and conſideracions of thinges, denying euen then, paſſage to their bands and ſouldiers which marched to *Pyſa* by the way of *Parma* and *Pontrema*, & put them in neceſſitie to paſſe by the Duke of *Ferraraes* contrey, A way of farre more trauell and greater trouble: he wrought ſo that thEmprour commaunded all thoſe Embaſſadors which were reſident in his Court (except the Spaniſh) to returne home, reuoking

uoking them all within few dayes after except the Embaſſador for the Senat of *Venice*: he ſent alſo to the ſuccors of the *Florentyns* three hundred ſhot with crosbow, & contributed to the leuying of three hundred men at armes partly vnder the Lord of *Plombyn*, and ſome vnder *Iohn Pavvle Baillon*: he lent them at ſundry tymes more then three hundreth thowſand duckats, and laſtly made continuall offers of greater aydes, if their neceſſities ſo required: Beſides all theſe, he made great inſtance to the Pope (the importunities of the *Florentyns* greatly inducing him) to ayde them in ſome ſort: The Pope knowing how hurtfull & intollerable it would be to the eſtate of the Church, that the *Venetians* ſhould preuaile to make a foundacion of *Pyſa*, promiſed to refurniſh them with a hundred men at armes, and the three gallies which were in his pay vnder Capteine *Ville Marine*, and they to giue impediments to the prouiſions of vittells that ſhould enter *Pyſa* by ſea: But afterwards (being familiar to him to protract and delay) he deferred with diuerſe excuſes to ſende to them any proporcion, and in the ende refuſed them with open deniall, for that drawing dayly more & more into other deuiſes and thoughtes, he made his reſolucion to reſtrayne him ſelfe onely to the french king, by whoſe meanes he hoped to obteyne no ſmall nor common recompenſes: yea (it is oftentymes the property of men to make eaſie with will and hope, that which in reaſon and wiſedom they know to be hard) he aſcended in weening to the crowne and kingdom of *Naples*: It was almoſt a thing fatal, that the refuſing of the alliance which the king of *Aragon* made to the Pope, ſhoulde breede in him the beginning of newe thinges and chaunges: for long before he had wholly determined to ioyne him ſelfe with the french kinge, he had made great inſtance to king *Federyk* to giue to the Cardinall of *Valence* (who was reſolued to forſake the habit and profeſſion of the Church vpon the firſt occaſion) his daughter in mariage, with the principallitie of *Tarente* in dowry wherein he perſwaded him ſelf that if his ſonne whoſe wit was ſutle, and his hart hawty, and rayſed, were once become Lord of ſo large and generall a member of the kingdom of *Naples*, that then there would be litle difficultie, (hauing the cooler of a daughter deſcending of the king) to take occaſions, what by force and ſtrength, and what by thauthoritie and rightes of the Church, to diſpoyle his father in lawe of the kingdom, both weake in men of warre, and poore in money, and from whome alſo were eſtraunged the affections of moſt of his Barons: This matter was hoatly furthered and fauored by the Duke of *Myllan*, who debated with kinge *Federyk* (by his Embaſſador the Marquis *Stampe* ſent ſpecially to *Rome* and *Naples*) how daungerous it would be for him, if the Pope (made fruſtrat of this deſire) went ſuddeinly to ioyne with the french king: And withall he preferred to the kinges remembrance how much it would ſauor of puſillanimitie and indiſcreſſion (ſpecially the matter concerning wholly his ſafetie) to put in conſideracion indignitie onely, and not to haue ſo much rule ouer him ſelfe, as to preferre the protection of his eſtate, afore his proper will: But *Federyk* fearing that in this ſutteltie of *Lodovvyk* was layd the foundacion of his ruyne, refuſed the plot with continuall obſtinacie, confeſſing that the alyenacion or eſtraunging of the Pope was a degree to put his kingdom in daunger, but he ſtoode aſſured that to giue his daughter with the principallitie of *Tarente*, to the Cardinall of *Valence*, were to put his life in daunger, and therefore in two perills he had rather abide the hazarde of that which he might runne into with moſt honor and honeſtie, & which proceeded not of any fault or error of him ſelfe: By this meane, the Pope turning wholly his minde to ioyne with the french, and deſiring that the *Venetians* woulde doe the like, (whome he was loth to offend) abſteyned altogether to miniſter any fauors or

ſuccors to the *Florentyns*: who receiuing courage by the ready ſuccors of the Duke of *Myllan*, and for the recommendacion of the vallour of *Pavvle Vitelly* their newe capteine, forgat nothing that might aduaunce the enterpriſe, notwithſtanding they eſteemed it of very hard action: for that beſides the numbers, experience, and reſolut courage of the Citiſens and contreymen of *Pyſa*, there was within *Pyſa*, a ſtrength of the *Venetians* of foure hundred men at armes, eyght hundred eſtradyots, & more then two thowſand footemen: They were alſo (as occaſion required) ready to refurniſh them with ſtronger ſuccors, for that euen ſuch as at the beginning had no will to conſent to accept the protection of the *Pyſans*, were nowe no leſſe ready then the reſte to ſupport their quarrell for the regarde of common honor: The contracte made in common by *Lodovvyk* and the *Florentyns*, gaue ſuch an increaſe to the armie, that it ſeemed now to cary proporcion ſufficient not onely to recouer all the places within the contrey of *Pyſa*, but alſo to make a wonderfull induſtrie that the neighbours ſhould forbeare to giue ayde and fauor to the *Pyſans*, or at leaſt eſchewing the example of the *Venetians*, not moleſt any more the *Florentyns* in other places: *Lodovvyk* hauing afore he determined to proteſt him ſelfe openly, interteyned in common with the *Venetians*, *John Bentyuole* with two hundred men at armes, labored him ſo much, that he bownd him with the ſtate of *Bolognia*, to him ſelfe only: wherin the better to confirme *Bentyuole*, the *Florentyns* tooke into their pay, *Alexander* his ſonne: And to make a more generall reſiſtance againſt the *Venetians* making inuaſion on the ſide of *Romagnia*, (who for ſuch a purpoſe had taken into their protection the Lord of *Faenza*) the *Florentyns* wonne alſo to their appoyntments & deuocion, together with fifty men at armes, *Octauyan de Riare*, Lorde of *Ymola* & *Furly*, who was gouerned according to the direction & will of *Katherne Sforce* his mother: She followed without any regard, the faction of *Lodovvyk* and the *Florentyns*, many occaſions mouing her, but principally for that ſhe was maried to *John de medicis*, whome the Duke of *Myllan* (nothing liking of the gouernment popular) labored to make great at *Florence*, and alſo his brother: *Lodovvyk* had no ſmall credit with the people of *Lucques*, whom he ſolicited with all his authoritie and meanes, not to comfort any more the *Pyſans* with thoſe properties of ſuccors and fauors which they had accuſtomed to miniſter to them: which requeſt albeit they did not obſerue ſo fully as he required, yet they withdrew and abſteyned from many helpes for his regard: There remeyned onely they of *Genes* and *Sienna* auncient ennemies to the *Florentyns*, hauing equall occaſions of controuerſie againſt that ſtate: the one for the intereſt of *Montpulcian*, and the other by reaſon of the contrey of *Lunigiana*: Touching the *Siennoys*, it was a thing much to be feared, leaſt (being made blinde with hate & enuy) they fel not into their auncient error, in giuing to euery one commoditie to trouble and moleſt the *Florentyns* by the oportunitie of their landes and eſtates, ſuch ſufferance ſometymes not being without their proper domage: And for the *Genovvays*, albeit by reaſon of auncient iniuries, it greeued them not a litle, that the *Venetians* ſhould be Maiſters ouer *Pyſa*, yet (in that citie there is litle care of the cõmon weale) they gaue ſufferance to the *Pyſans* and veſſells of the *Venetians* to exerciſe a traffike in their riuers and ſtreames in regard of a priuate gayne which ſome particulars got by it, by the which the *Pyſans* receiued many great commodities: For theſe reſpects, and alſo by the councell of *Lodovvyk* ſtill ſoliciting, the *Florentyns* ſent Embaſſadors to *Genes* and *Sienna*, to ſolicit (the rather by his meanes) an accord and finall reſolucion of all their quarrells: But as touching the *Genovvays*, the practiſe and negociacion was fruſtrat and brought forth no effect, for that they demaunded to be acqui-

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ted frankly of *Serezana* without giuing other recompense then a simple promise to bereaue the *Pysans* of all oportunities and commodities of their contreyes, wherein the *Florentyns* making conference of the qualitie of the demaund, found the losse so present and certeine, in regard of the profit so incerteine and litle, that they refused to buy so dearly their frendships.

But whilest these deuises occupied the reasons and mindes of men in diuerse places, The *Florentyn* armie, more mighty in horsemen then stronge in footemen, aduaunced into the field vnder their newe generall: By meanes whereof, as the *Pysans*, whose estradiots since the victory of *S. Reall* had made incursions at pleasure ouer the whole contrey, retyred from *Pont desac* where they last incamped: *So Pavvle Vitelli* hauing taken *Calcinaia*, and setling his armie there in exspectacion of a newe strength of footemen, bestowed one day one part of his souldiers in ambushe neare to *Cascina*, whether the regiment of the *Venetians* were retyred, who gouerned by *Marke Martinenguo* were not only without obediēce, but without order, In so much as when *Pavvle Vitelli* gaue the charge to them, he slew many of the stradiots, wtih *Iohn Gradania* Capteine ouer men at armes, and tooke prisoner *Franque* coronell of the stradiots, with the praye of a hundreth horses: The succesſe of this encownter much amased the companies of the *Venetians*, and therefore supposing *Cascina* not sufficient for their safety, they retyred to the borow of *S. Marke*, exspecting new succors to come from *Venice*: But *Pavvle Vitelli*, after he was refurnished with his strength of footemen, and making as though he woulde assayle *Cascina* (which the *Pysans* beleued by many apparances) turned his marche, and beguiling the coniectures of his ennemies, passed ouer the riuer of *Arne*, and pitched his campe before the borow of *Buti*, hauing sent afore, three hundred footemen to keepe occupied the hills & frontyer places: And hauing drawne thether with the strength and working of a number of *Pyonners*, thartillerie by the way of the Mounteine not without great difficultie for the troublesom wayes, he tooke the towne by force the second day after he had braked his artillerie: *Pavvle* made choyse of this enterprise, for that he iudged that *Pysa*, (in the which was an incredible obstinacie aswell of thinhabitants as others retyred out of the contrey, in whom by long vse was great sufficiencie touching actions of warre) could not be taken by force, the city of it selfe being proude in strength of walls and rampiers, and hauing within it many bandes of the men at armes of *Venice*: he held it an action of better pollicie, to deuise rather to languish & consume them, then to execut and enforce them, and setling the warre in that parte of the contrey which is on the right hand of the riuer of *Arne*, he esteemed it a good councell in warre to lay plots to take the peeces in that quarter, and to commaunde all those places by whose helpe and oportunitie, he might giue impediment to the succors that might come to them by land from any forreine contrey: And therfore after the taking of the borow of *Buty*, hauing rayſed a mount or fort vpon the mounteynes which be aboue *S. Iohn de la Vene*, he drewe his campe right afore the fort which the *Pysans* had made neare to *Vicopisan*, drawing thether his artillerie with the same difficulties he did before: And taking almost in one season *Valdecalcio* & building aboue *Vico* in a place called *Pietro Doloroso*, an other bastyllion, to keepe that no succors enter there, he held beseeged the castell of *Verrucola*: In these pollicies of this new generall, to thend the *Pysans* (dowting that he would not assaile *Librafratto* and *Valdeserclo*,) might be lesse ready to be farre from *Pysa*, the Count *Riuuccio* was incamped with other companies at *Valdinieuolo*: All which notwithstanding, foure hundred footemen yssuing out of *Pysa*, brake all the regiment of footemen which

were necligently beſtowed in the church of *S. Michaell* to kepe *Verrucola* beſeeged: But *Pavvle Vitelli*, after he had got the baſtillion, which yelded vpon condicion to carie their Artillerie to *Vicopiſan*, encamped affore *Vicopiſan*, not on that ſide where the *Florentyn* campe was when he was within to defende it, but he laye towardes *S. John de la Vene*, to giue impediments to the ſuccours that were to come from *Piſa*: After the furie of his Artillerie had brought downe to the earth a great quantitie of the walles, the defendants, diſpairing belike of reskewe, rendred the place, their life and goods ſaued: They were perhappes diſcouraged to holde out to thvttermoſt, for that *Pavvle* when he tooke *Buty* (to giue terrour to others) cutte of the handes of three Cannonyers *Germains* which were within the towne, and vſed his victorie with many cruelties: immediatly after the ſucceſſe of *Vicopiſan*, there followed an other occaſion of happie exployte, for that the bandes which were within *Piſa* ſuppoſing it woulde be verie eaſie to ſurpriſe the bulwarke of *Pietro Doloroſo*, they ſent thether affore daye, two hundred light horſemen with many trowpes of footemen, who finding a ſtronger reſiſtaunce then they looked for, loſte more time then the action of their enterpriſe required, in ſo much that whileſt they were giuing the aſſalt, the generall of the *Florentyns*, diſcouering himſelfe vppon the mountaynes thereabouts, and with part of tharmie diſcending to ſuccour the fort, ſent *Vitellettze* with the reſidue of the bandes to giue impediment to their retourne: againſt whom as they interteyned skyrmiſhe in the plaine towardes *Calcy*, the generall fell vpon them on the backes, and putte them to flight, not without the loſſe of many horſemen, and the moſt part of their footebandes.

Vicopiſan rẽdred.

Embaſſadours of the Florentyns at Venice.

But in this diſcourſe and euent of things, the *Florentyns*, hauing ſome likely aduertiſments from the Duke of *Ferrara* and others, that the *Venetians* were not without a willing inclination to peace, whereunto they woulde be more eaſelie induced, if in the action (as belonged to the dignitie and reſpect of ſo great a common weale) they proceeded with tokens and demonſtracions, as though they negociated not with equalls, but with a ſtate of more greatnes: They ſent as Embaſſadours to *Venice* to ſound their intencions *Guid' Antonio Veſpuccio* & *Bernard Rucellai*, two of the moſt honorable cityſens of their common weale: A matter from the which they had abſteyned till that time, partely for that they woulde not offend the minde of king *Charles*, but more for that as they knew them ſelues not to be ſtrong enough to oppreſſe the *Piſans*, ſo they iudged that their peticions woulde be vnprofitable being not accompained neither with reputacion nor forces: but now that they were the ſtronger in the fielde, and that the Duke had publikely declared him ſelfe againſt the *Venetians*, their hopes were greater then their doutes, to finde ſome conuenient meanes of honorable compoſition. The Embaſſadours were receiued with great office and reuerence, and immediatly brought into councell, the Duke ſitting and the whole reſort of Senatours, in whoſe preſence after they had formed many excuſes for not ſending Embaſſadors to thẽ affore, the ſame being refrained for many regardes proceding of the quallitie of times and ſoundry accidents of their Cytie: they required franckly that they woulde abſteine from the defence and protection of *Piſa*, a requeſt whoſe moderation putte them in hope not to be denied, ſeeing that both in the common weale of *Florence*, had bene founde no occaſions of offence or diſpleaſure to them, and alſo according to the rumor and recommendacion that went of the equitie of the Senat of *Venice*, they hoped they woulde not in this caſe abandon iuſtice, which being the piller and foundation of all other vertues, it was but reaſonable to preferre it affore all other reſpectes. To theſe the Duke made

The Florẽtyns ſend Embaſſadours to Venice to treate of the affaires of Piſa.

aunſwere,

aunſwere, that as they coulde not charge the *Florentyns* with any treſpaſſe or iniuries in theſe times, ſo alſo the Senat was not entred into the protection of *Piſa* for any deſire to offende them, but for that the *Florentyns* onely, hauing ſupported in *Italye* the factions of the Frenche, meete and ſimple regardes to the common profitte and ſafetie, had induced all the Potentates of the League to giue faith to the *Piſans*, to helpe them to defende their libertie: wherein, though ſome others of the reſidue did fall into the errour of forgetfulnes after they had giuen their faith: yet the cuſtom of others ſhould brede no lawe in them, and much leſſe contrary to the vſe of their common weale, would they follow them in a matter ſo vnworthy: Onely if the ſtate of *Florence* would propound ſome meane, by the which the libertie of the *Piſans* might be preſerued, they woulde make knowen to all the worlde, that neither for their generall ambycion, nor for their particular or propper profitte, they haue thus long contynued the defenſe of *Piſa*: vpon this aunſwere, they drew certeine dayes to diſputacion vpon ſome meane which might leaue ſatisfied both the one and other parties, wherein ſome contencion riſing, for that neither the *Venetians* nor the *Florentyn* Embaſſadours woulde propounde the meane, they aggreed that the Embaſſadour of *Spaine*, who incouraged them to thaggreement, ſhoulde interpoſe betwene them: this was the meane he opened, that the *Piſans* ſhoulde retourne to the deuocion of the *Florentyns*, not as ſubiectes, but as people recommended, and vnder the ſame capitulations which had bene aggreed vpon at *Piſtoia*, as a thing indifferent betwene ſeruitude and libertie: But the *Venetians* aunſwered, that they coulde not acknowledge any part of libertie in a Cytie wherein the fortreſſes and adminiſtracion of the Lawes were in the power of others: by reaſon whereof th'Embaſſadours of *Florence* interpreting this aunſwere to a denyall of their demaundes, departed from *Venice* with this coniecture, that the Senate, onles they were compelled by neceſſitie, would not abandon the defenſe of *Piſa*, whether they ſent ſupplies of ſouldiours continually: beſides, they had in the beginning no great feare of thenterpriſe of the *Florentyns*, for that deferring the action till the moſt part of the ſpring was paſte, they coulde not long kepe the fielde, the countrey of *Piſa*, by reaſon of his baſenes and lownes, being much ſubiect to waters: And laſtely hauing of new taken to their paye vnder the Duke of *Vrbyn* (to whom they gaue the title of gouernour) and vnder certaine other capteines, fiue hundred men at armes, being holpen with all with diuerſe good intelligences: they had determined, (the more eaſely to tourne the *Florentyns* from offending the *Piſans*) to begin the warre in an other place, ioyning alſo to their plottes the oportunitie of *Peter de Medicis*, at whoſe perſwacions they interteyned into their paye *Charles Vrſin* and *Bart. Alviane* with two hundred men at armes: They were not alſo without hope, to be able to induce *Iohn Bentiuole* to cõſent that they might make warre vpon the *Florẽtyns* on the ſide of *Bolognia*, for that the Duke of *Myllan* (ſtirred belike for that in the reteyning which was made of *Annyball* his ſonne the *Venetians* were preferred before him, and ioyning to that new offence a recordacion of olde iniuries done againſt him, as he ſayed, when the Duke of *Calabria* paſſed into *Romagnia*) had occupied certeine Caſtells which belonged to the Duchie of *Myllan*, and poſſeſſed by right of dowrie, by *Alexander* his ſonne: For theſe cauſes albeit he forbare not to vexe him vpon euery occaſion, yet the Caſtells being at laſte reſtored to him againe at the requeſt of the *Florentyns*, the deuiſe to make warre on that ſide, was broken: Therefore the *Venetians* labored to diſpoſe them of *Sienna* to graunt that they might beginne the warre in their Quarters, wherein they grew into hope to preuaile (be-

The Duke of Venice aunſwereth the Florentine Embaſſadors.

sides their ordinarie disposition against the *Florentyns*)by a diuisiō that was in *Sienna* amongest the cytysens: for *Pandolphe Petruccio* with his witte and suttletie, hauing drawen to himselfe almoste a speciall authoritie ouer the councells and busynes of the cytie, *Nicholas Borgheſe* his father in lawe and the famulie of the *Belantis*, to whom his greatnes was displeasing, laboured that passage might be graunted to the Duke of *Vrbyn* and the *Vrsins*, who, with foure hundred men at armes, two thousand footemen, and foure hundred estradyottes, were staied by commission of the *Venetians* at *Fratte* in the countrey of *Perovvse:* They alleaged also that to make truce with the *Florentyns* according to the solicitation of the Duke of *Myllan* and contynuall instaunce of *Pandolfe*, was no other thing, then to giue them opportunitie and meanes to dispatch the affaires of *Pysa*, which being resolued, they woulde be so much more mighty to bring iniuries and subiection vppon them and theirs: And therefore they ought (making their profitte of occasions, as apperteyned to wise men)to be resolute in this, not to make other accord with them then a peace, which might make thē giue ouer the right they pretended to *Montpulcian*, a graunt whereunto they knew the *Florentyns* woulde neuer agree: And then it woulde follow by necessitie, that the demaundes of the *Venetians* must be consented vnto, with whom hauing obteyned this first place of grace, they hoped easely to embase the authority of *Pandolfe*, who, hauing made himselfe authour of the contrarie opinion at the perswacion of the Duke of *Myllan*, founde enough to do to menteyne it, for that the hatred which the people bare naturally to the *Florentyns* coulde do much, and it was not vnlikely that by this feare, it might be brought to passe, that they woulde disclaime the right of *Montpulcian:* This couetousnes accompanied with hatred, had more force then the consideracions alleaged by *Pandolfe*, either touching the trauells that woulde follow the warre, if it were drawen vpon their countrey, or in regard of the daungers, which with time woulde afflict *Tuskane* by the greatnes of the *Venetians*: for iustification wherof(sayth he)we neede not haue recourse to thex-
1578. amples of others, seeing euen of late memorie, for fauoring the faction of *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* against the *Florentyns*, they were in perill to fall into seruitude, if *Ferdinand*, for the occupacion which *Mahomet Ottoman* made of the towne of *Ottrante* in the kingdome of *Naples*, had not bene compelled to call home from *Sienna* the personne of *Alphonso* his sonne, and his Regiment: And that their histories and traditions tell them (without these examples) that the same desire to offende the *Florentyns* by the meane of the erle of *Vertus*, together with the disdaine conceiued for the respect of *Montpulcian*, was the cause that of themselues, they had assubiected to him their proper countrey: These reasons, albeit they were true, yet not sufficient to represse the furie & affectiōs of the others, so that he was not without apparaunt daunger of some tumulte to be raised by his aduersaries. Notwithstāding to preuent them, he caused suddeinly to enter into *Sienna*, many of his freindes thereaboutes, by whom he wrought with so great courage and witte, that at the same instaunt, the *Florentyns* sent to *Poggi Imperiall* three hundred men at armes and a thousand footemen, with whose reputation & force, confounding the audacitie of his aduersaries, he brought to passe a truce for fiue yeres with the *Florentyns*: who, preferring a seruile feare of perilles present, affore regard to dignitie and honour, bounde themselues to pull downe one parte of the bridge of *Valiane*, and to dismantle euen to the earth, the bastillion which had so much molested the *Siennoys*: they condiscended further, that the *Siennoys* within a certeine time, might builde such fortes and fortresses as they woulde betwene the shoare and channell of *Chianes*, and the towne of

Truce betwen the Siennoys & Florentyns.

Mont-

Montpulcian: By this accord *Pandolfe*, rising into a stomack and greatnes more then before, founde meanes soone after to kill his father in lawe, who, with too liberall a disposition of minde, obiected him selfe against his purposes: and so by the dispatch of him, increasing terror in the residue, he confirmed him selfe daylie more & more in tyrannie. By this accord, the *Venetians*, being depriued of the hope they had to diuert or torne by the waye of *Sienna*, the *Florentyns* from thenterprise of *Pysa*, and being not able to obtaine licence of the *Perusins*, to manage the warre by their countreys, They determined to vexe them on that side to *Romagna*, hoping with the auncient fauours and factions which *Peter de Medicis* had there, to aspire easely to thoccupacion of those places which they helde in thappenin: In so much, that hauing obteyned passage of the little Lorde of *Faenze*, by the vale of *Lamone*, with one part of their Regyment which they had in *Romagna*, with whom *Peter* and *Iulyan de Medicis* were ioyned: they occupied the borough of *Maradi* scituat vpon thappenin on that side which lookes towardes *Romagna*, where was made against them no resistaunce, for that *Dennys* of *Nalde* a man of the same vale, interteyned by the *Florentyns* with three hundred footemen to defende it, together with the strength of the countrey, ledde thether so small a force of footemen, that he durst not abide there: By meanes whereof they incamped afore the Rocke of *Chastillion* built in a place aboue the saied borough, which they hoped to carye, though by no other meane, yet by want of many things which they knew to be within it, but specially the lacke of water, and so by thopportunitie of that, to haue free waye to passe into *Mugelle*, which is a countrey neere to *Florence*: But as it is hard to assure any thing that dependes vppon the will of an other, and much lesse can the wisdome of man warrant all those things which imaginacion and coniecture doe suggest: So, they founde them selues deceyued in the iudgement of those wantes which they supposed the Rocke did suffer, for that the constancie and diligence of the Castell keeper, supplied the slender prouisions of vittelles that were within it, and the liberalitie of heauen auoyded the penurye of water, rayning so much in one night as all the vessells and cesternes being full, they were deliuered from that paine: And in the meane while, the Count *Rinucci* with the Lorde of *Plombyn* & other capteines, being stolne vppon the ennemie by the waye of *Mugelle*, enforced them to the chasse, hauing vndertaken this enterprise with a greater confidence in their diligence, then with sufficient strength: Besides, the Count *Caiazze* sent to *Cotignole* by the Duke of *Myllan* with three hundred men at armes and a thousand footemen, together with *Fracasse* interteyned by the same Duke, who was within *Furly* with a hundred men at armes, prepared to charge them vpon the backe: The consideraciō of these daungers, and to auoyde the harmes that threatned, they went and ioyned with the Duke of *Vrbyn*, then departed from the countrey of *Perouse*, and with other Regiments of the *Venetians*, who altogether were bestowed betwene *Rauenna* and *Furly*, but with a very small hope of happie enterprise, for that, besides the bandes of the *Florentyns*, there was in *Romagna* a strength of fiue hundred men at armes, fiue hūdred crosbow shotte, and a thousand footemen of the Duchie of *Myllan*, the impediment also which *Imola* and *Furly* gaue to them, being of great importaunce.

But in this meane while *Pavvle Vitelli* who, after the taking of *Vicopisan* had remeyned there certeine dayes exspecting prouisions necessarie that were to come, and continuyng in one intencion to cutte of from the *Pysans* the commoditie and meanes of succours, was gone to thenterprise of *Librafatte*: And the easier to approch that part of the towne which was most weake, and to preuent the disposicion

of the ennemie to inuade his armie much troubled with artillerie and cariage, he left the waye which discendes by the mounteynes to the plaine of *Pysa*, and cutting by force of *Pionners* a new waye through the mounteines, he tooke in his marching the same daye, the bastillion of the *Mont Maior*, which the *Pysans* had built vpon the toppe of the mounteine, and so descended with great sewertie into the plaine of *Librafatta:* where, hauing easely the daye after, brought into necessitie to yelde the bandes of footemen that had the charge of *Potito* and the olde castell, (two towers aunswering one an other verie neare *Librafatta*) he bestowed in the second tower and in other places, certeine peeces of artilleries to gouerne the towne, which was well manned and garded, conteyning two hundred footemen of the *Venetians*: from these places he battered the wall both on high and belowe, and from the first daye had hope to carye it: But after the wall was shaken with thartillerie, there fell by chaunce so great a parte of it in the night, that the ruinous matter raised the rampier which was begonne there aboue foure cubits: In so much as *Pavvle*, assaying in vaine three dayes together to mount vp with ladders, beganne to dout much of the succesſe, the rather for that the armie receiued great harmes by a peece of artillerie which came from the towne by a lowe lowpe hoale: But his industrie & vertue was aided by the benefitte of Fortune (without whose fauour great capteines are oftentimes deceiued in their enterprises) for that with a great shotte out of the camppe, the peece which bette them was broken, and one of the best Cannonyers within the place killed, the boollett passing through the towne: which accident so amased those within the towne, being so commaunded by thartillerie of the seconde tower, that they durst not assemble to make head: but yelded the fourthe daye, and not long after, the castell abyding some shotte of the cannon, did the like: After the conqueſt of *Librafatta*, he deuised to make certaine bastillions vppon the hilles thereaboutes, but chiefly he erected one of capacitie to receiue great nombers of men, aboue *Santa Maria in Castello*, called by the name of the mount, where was built the bastillion of *la ventura* commaunding the contrey thereaboutes: This and *Librafatta* being garded, troubled all commodities that might come to *Pysa* by the waye of *Lucque* and *Petra sancta*, and brought besides, generall distresses to the state of the common cause of *Pysa*.

Librafatta taken by Pawle Vitelli.

The Venetiās careful to succour the Pysans.

In this variacion and fortune of things, the *Venetians* ceassed not to study meanes by the which they might minister comfort to *Pysa*, sometimes with immediat succours, and sometimes by diuerting and drawing awaye the forces of thennemie: Wherein they hoped to preuaile the rather for the differences which hapned betwene the Duke of *Myllan* and the *Marquis* of *Mantua*, entred of newe into the appointments and directions of the Duke: who, because he woulde not take awaye the title of capteine generall ouer all his companies from *Galeas de S. Seuerin* more great with him by fauour then by vertue: had promised to the *Marquis* to honour him within three monthes with the place of capteine generall in common either with th'Emprour, or with the Pope, or with king *Federyk*, or with the *Florentyns*: which being not performed by *Lodovvyk* at the terme promised, *Galeas* giuing many impediments against it, and adding to the wronge, many other difficulties vpon the paymentes of his interteynments: The *Marquis* determyned to reenter into the paye of the *Venetians*, who practised to sende him to the succours of *Pysa*, with three hundred men at armes: whereof *Lodovvyk* hauing a liuely doute, and dreading by the propertye of his witte (sounding the bottom of things) the daungers that might growe by the losse of a man of that importaunce, declared him immediatly by the consent

consent of *Galeas*, capteine to th'Emprour and to him: But such is the mutabilitie of men marcenorie, that as their profession is to liue by occasions & diuisions of times and Princes, so, oftentimes they interprette small faltes to great causes of their reuolt and chaunge, holding it no iniustice to disappoint those that breake the first promise with them, according to thexample of this *Marquis*, who, hauing already bene at *Venice*, and communicated with the Senat the great confidence he had to enter *Pysa* in despite of the *Florentyne* bandes, was reentred into their paye: And receiuing parte of his paye in prest, he retourned to *Mantua*, preparing himselfe to thexpedicion, which he had further aduaunced, and put his companies to marche, if the *Venetians* had vsed the same diligence to dispatche him, which they did to interteine him: But becausse they beganne to procede slowly vppon thoccasion of a new hope they had, that by certeine auncient fauorers of the *Medicis*, they shoulde be able to obteine *Bybiene*, a borough in the contrey of *Casentin*, they were of opinion that in regard of the difficulties to passe to *Pysa*, it woulde be more profitable to diuert then to succor: The *Marquis* taking his aduauntage of these delaies, and iustely displeased with the forme of their dealinges, retorned eftsoones to the paye of *Lodovvyk* with three hundred men at armes and a hundred light horsemen, vnder the honour and title of Capteine to th'Emprour and to him, reteyning the money he had receiued of the *Venetians* vppon an accompt or reckoning for payes due of olde: The practise which was debated with the *Venetians*, was not without suspicion to the *Florentyns*, who, besides their generall meanes of aduertisement, had certeine dayes before, a particular intelligence from *Bolognia*: But it often happeneth, that diligent and wise councells be vnprofitable when they are executed with negligence and indiscression: for, the commissarie or commissioner whom they sent thether to assure them from such a daunger, after he had apprehended such as he douted most and bare apparaunt guiltynes of the practise, tourning their dissembled faith into true meaning, and their offence into innocencie, he sette then eftsoones at libertie, and in other thinges was so negligent, that he made the action easie to *Alviane* appointed for thexecucion of this practise: for, he hauing sent before certeine horsemen attyred like vittellers, & they marching all night, were at the gate by the point of daye, which they wonne and occupied without difficultie, for that the negligẽce of the commissarie had not onely left it without garde, but also not sette order that the gate should be opened later then was wont in times nothing daungerous: After these first troupes, followed with a ready speede & diligence, other bandes of horsemen, who named themselues by the warres to be of the regyments of the *Vitellis*: Assoone as the gate was possest by the soldiours forreine, the parties to the conspiracie within the towne, drawing to commotion in their fauour, they embraced immediatly the whole towne, and were absolute maisters of thenterprise: At what time they were also incouraged with the presence of *Alviano*, who arriuing the same day, and albeit had but a small proporcion of souldiours (his nature being alwayes to follow the aide and benefit of occasions, yea to preuent them with his incredible diligence) yet he went soddeinly to assaile *Poppi*, the principall borough of that vallie, but finding a resistaunce aboue his strength, he deuised to occupie the places neareſt to *Bybienne*, albeit but litle and of no great importaunce: The contrey of *Casentyn*, amid the which ronneth the riuer of *Arne*, is a contrey narrow, barren and full of hills, seated at the foote of the Alpes of *Appenyn*, at that time laden with snowes for that the spring was but then begonne: Neuertheles it had bene a passage verie commodious to goe to *Florence*, if thenterprise of *Poppy* had succeded well to *Alviano*,

Alviano taketh Bybienna.

and no leſſe conuenient to make entrey into the contreys of *Aretze* and *Valdarno*, contreys which for the plentie of great townes and boroughes, were of great importance to theſtate of the *Florentyns:* who taking occaſion of the preſent perill, not to be negligent, refurniſhed with a ready ſpeede, all places needefull, breaking by that meanes thexecucion of a conſpiracie pretẽded in *Aretze:* And ſtudying aboue all other things to cutte from the *Venetians* all meanes of new ſuccours and ſupplies to the contrey of *Caſentyn*, they called from *Pyſa* the Count *Rinucce*, and diſpatched him ſpeedely to occupye the wayes of *th'Appenin* betwene *Valdibagna* and the ſtraite of *S. Stephen:* who, albeit he diſpoſed his Regiment into trowpes and companies as the nature of the place and preſent ſeruice required, yet was both their ſtrength and induſtrie vnprofitable to let the Duke of *Vrbyn*, *Charles Vrſin* and other capteines from paſſing, whoſe ſtrength in the ſayed valley being ſeuen hundred men at armes and ſix thowſand footemen with ſome bandes of Lanceknights, cõmaunded all the contrey of *Caſſentyn*, except a verie few places, and eftſoones gaue a new life to the olde enterpriſe to take *Poppy*, but their diligence was vnprofitable and the whole action in vaine: By meanes whereof the *Florentyns* were compelled (according to the proper intencion of the *Venetians*) to call backe from the affaires of *Pyſa Pavvle Vitello* with his bandes, leauing ſufficient garde in the places of importance, and alſo in the baſtillion of *Laventura*: his comming into the contrey *Caſentyn*, cauſed to retire the *Venetiãs*, who were remoued to incamppe the ſame day about *Pratto Vecchio*, and *Fracaſſo* being ioyned with him (ſent by the Duke of *Myllan* with fiue hundred men at armes & fiue hundred footemen in fauor of the *Florentyns*) he brought preſently into harde tearmes and difficulties the ſtate of thennemies, who were diſperſed into diuerſe places, both for thincõmoditie of the contrey, which was ſtraite and narrow, and alſo for that (to thende they might haue free entrey and going out of the contrey *Caſentyn*) they were compelled to kepe the wayes of *Vernia*, *Chiuſa*, and *Montalona*, places verie high vpon the *Alpes:* By which meane, being incloſed in that vallye in a ſeaſon verie ſharppe, they were without all exſpectacion of aduauncement either there, or in any other place, the Count *Rinucce* being within *Aretze* with two hundred men at armes: And in the contrey *Caſentyn*, the enterpriſe of *Poppy* not ſucceding in the beginning, & the name of the *Medicis* bearing no further power or authoritie, for that the ſpirites and affections of the men of the countrey were againſt them, they had receiued many harmes of the Paiſantes afore the comming of *Vitello:* In which regard, together with an aſſured intelligence of his comming, and the marching of *Fracaſſe*, they ſent backe beyond the *Alpes*, one parte of their cariage and artillerie, & drew them ſelues all together into one ſtrength as the nature of the place woulde ſuffer: Againſt whom, *Pavvle Vitelli* determined to vſe his coſtume, which was (to carie the victorie with more eaſe and ſewertie) to beare no regard neither to the longnes of time, nor to great paines and trauell, and much leſſe to exſpences, eſteeming it a better office in a generall to proceede with all neceſſarie prouiſions, then, for a deſire of glorie to make the victorie ſpeedy, to putte in perill the yſſue of thinges, and the whole armie in hazarde: In ſo much as (touching the contrey *Caſentyn*) hiscounſell was, not to attempt ſuddeinly any action vppon the places moſte ſtrong, but in the beginning to make the ennemie abandon the peeces moſt weake, and to choake and cloaſe the wayes of the *Alpes* and the ſtreytes of the contrey, with baſtillions, gardes, and intrenched wayes, with other fortifications, both to cutte of all ſuccours and ſupplies, and to take from them all meanes of mutuall aides and reskew from one place to an other: hoping that this

forme

forme and manner of proceeding woulde in the ende breede occasions to oppresse them further, besides that the great nombers that were within *Bybyenna* coulde not but consume, both by the incommoditie of horsemen and want of vittells: With this councell, hauing recouered certeine places neere to *Bybienna*, for their qualitie but of small importance, but for their commodities very proper for his intencion (with the which he looked in the ende to preuaile) And wynning euery daye more and more, he stripped euery daye many men at armes bestowed in diuerse peeces neere to *Bybienna*: And to cutte of all wayes from the bandes of the *Venetians* assembling beyond the mountes to mynister reskew to their peoples, he deuised to commaunde all the places about the mount *la Vernia*, & to intrench all the wayes thereaboutes: In so much as many difficulties increasing to the ennemies together with necessities and want of vittells, many of them refused the camppe, who stealing awaye by soundry wayes, fell euery day into chaunge of distresse and fortune, sometimes vexed with troublesome passages, and sometimes stripped by the paisantes, & oftentimes slaine by the soldiours: These were the actions of armes betwene the *Venetians* and *Florentyns*.

Meanes of accord.

Now in these times, albeit th'Embassadors of *Florence*, were departed from *Venice* without any hope of accorde, yet was there holden at *Ferrara*, a new practise of composicion moued by the Duke of *Ferrara* at the instaunce of the *Venetians*: Amongest whom many of those which held the greatest authoritie in that Senat, no lesse weary of the warre drawing with it increase of expenses and difficulties, then now made voyde of all hopes to preuaile further in the contrey of *Cassantyn*, desired to shake of the studies and trauells they suffred for the defense of *Pisa*, the cares and charges of that warre being greater without comparison, then the commodities or frutes of the seruice, in which regard they were ready to omitte no occasion which might minister any honest cooller to be discharged of it.

The doings of the frēch king during the warre of Pisa.

But whilest the regions of *Italy* were in these afflictions for the quarrells of *Pisa*, the new frenche King forgatte not to make preparacions to execute the conquest of *Myllan* the yeare next following: Wherein he hoped to haue in his fauor and on his side the freindshippe of the *Venetians*, who, caried with an incredible hate against the Duke of *Myllan*, helde straite negociacion with his maiestie: No lesse did solicite with the King in no litle secrecy & earnestnes the Pope, who, excluded from the alliance of *Federyk* and embrasing still the desire to the kingdom of *Naples*, was wholly conuerted into the hopes of the Frenche, by whose meanes he sought to obteine for his sonne the Cardinall of *Valence*, *Charilotta*, doughter to *Federyk*, who was not yet maried, but trained vp in the court of *France*: Wherein the king nourrishing him with some tokens of hope, for that he supposed the power ouer her mariage rested in his maiestie, the Cardinall (ioyning with the intencion of his father) entred one morning into the consistorie, and with an action in speeche and gesture farre from the office and modestie of his profession, besought his father and the whole colleadge of Cardinalls, that seeing he entred not into priesthood of his proper will and disposicion, that they woulde make it lawfull to him, to leaue the dignitie and the habitte, to follow the exercise whereunto his destinie and inclinacion drew him: This request being made easie in the Cardinalls by purchasse and corrupcions, was not denied of his father, whose authoritie going with the infected partialities of the Cardinalls, made his demaunde lawfull, and ratified it: And so resuming the habite of a personne seculer, he prepared speedely to go into *Fraunce*, by whom the Pope sent this comfort and promise to the King, to make it lawfull by

The cardinall of Valēce the Popes sonne renoūceth his profession.

thauthoritie apoſtolike to refuſe his wyfe: And the king, for his part, became bound to ayde him (aſſoone as he had conquered the Duchie of *Myllan*) to reduce into thobedience of the holy ſea, all the townes poſſeſſed by the Viccairs of *Romagna*, and withall, to giue him preſently thirtie thouſand duckattes vnder this cooller that he was conſtrained to interteine a greater force for the gard of his perſon: as though to knit himſelfe with the French king were to ſtirre vp many of the Potentates in *Italie* to ſeeke to hurt and oppreſſe him: For the execution of theſe couenantes, both the king began to make payment of the money and the Pope committed the action of the diuorce to the biſhop of *Setto* his *Nuncio*, and to tharchbiſhops of *Parys* and *Roan*: And albeit in the trauerſe of the cauſe, the kinges wyfe impugned the iudgement: yet in the ende, holding for no leſſe ſuſpected the conſciences of the Iudges, then the might and greatnes of her aduerſarie, ſhe tooke comfort in her innocencie and diſclaimed her ſuite, receiuing for thinterteinment of her perſon, the Duchie of *Berry*, with thirtie thouſande Frankes of Reuenue: And ſo the diuorce confirmed by ſentence of the Iudges, there reſted nothing els exſpected, for the diſpenſing and and accompliſhing of the new mariage, but the comming of *Cæſar Vorgia*, lately of a Cardinall and Archbiſhop of *Valence*, become a ſoldiour and Duke of *Valentinoys*: the king hauing giuen him a companie of a hundred Launces and twentie thouſand Frankes penſion: and for his title of dukedome, he indued him with *Valence* a Citie of *Danphyne*, with twentie thouſand Frankes of Reuenue: he embarqued at *Oſtia* vppon the Gallyes which the king ſent him, and arryued about the end of the ſame yeare at the french Court, where he entred with a pomp and pride incredible, and brought with him the Cardinalles hatt for George *Amboiſe* Archbiſhop of *Roan*, Who, hauing alwayes affore, participated in the daungers and fortunes of the king, helde with him great authoritie, grace, and reputation. This new Duke albeit he was receiued of the king with great honour and all other offices of court, yet his manner of dealing was not well lyked in the beginning, for that, according to the direction and councell of his father, he denied that he had brought with him the bull of diſpenſacion, hoping that the deſire to obteine it, would make the king more eaſie to aſſiſt his plottes and purpoſes, then would do the remembrance that he had receiued it, vſing this reaſon, that there is nothing endureth ſo ſmall a tyme as the memorie of benefittes receiued, & the more great they bee, the more commonly are they recompenced with ingratitude: But the biſhop of *Setto* reueiling the truth ſecretly to the king, who making it ſufficient to godwarde, that the bull was diſpatched and ratified, conſommated the mariage openly with his new wyfe, without making more demaundes for the bull: the ſame being the cauſe that the Duke could no longer keepe from him the bull Authentyke and iuſtefied: And finding out after by ſuttle inquirie that the biſhop of *Setto* had reuealed the matter, he cauſed him ſoone after by ſecret meanes to dye of poyſon, the vnfortunate biſhop not remembring that in matters of eſtate betweene princes he that diſcloſeth his ſecret to another worketh to himſelf the occaſion of his death. The king being now in ſome ſtabilitie of minde by his new mariage, began to be carefull to renue leagues & amities with his neighbours, making preſentlie a firme peace with the king of *Spaine*, who, bearing now no more regarde to the thinges of *Italie*, called home all his Embaſſadours remayning there, except him that laye reſident with the Pope, and readiourned *Conſaluo* into *Spaine* with all his regiment, leauing to *Federick* all thoſe peeces in *Calabria* which he had holden till that day: he had a great deale more trouble to accorde with the king of *Romains*, who was newly diſcended into *Burgongny* by occaſion of ſome commotions

The Cardinall of Valence Duke of Valentynois.

The French king maketh peace with his neighbours.

mocions ſtirring there,being for that expediciō, ayded with a round ſumme of money by the Duke of *Myllan*,in whom preuayled muche this kinde of perſuacion,that eyther the warre which hee ſhould make vppon the french king, would turne him from thenterpriſe of *Italy*, or at leaſt, if any agreement ſucceeded betweene them,he ſhould be comprehēded in it as the king of *Romains* had aſſuredly promiſed him:But at laſt,after much diſcourſe of reaſonings and meetings, the king made a new peace with Tharchduke, by the which were to bee rendered vnto him the places of the countrey of *Artoys*, a thing which to thende it might bring effect and profit to his ſonne,the king of *Romains* conſented to make truce with him for many monethes, without making mencion of the Duke of *Myllan*, againſt whom he ſeemed at that tyme much diſcontented, for that he had not alwayes ſatisfied his infinit demaunds of money : Laſtly, the french king, ratifiyng the peace made with the king of Englande by his predeceſſor,reiected all ſolicitacions and ſuites made to him to receiue the Duke of *Myllan* to any compoſicion, who for his part albeit he proteſted large offers & offices,& vſed no leſſe corrupcions to induce him, yet all his induſtries and practiſes were vaine in the kings ſight, who to lay a more ſure foūdaciō of the warre pretended,ſought how he might at one time,tie to him in ſuertie of amitie the *Venetians* & *Florentyns*, and therefore he required with great importunities that ceaſſing to vexe the *Piſans*,the *Venetians* would put *Piſa* into his hands : wherunto the rather to draw the *Florentyns* to conſent,he offred ſecretly to reſtore it to thē within a ſhort tyme : This practiſe being founde full of many difficulties, and concurring in it diuers endes and intreſtes,was for many monethes debated with delayes : for that the *Florentyns* (holding it neceſſarie that in that caſe they ſhould make aliance with the french king,and fearing by the remembrance of thinfidelitie of *Charles*, the preſent buſines ſhould ſuffer no leſſe breach of promyſe in the king raigning) coulde not agree amongſt themſelues, nor conſent in vnitie of opinion and councell : wherein one reaſon of their diſagreement was,that their citie was vnquietly toſſed betweene thambicion of ſome of the greateſt Rulers,and the vnbridled libertie of the gouernment popular,and being reappoſed (by reaſon of the warre of *Piſa*) vppon the Duke of *Myllan*,the whole citie was falne into ſuch generall diuiſion, that it was harde to deliberat in peace and quiet vppon matters of importance, ſome of the principall citizens deſiring the victorie to the french king,and others of the contrary, bearing their whole affections to the Duke of *Myllan* : The *Venetians* alſo, notwithſtanding all other difficulties had bene ouercome which might hinder the accorde, had yet determined not to conſent to put *Piſa* into a third hande,hoping that for the regarde of the repayment of their charges,and to leaue *Piſa* with leſſe diſhonor, they ſhould obteine better condicions in the negociacion that was holden at *Ferrara*,which was vehemently ſolicited by *Lodouvyk*,both for feare leaſt the deputacion of *Piſa* falling to the french,both thoſe common weales would knit with the king: and alſo hoping that the cōtrouerſie being accorded for the profit of *Italy*,the *Venetians* would ſhake of & leaue there the malice they had to hurt him: which reſpects & cōſideraciō together with the practiſe that continued at *Ferrara*, diſpleaſed not a litle the french king : lyke as alſo the Pope, to make his profit of the trauels of others, ſought indirectly to hinder it, For that ſtanding in great place of credit & fauour with the king ſo far as concerned the affaires of *Italy*,he hoped that making *Piſa* to diuolue by deputacion to the king,hee ſhould in ſome ſort participate with a plentifull ſhare.

The french king requireth Piſa in truſt.

But as in matters of enterpryſe, wyſe men will debate all thinges „ at lardge, and by howe muche the cauſe is wayghtie and maye nouryſhe „

" occasion of many accidentes and fortunes, by so much it concerneth the reputaci-
" on of maiestrates and councellours, not only to looke into the generall estate & na-
" ture of the busines, but to examine euerie particular circumstance with a full dis-
The Venetians take coũcell whether they should ioyne with the french king.
course of reason, wisdome, and foresight: euen so in these actions of practise and in-
telligences, they consulted at *Venice*, whether, if the king missed of his demaund for
the deputacion whereunto they had determined neuer to consent, they might enter
confederation with him touching the warre against the Duke of *Myllan*, as the king
" with great importunitie had solicited, and offred them for the reward of the victory
" the citie of *Cremona* and all *Guiaradadda*: an offer, which albeit was greatly desired of
" them all with no smal ambiciõ, yet the deliberation seemed to some of them to cary
" so many respects & cõsideracions of importance, & that the power of a french king
" in *Italy* could not but bring daũger to their estate, that the matter was brought into
" the councell of the *Pregati* (the chiefest assemblie amongst them) & there was dispu-
" ted with no smal diuersitie of opinions & reasons: Amongst whom, one day where-
" in the last resolucion should be set downe, *Anthony Grymany*, a man for his authoritie
" much reuerenced, & for his wisdom no lesse respected, persuaded the residue of the
" Senat in this sort.

The oration of Anthonie Grymany.
It is (my Lords) in the disposiciõ of men, a custome vile & odious, to forget what
they haue receiued of their frendes euen whẽ they were at point to fal into their full
" ruine & desolaciõ: But it is an vnthãkfulnes too intollerable & euẽ slaũderous to na-
" ture & all natural office, to requite benefits with iniuries, & make recompẽce to the
" merits & good wills of men, with cõspiracies & harmes stretching to the spoiles of
" those by whose helpes & ministracions they were earst preserued: And as in cases of
" harmes and domages, there is no man that can tell how sweete is the passion of re-
" uenge, better then he that hath receiued the hurt: So, the dispite of the iniurie draw-
" ing with it a desire of reuenge, I can not thinke that it is any iniustice to be reuẽged
" of him that hath don the first wrõg: if therfore (my Lords) you wel cõsider the great-
" nes of the good turnes which the Duke of *Myllã* hath receiued of our cõmon weale,
" by the which in these latter yeares, his whole estate hath receiued his whole protec-
" tion and preseruacion: and of the contrary, looke thorowly into the parts of his in-
" gratitude training many grosse iniuries don to vs, to compel vs to abandon the de-
" fense of *Pisa*, wherunto he gaue vs the first suggestion & encouragemẽt: I doubt not,
" but making a right collection of his dealings & behauiors past, you wil iudge against
" his corrupt properties & condicions, & so not thinke it vnnecessary to be reuenged
" of him, that hath not thought it dishoneste to requite our frendships and well mea-
" ning, with iniuries and actions of conspiracie: There can not happen a greater infa-
" my to this common weale, then by the tolleracion of so many apparant wronges, to
" expresse to all the worlde that we are come to degenerat from the magnanimitie of
" our elders, with whom this was an auncient and setled custome, that as often as they
" were discontented with offences, they neuer refused to embrase any perill or daun-
" ger, to preserue the dignitie, reputacion, and honour of the name of the *Venetians*:
" and not without reason: for that the deliberacions of common weales require not
" regardes and endes abiect and priuat, and muche lesse that all their councelles
" and actions stande only vppon respectes to profite. But it is also conuenient
" that they aspyre to endes more excellent and honourable by the which may bee
" increased their glorie, and their reputacion preserued: A matter which nothing
" makes so soone to be lost and defaced, as when there is occasion giuen to the world
" to thinke that there is neither valour, vertue, nor habilitie, to be touched with the

remem-

remembrance of iniuries receiued, nor no readines showed to be reuenged: An action not a litle necessary, not so much for the sweetnes and pleasure in the reuenge, as for that the iustice and punishment of the offendor, breedes suche example to others, that they will haue lesse courage to attempt the lyke: of suche consequence is that glorie which is founde to bee ioyned with vtilitie, high and honorable deliberacions alwayes declaring themselues full of commodities and profits: Thus one displeasure takes away from men many other, and oftentymes, by one only & short punishment they are founde to bee deliuered from many and very long paynes: And yet if wee consider the state of thaffaires of *Italy*, and the dispocicion of many great Princes against vs, together with thambushes which *Lodovvyk Sforce* dresseth continually agaynst vs, wee may knowe, that wee are ledde to this deliberation, no lesse by the necessitie present, then in consideration of other things: for, *Lodovvyk* pushed on by his naturall ambicion equall with the hate he beares to this most excellent Senat, hath nothing in more great care or study, then to dispose the myndes of all the Potentates in *Italy* against vs, to set the king of *Romains* in discontentment with vs, to make vs hatefull to the whole nation of the *Iermains*, and lastly, he begins for the same effect to interteyne intelligence and practise with the Turke: you see already with what difficulties (by his meanes & working) yea almost without hope, wee susteine the defence of *Pisa*, and manage the warre in *Casentyn*: which if it bee continued, it can not bee without heaping greater effectes of daungers and disorders: And if it be abandoned without laying other foundation to our affaires, it can not bee but with so great a diminucion of reputacion, that it ministreth a wonderfull courage to who so euer hereafter shall haue dispocicion to oppresse vs: and it can not bee vnknowen to all your wisdomes, that it is more easie to oppresse him that beginnes to declyne, then him that standes hable to iustefie himselfe in the full of his reputacion: of which thinges the effectes would clearely appeare to vs, and wee should also see our estate full of tumult and brutes of warre, if *Lodovvyk* were not kept in suspence by the feare he hath, least we ioyne with the french: A feare which long tyme is not hable to conteyne him: for who knoweth not that the king, made frustrat of the hope which he hath that we wil ioyne with him, will eyther attempt some other enterprise beyõd the mountes, or at least, ouercome with the perswacions & offers of *Lodovvyk*, by the meanes of his corruptions & fauours he hath in the french court, wil fall to some accord with him: So that in the consideratiõ and comparison of thinges, necessitie to mainteyne our auncient dignitie and glory constraines vs to knit with the french king, but much more are we compelled by the aspecte of the great and imminent daungers, which can not bee auoyded by other meanes: wherein it seemes that fortune followeth vs with a speciall fauour, seeing she bringes to passe that wee are sought to by so great a king, whom it is a iust office in vs to seeke and beseech with humilitie, besides that hee offreth vs so great and honourable recompenses of the victorie, as by those helpes and meanes this Senat may fashion great hopes, and employe their conceyptes in the plott and compassing of great thinges, specially the victorie being to bee gayned with so great facilitie, and *Lodovvyk* so farre too weake to resist two powers so mightie and well vnited: it is a vaine feare in my opinion to doubt that the neighbourhed of the french king when he shall haue conquered the Duchie of *Millan*, wilbe eyther suspicious or daungerous to vs: for that in iudgement and forecast it may bee seene, that many thinges which seeme nowe contrarie, will then bee chaunged into fauours and good dispocicion towardes vs, seeing that suche an increase

" and amplitude of greatnes to the french Crowne will breede ſuſpicion in the mindes
" of all the principallities of *Italy*, and ſtir vp the king of *Romains* with the regions of
" *Iermany*, to be diſcontented that a french king ſhould occupie ſo noble a member of
" thempire: In ſo much as euen thoſe whom we feare to ioyne in vnitie with *Lodovvyk*
" to vexe vs, would then deſire (for their proper intereſtes) to preſerue vs and bee
" conioyned with vs: And (my Lordes) being great throughout the world the repu-
" tacio of our dominions & iuriſdictions & no leſſe great the renowme of our riches,
" and moſt great the opinion confirmed with ſo many honorable examples of our v-
" nion and conſtancy to preſerue our eſtate: what meane, what courage, what oportu-
" nitie hath the french king to execute any invaſion vpon vs, vnles he haue coniunctio
" with more, or at the leaſt, with the king of *Romains*: the vnitie & agreement of who,
" ſeemes for many reaſons ſo harde, that it is too vayne, to occupy our myndes either
" with the hope or feare of it: Beſides, the peace which now he hopes to eſtabliſhe
" with the princes his neyghbours beyond the mountes, will not bee perpetuall, ſee-
" ing ielouſie, iniuries, and feare of his greatnes will alwayes keepe wakyng all thoſe
" that holde him in hatred or beare enuy to his glorie: Laſtly, lookyng into the pro-
" perties of the french natures, we neede not doubt that they are not more ready to
" get and conquer, then diſcreete to preſerue and keepe, yea, it is annexed to their de-
" ſtiny to fall eaſely into the hatred of their ſubiectes by their pride and inſolencies: vp-
" pon which reaſons I make this concluſion, that after they haue got *Myllan*, they will
" haue more neede to ſtudy howe to preſerue it, then any oportunitie at all to occu-
" pie their thoughtes with new enterpriſes, for that a iuriſdiction newly gotten, fay-
" ling in order and wiſe gouerment, doth rather weaken then make more mightie him
" that hath got it: wherein we can not haue an example more freſhe and notable,
" then the victory of the late King *Charles*, againſt whom were conuerted into ex-
" treame hatred, the incredible deſires and gladnes with the which hee was receyu-
" ued into the kingdome of *Naples*: So that the perils which may fall vppon vs at a-
" ny tyme after the victorie of the French King, are neyther ſo certeyne, nor of ſuch
" nature, as for the auoyding of them, wee neede to remayne in a daunger preſent
" and of great conſequence: And to reiect (for feare of daungers to come and vn-
" certeyne,) ſo large and conuenient a parte of the Duchie of *Myllan*, could not but
" merit imputacion of puſillanimitie and faintnes of courage: A thing reprochfull
" euen in men priuat, but muche more infamous to a common weale more migh-
" tie in glorie, riches, and reputacion then euer was any (except the *Romaine* ſtate) in
" any parte of the worlde: There happen ſeldome ſo fauourable and fyt occaſions
" which being tranſitorie & fleeting, it is an office in wiſdom & magnanimitie to em-
" braſe them when they be offred: A wit to curious & ſtanding to long in conſidering
" of things to come, is often hurtfull and reprouable: for that the thinges of the world
" are ſubiect to ſo many and ſundry accidentes, that rarely doeth that come to paſſe
" which the wiſdom of man ſeemes to haue foreſeene & imagined would happen: and
" he that leaueth the benefit preſent for feare of the daũger to come (if the peril be not
" certeine and neare at hande) findes himſelfe to haue loſt oftentymes (to his ſlaun-
" der and diſpleaſures) occaſions full of profit and glorie, and all for ſtanding in feare
" of daungers which afterwardes turne to nothing: it is no great matter to ſuffer a
" miſchiefe when wee are ſure of the remedie, and in this caſe, if there bee anye
" miſchiefe other then ſuche as wee may diſcerne before, which is neuer ſo gree-
" uous as when it chaunceth vppon the ſodayne: yet I haue borne alwayes
" this iudgement, that that aduerſitie is honourable whiche brynges with it
proſperitie,

prosperitie, glory, and reputation: for these reasons (my Lordes) I wishe vs to accept the confederation against the Duke of *Myllan*, for that it putts vs in suertie for the present, protectes vs against all daungers to come, breedes our credit with all other Potentates, and offreth vs the possession of those great thinges, which an other tyme we would be glad to get with intollerable expenses and trauels, aswell for their proper importance, as for that they be lynes to leade vs to high and honorable actions, drawing with them a marueilous augmentation of the glory and empire of this florishing common weale.

This councell and fourme of reasoning made no small impression in the myndes of the others, who hard his reasons with iudgement, & fauoured his opiniõ, recommending much the lyuely valour of his spirit accompanied with a resolute loue to his countrey: Against him stood vp and reasoned *Melchior Treuisan* singular for his wisdom, and excellent in all graces and giftes of the mynde.

The counsell of Melchior Treuisan

This hath bene alwayes (touching offences and wronges) a wise obseruation in countreys and common weales well gouerned, to make true conference betweene the nature and estate of the iniuries, and the oportunities to reuenge: not that those wise men beheld altogether the propertie and manner of the wronges (for that belonges to passion) but withall they vsed to foresee whether the hurt in reuenging would not exceed the harmes already hapned by the trespasse committed, a forme of dealing which caried not their affections affore their wisdomes, but bridling the readines of nature, they oftentymes found more securitie to dissemble an iniurie thẽ to reuenge it: And albeit it can not bee denied that the iniuries done by *Lodovvyk Sforce* to our common weale, are not many and great, and offende much our dignitie: yet, by how much they are great, and by their propertie offende our reputation, by so much more belonges it to our wisdom to moderate our iust anger with maturitie of iudgement & cõsideration of the publyke interest & benefit: for that, for men to commaund ouer themselues and vanquishe their proper passions, is so much the more cõmendable, by how much lesse often it hapneth in vse, & by how much more iust are the occasiõs that kyndle that anger or any other humain affectiõ: And therfore (my Lords) it apparteineth to this Senat to the which is ascribed of al other nations the true partes of wisdõ & discression, & who not lõg since made profession to haue deliuered *Italy* frõ the frẽch: it is our office I say to cõsider wel not only of thinfamy that wil rise, if now through our occasiõ they prepare their returne, but also to loke carefully into the daũgers that may threatẽ vs if the duchie of *Myllã* fal into the power of the french King: perils, which if we can not consider of our selues, let vs call to memory what feares were brought vppon vs by the conquest which the late King *Charles* made of *Naples*, of whom we held not our selues assured, but when wee conspired against him almost with all princes Christians: But in true comparison there is great difference betweene the one daunger and the other: for, the late king, naked almost of all the vertues of a King, was a Prince more in shadowe and showe then in body and substance: and as the kingdome of *Naples*, so farre remoued from *Fraunce*, helde his forces so deuided, that they weakened more then strengthned his power, so that conquest, (for the feare of their estates so neare neighbours to the realme of *Naples*) procured him two great enemies the Pope & the King of *Spaine*, in whom touching the one are occupied for the present many diuers intencions, and the other made weary with the things of *Italy*, will make himselfe no partie without very great necessitie: But the new King both for his proper vertue is to be feared, and for his wise proceeding in this action to be doubted: as also the estate of *Myllan*

" bordreth ſo neare *Fraunce*, that in reſpect of commoditie to ſuccour or reſkew it,
" there is no hope to dryue him backe, but by ſetting all the world in a ſtir: In ſo much,
" that we being neighbours to ſo great a power, ſhalbe ſure to be exerciſed in trauels
" and perplexeties both in peace and warre, In tymes of peace, ſubiect to expenſes and
" ſuſpicions, and during the warres, ſo intangled with daungers, that we ſhall fynde
" many difficulties to make our owne defence: And ſure I can not but maruell much
" at him that hath reaſoned affore me, who on the one ſide makes no feare of a king of
" *Fraunce* being Lord ouer the Duchie of *Myllan*, and on the other ſide holdes for ter-
" rible *Lodovvyk Sforce*, a Prince for power much inferior to vs, and with whom this
" hath bene alwayes a cuſtome, eyther with fearfulnes or couetouſnes, to put in daũger
" all his enterpriſes: he alledged feare of ſuccours which others might make to him, as
" though it were eaſie, in ſo great diuerſitie of ſpirits & wills, & in ſo general varietie of
" condicions, to make ſuch an vnitie: or rather, as if the abſolute cõcord & vnion of a
" great and ſtrong power, were not more to be feared, then the power of many, which
" as it hath diuers endes & mocions, ſo doth it bring forth actions diuerſe and diſcor-
" dant: he ſeemes to haue a confidence, that in thoſe, who for hate and many other
" reaſons, deſire our embaſement, would be found that wiſdom to vanquiſh diſdaines
" & couetouſnes, which we finde not in our ſelues to reteine his ambicious thoughts.
" Beſides, I know not why we may make promiſe, that the ielouſies and new and aun-
" cient diſdaines againſt the french king (aſpiring to the conqueſt of *Myllan*) may doe
" more on the behalfe of the king of *Romains* & the *Almain* nation, then the rooted and
" ſetled hatred which both they beare to vs by reaſon of ſo many townes which wee
" hold apperteining to thempire & houſe of *Auſtriche*: Neither can I ſee vppon what
" ground or diſcourſe of reaſon the king of *Romains* will more willingly ioyne with vs
" againſt the french, then take part with the french quarrell againſt vs: No, rather the
" vnion of the barbarous and perpetual enemies to the name of Thitalians, carieth a
" more likelehood of truth and ſeemes more propper to make a praye: for that being
" vnited with him, he may rather hope to bee victorious ouer vs, then ouer him if he
" were knit with him: Beſides theſe, ſuch were his actions during the league paſt, and
" when he came into *Italie*, that he left no reaſon why we ſhould ſo muche deſire to
" haue him eſtſones reunited with vs: I deny not, but *Lodovvyk* hath done vs many
" iniuries, but euen ſo it is farre from councell and wiſdom, for a paſſionat deſire of re-
" uenge, to put in perill the whole eſtate of things: And ſeeing tymes keepe their cer-
" teine meaſure and courſe, and euery tyme is enhabled to his propper function, it is
" neither ſhame nor ill policie to exſpect thoſe accidentes and occaſions to reuenge,
" which a common weale may very wel attend and tarie for: No, rather it is infamous
" and meriteth imputation, to be caryed with affection, and prefer the ſuggeſtion of
" diſdaine affore thoportunitie of the tyme, and in matters of ſtate, it is no ſmall ſlaun-
" der, when raſhenes and indiſcreſſion are accompanied with domage and generall
" harmes: No man will ſay that for ſuch reaſons, we were mooued to make an enter-
" priſe ſo raſhe, but all the world will iudge that the deſire to haue *Cremona* hath pu-
" ſhed vs forward, the ſame giuing cauſe of queſtion to euery one, what is become of
" the auncient wiſdom and grauitie of this Senat: And iuſtly may all the world mar-
" uell that we are falne into the ſame raſhenes to be guides to the french king into *I-*
" *talie*, into the which our ſelues wondred ſo much that *Lodovvyk Sforce* ranne ſo far:
" Great is the profit of *Cremona* and the place very conuenient for many reſpectes: But
" we ought to cõſider whether it be not a greater loſſe to haue a king of *Fraunce* Lord
" of the ſtate of *Millan*, yea, we ought to conſider whether our greatnes and reputati-

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on be ſtronger in *Italie*, when of our ſelues we are chiefeſt and moſt abſolute there, or when there is in the hart of the ſame region a prince ſo mightie and ſo neare our neighbour: we haue occupied at other tymes with *Lodovvyk*, both diſagreementes and frendſhips, as eftſoones may happen dayly betweene him and vs, neyther is the difficultie of *Piſa* ſuch but there may bee applied ſome remedie, and much leſſe doth it deſerue that for it we make vs ſubiect to ſo great daungers: But hauing the french to our neighbours, we ſhalbe alwayes trauelled in diſcordes, for that occaſions will daily aryſe in the diuerſitie of our owne myndes, in the haughtie pride of the french nation, in the hatred wherein princes do alwayes purſue common weales, and in the ambicion which the moſt mightie haue to oppreſſe the moſt feeble and weake: for which regarde, not only the reſpect of *Cremona*, can not allure me, but it doeth euen aſtoniſh me, for that in it is aggrauated the occaſion to the french king to vexe vs, which wilbe ſo much the more ſet forward by thoſe of *Myllan*, by how much leſſe they can ſuffer *Cremona* to be diſmembred from the Duchie: And the ſame occaſion will alſo ſtirre vp the *Iermain* nation and the king of *Romaines*, for that *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda* be alſo members of the iuriſdiction of the empire: At the leaſt our ambicion would not be ſo much blamed, and we ſhould not ſearch with new conqueſts to get vs euery daye new enemies, and to make vs ſuſpected to euery one. By reaſon whereof it muſt needes come to paſſe in the ende, that either we muſt be ſouereigne and maiſters ouer all, or ſkourged and beaten of all, & which of theſe two is ſooneſt to happen, it is eaſie to conſider by ſuch as take not pleaſure to beguile themſelues: The wiſdome and grauitie of this Senat by how muche it is knowne and publiſhed throughout *Italy* and all the world, by ſo much more would the action be infamous and ſlaunderous to defile our doings with a deliberation ſo raſhe and daungerous: ſeeing, to be caried with paſſion againſt our proper profit, is nothing els but lightnes, and to eſteeme more daungers that be litle then ſuch as be great, can not but holde of folly and indiſcreſſion: which two things being directly contrary to the wiſdome and grauitie of this Senat, I hope you will ſet downe a reſolucion ſo moderat & well aduiſed, as both your reputation ſhalbe preſerued, and your cuſtome not broken.

This councell, albeit was ſuſteyned with ſo many mightie reaſons, and fauored of many of the principall and moſt wiſe of the Senat, was not for all that of ſuch force, but that the contrary aduiſe caried the reſolucion, aſwell for reſpect of hatred, as for deſire to beare rule, two things which leade men eaſilie to daungerous deliberations: for, in the hatred which euery one had conceiued againſt *Lodovvyk*, was neyther meaſure nor limit, and no leſſe was the deſire to adioyne to the iuriſdiction of *Venice* the citie of *Cremona* with all the countrey about it, and all *Guiaradadda*: an enlardgement of no ſmall value, for that it yelded yearely a reuenue of a hundred thouſand Duckatts: but more to be eſteemed for his oportunitie, for that embraſing by this encreaſement almoſt all the riuer of *Oglia*, they ſtretched out their lymits euen to *Pavv*: they amplified alſo their iuriſdiction along the ryuer of *Adda*, and approching within fifteene myles of the citie of *Myllan*, and ſomewhat nearer the cities of *Plaiſance* and *Parma*, it ſeemed in their coniectures that they had the way opened to occupie all the Duchie of *Myllan*, as often as the French King was either caried with new thoughts, or troubled with great impediments on the other ſide the Mountes: which they hoped woulde happen within ſhort tyme, both for the nature of the Frenchmen who are more apt to get then hable to keepe: & alſo for that their common weale is perpetuall, where, in the kingdome of *Fraunce*, it often hapneth by the death of kinges, that thinges diuolue to alteration, and gouernments and counſelles

chaunge. They brought also into consideration the difficulties of the french to continue the amities and goodwills of their subiectes no lesse for the generall diuersitie of blud, then for the difference of the french manners from the customes of Thitalians: So that that sentence eftsones cõfirmed by the voices of the greateſt nũber, they sent to their Embassadors resident with the King to conclude the confederation vppon the offers they made, not speaking in any respect of the affaires of *Pisa*.

This exception of *Pisa* did not a litle trouble the King, for that he hoped by thoportunitie of that deputacion, to vnite the *Venetians* and *Florentyns* with him: And knowing that the *Venetians* were inclined to withdrawe themselues by composition from the defence of *Pisa*, he helde it but reasonable, that in that action they shoulde rather haue regard to him to make easie thenterprise of *Myllan* as a thing nourishing common benefit, to them both: then that hauing better conditions in the composicion, to be the causers that the *Florentyns* should remayne ioyned with *Lodovvyk Sforce*, by whose meane the king knowing that the *Negociacion* continued at *Ferrara*, was in no litle doubt, that he should not haue on his side eyther the *Florentyns* or the *Venetians*, if *Lodovvyk* had power to bring the conference of *Ferrara* to a good conclusion. And so the king wauering in many varieties and fancies of mynde, and iudging that to be a resolucion both vaine & ill aduised, which should leaue in neutralitie and doubt both the one and other common weale, and lastly being moued not a litle with the distrust which they expressed to haue against him: he began to incline rather to conclude the peace which continually was solicited with the king of *Romains*, bearing this condicion, that it should be lawful to the one to make warre vppon *Lodovvyk Sforce*, and to the other to vexe the *Venetians*: In which disposition of mynd, he made aunswere by the deputies which debated in his name with Thembassadors of *Venice*, that he refused to accord with them, if for their parts, they gaue not perfection to the deputation of *Pisa*, wherein he had solicited them before: And in his owne person he assured the *Florentine* Embassadors that he would neuer make other agreement with the *Venetians*: But the Duke *Valentinois* and the Agents of the Pope with the Cardinall of *S. P. ad vincla*, *Tryvulce*, and the other *Italians*, to whom apperteyned many particular respectes and intrests touching this warre, would not suffer him to remayne constant in that deuise: They perswaded him with many and great reasons, that waighing with the power of the *Venetians*, the oportunities they had to annoy the Duke of *Myllan*, his maiestie coulde not followe a councell more hurtfull then to suffer himself to be depriued of their ayde and succors, for feare to leese the fauor of the *Florentyns*, from whom, by reason of their owne troubles, and that they were far remoued from the Duchie of *Myllan*, could bee drawne no great profit or commoditie to his purposes: Besides, in that action, the occasion would be made easie to *Lodovvyk*, not only to forsake the fauors of the *Florentyns*, but also in reconciling himselfe to the *Venetians* (a matter which had bene the very spring and originall of all the disagreements betweene him and that state) to be eftsoones reunited with them: by which alteration if there were no other meane to discerne what difficulties and impediments might ensue to thaffaires of his maiestie, at the least, the experience of thinges paste giues sufficient warning of it: for that albeit in the league that was made against king *Charles*, the names of so many kinges were concurrant, yet the only forces of the *Venetians* and *Lodovvyk*, tooke from him *Nouare*, and alwayes defended the Duchie of *Myllan* against him: They tolde him that it was a councell daungerous and deceiptful, to make a foundation vppon the vnitie with *Maximilyan*: In whom the world had seene euen till that day farre greater attemptes

temptes and disposicions to enterprises, then were his meanes and wisdom to coollour them: But if his actions brought foorth more happie succesſe then in tymes past, it ought to be well considered, how euill would agree with thintencions of the king, the augmentaciō of so great & perpetual an enemie to the Crowne of *Fraunce:* with these reasons they so altered thinclination of the king, & chaunged his former councels, that, without speaking further of *Pisa*, he consented and concluded the cōfederation with the *Venetians*, wherein was agreed, that at the selfe same tyme that his maiestie with a mightie armie should assaile the Duchie of *Myllan*, they for their partes, should doe the lyke vppon their frontyers: That the king hauing conquered the residue of the Duchie, *Cremona* with all *Guiaradadda* should be for the *Venetians* except foure furlonges along the Ryuer of *Adda:* Lastly, that after the king had cōquered the Duchie of *Myllan*, the *Venetians* were bound to defende it for a certeyne tyme and with a certeyne proporcion of horsemen and footmen, the king promysing to do the like office for *Cremona*, & al the rest that they possest in *Lumbardy* euen vnto the marshes of *Venice:* This confederatiō was so secretly contracted, that *Lodovvyk* for many monethes could not vnderstād, whether they had made betwene thē a league only for their common defence as from the beginning had bene published both in the french court and at *Venice*, or whether there was any article that touched him, or made mention to manage warre against him: Such were the respectes to keepe the couenantes of this league secret, that the Pope himselfe notwithstanding his straite familiaritie with the king, could haue no certeyne aduertisement of them, but very late.

Conclusion of the league betweene the french king and the state of Venice.

The league thus cōcluded with the *Venetians*, the king (without speaking further of *Pisa*) propounded to the *Florentyns* condicions much differing from the former: By which occasion, accompanied with the displeasures which the *Venetians* did to them, they were eftsoones and further constrained to make their staie vppon the Duke of *Myllan*, by whose aydes as their affaires continually prospered in the countrey of *Casentyn*, so the enemies receiuing many hurts by the soldiours and Paisants and suffring want of vittels and forrage for their horses of seruice, were retyred within *Bybiena* and other small places, forgetting a necessary diligence to commaund the straites of thappenyn, to thende the way of their succours might be kept open, and the meane more assured (vppon the first necessitie,) to abandon the countrey of *Casentyn* with lesse domage: By reason whereof *Charles Vrsin* was bestowed with his men at armes, and a hundred footemen, for the garde of the straite of *Montalona*, and a litle more belowe, *Aluiana* defended the passage of *La Vernia:* But on the other side, *Pavvle Vitelly* proceeding discreetly and substancially according to his custome, after he had so restrained them into straites and hard termes, laboured to compel them to abandon the countrey of *Montalona* with intencion afterwardes to dryue such as kept the passage of *La Vernia* to do the lyke, to thende that the regiment of the *Venetians* being wholly penned in *Bybienna*, and enuironed on all sides with enemies and hilles, they might eyther bee the easelier vanquished, or at least, bee driuen to consume themselues: seeing their numbers were already much diminished, for that besides those that were stripped here and there, there were departed from the army at sundry tymes, both for want of vittels, and ill suertie of their lodgings, more then fifteene hundred horsemen with many troupes of footmen, who, being set vpon in the passage of the *Alpes* by the Paisantes, receiued great harmes: In the ende the consideration of these difficulties constrained *Charles Vrsin* with his regiment to abandon the straite of *Montalona*, not without daunger to be put to the chasse, for that many

of the *Florentyn* bandes (to whom his distresses were knowen) and companies of Paisantes embrasing the present occasion, set vppon them on the way: yet the *Vrsins*, hauing already taken the aduantage of the straite, albeit, they lost a great part of their baggage, performed notwithstanding such defence, that the companies that followed the chase in disorder, tasted of their valour: The example of *Charles Vrsin* (in regarde of the same difficulties) was followed by those of *La Vernia* and *Chiusa*, who forsaking that passage, were retired to *Bybienna*, wherein were inclosed the Duke of *Vrbyn*, *Aluyano*, *Astor Bayllon*, *P. Marcell* superintendent to the *Venetian* companies, and *Iulyan de Medicis*, who were reserued for the garde of that place (their only fortresse in the countrey *Casentyn*) with a strength of threescore horsses and seuen hundred footemen: In which distresse they were norished with no other comfort then a hope in the succours which the *Venetians* prepared, iudging that for the regard of honour, but much more to haue better condicions by agreement, it imported them much not to abandon wholly the enterprise of the countrey of *Casentyn*: And as for that cause, the *Count Petillane* mustred at *Rauenna* with great diligence the bandes appoynted for that reskew: whereunto he was solicited by the perpetuall complaintes of the *Count* of *Vrbyn* and the rest, who signifiyng that their miserie & want of vittels had brought them to suche estate of necessitie, that without speedy succour they should be constrained to offer composicion with the enemy: euen so, of the contrary, the Duke of *Myllan* and the Captaines that were in the countrey of *Cassentyn*, norished a speciall desire to preuent that succour by thexpugnation of *Bybienna*, demaũding for that end to be sent foure thousand footmen to ioyne with the strength of the Campp: But their desire founde many impedimentes, both for that in that countrey colde and ful of hilles, the nature of the tyme hindred much all actions and exercise of warre, and also there was no franke readines in the *Florentyns* to furnish such prouision, partly being ouerwearied with the long and intollerable expenses growing dayly to increase and renouacion: And partly for that in the citie (not in great stabilitie and quiet) was disclosed a new dissencion, some of the citizens fauouring *Pavvle Vitelly* for his late merits in the warre, and others desiring to raise the *Count Rinucce* for that hee had bene an auncient and faythfull Capteyne to their common weale, and had parentage of great authoritie within *Florence*: hee lost the hope to manage the first place or dignitie in their seruice, by his misfortune at. *S. Reall*, and very vnwillingly did he endure to haue that degree of reputacion transferred to *Pavvle Vitelly*: And therefore leading his regiment in the countrey *Cassentyn*, he expressed no disposicion nor readines to aduaũce thenterprises, by the which might grow increase of reputacion to him whom he had desire to embase: These difficulties also became the greater by the natural propertie of *Pavvle*, who seeking to haue his payes before the tyme, could not agree with the *Florentyne* Commissioners, and who oftentimes in the deliberation and expedicion of affaires, possessed himself of more authoritie then seemed reasonable, and had euen at that tyme without the priuitie of the superintendents, giuen to the *Count Vrbyn* being sicke, safeconduite to repasse in suertie out of the countrey *Casentyn*: vnder the warrant of which safeconduit, *Iulyan de Medicis* was also gone with him, to the special displeasure of the *Florentyns*, who occupied this reason, that if they had made difficultie to suffer the *Count Vrbyn* to passe, his desire to go to recouer his health in his own dominiõs, wold haue constrained him to agree to the deliuery of the bandes that were within *Bybienna*: but much more did they complaine that *Iulyan de Medicis* should communicat in such a liberall fauour, expressing a foretyme manifest actions of rebellion, and

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euen then was in armes againſt his countrey: Thoſe differences hindred much that at *Florence* they neyther beleeued councels, nor agreed to the demaunds of *Pavvle Vitelly*, but much more did they proue impediments to the proceedings of the war which was not continued with his reputacion towardes the people, for that not only many execucions of importance were perfourmed more by the Paiſants then by the Souldiours, but alſo, conſidering the great opinion they had of his valour, they promiſed to themſelues with a quicker expedicio, the victorie of the enemies: wherin perhappes (according to the nature and iudgement of peoples) they attributed to want of will, that which with more equitie they might haue referred to want of power, hauing regarde to the ſharpenes of the tyme, and want of things neceſſarie: By theſe occaſions (hurtfull to their affaires) and the ſtrength of the foure thouſande footemen being too ſlow in comming, the *Count Pettillano* had leaſure enough to come to the borough of *Elcy* apparteyning to the Duke of *Vrbyn*, and very neare the limittes of the *Florentyns*: A place where were before, *Charles Vrſin* and *Peter de Medicis*, and where were aſſembled all the bandes to paſſe *Thappenyn*, whoſe ſtrength and order (as beſt agreeable to that countrey deſert and rude) ſtoode more vppon footemen then horſemen, and the moſt parte of them armed after the light horſemen: This was the laſt ſtrength which the *Venetians* made in the countrey *Caſentyn*, and to breake it, *Pavvle Vitelly* leauing about *Bybienna* a certeine forme of a ſeege and ſufficient garde in the ſtraites and paſſages moſt neceſſary, marched with the reſidue of his armie to the ſtraite of *S. Stephen*, (a towne of the *Florentyns* ſeated at the foote of the *Alpes*) to withſtande the enemies diſcending from the hilles: But as in matters of daunger, diſcreſſion and councell are remedies no leſſe aſſured then courage and execucion: So, the *Count Pettillano*, hauing before him, the *Alpes* loaden with ſnowes, and at the foote of the *Alpes* ſo great an impediment, together with the ſtraite paſſages very troubleſome to paſſe euen when the ſeaſon is faire: was content to forbeare to diſcend or paſſe, notwithſtanding with great complaintes he was perſuaded to it by the Senat of *Venice*, perhappes more vehement to puſhe him forward, then hable to foreſee the perils: But albeit they propoũded to him diuers plots and meanes to retire *Pavvle* from whence he was, & that already in *Valdibagna* was done ſome enterpriſe of vexacion vppon the Peeces of the *Florentyns*, yet he ſtood reſolute in his determinacion, and would not ſtir in any ſort.

The Duke of Myllan made aſtoniſhed with the league, ſolicited an accord betwene the Venetians and the Florentyns.

But by how much more coldly the war proceeded, by ſo much more hoatly were recontinued the ſolicitacions and practiſes of accorde, equally deſired of both the one and other partie for diuers regardes, and no leſſe followed and ſolicited by the Duke of *Myllan*: the reaſon & reapport of the league made betwene the french king and the *Venetians*, made him ſomewhat amazed, and with all drew him to diſpoſicions of hope, that the accord being made, the *Venetians* would haue leſſe deſire to the paſſage of the french, perſuading himſelfe alſo, that at the leaſt, (contenting themſelues in that regarde with his good will and with his workes) they would bee ſomewhat appaiſed, and cut of the rigour of their indignacion conceiued againſt him: Therefore interpoſing amongſt them a meane by *Hercules D'eſte* his father in lawe, he conſtrained the *Florentyns* to condiſcende ſomewhat to the deſire of the *Venetians*, not ſo much with authoritie (for they ſeeing into his intencions, began to holde him for ſuſpected) as with letting them know, that if thagreement went not forward, his neceſſities would compell him, for the feare he had of the french king, to turne to their diſfauour, and to take from them eyther all his men of warre, or at leaſt the beſt parte of his trained bandes: The matter was debated many monethes at

Ferrara where, after many difficulties disputed, *Hercules* was required by the *Venetians*, to come in person to *Venice* for the more facilitie of the expedicion, wherunto he made some resistance: but much more the *Florentyns*, for that they knewe that the *Venetians* desired that a compromise might be made in the person of the Duke of *Ferrara*, against the which they stood, & were very farre of: But such were thimportunities of *Lodovvyk Sforce*, that at last he consented to go thether, & the *Florentyns* to sende with him *Iohn Baptista Rodolpho*, & *Pavvle Anthony Sodoryn*, two of the chiefest and wisest citizens of their common weale. The first thing that was disputed vppon at *Venice*, was to know if *Hercules* as Arbitrator would put an ende to the controuersie, or as a friend indifferent, would labour to bring thē to accord, interposing, betweene the parties according to their order of proceeding at *Ferrara*, where they were not farre of from resoluing the articles most principall and importing: The *Florentyns* desired that the custome begun should be obserued, knowing that *Hercules*, in as much as might depend vppon his arbittrement, would hold more accompt of the greatnes of the *Venetians*, then of them, and pronouncing the sentence at *Venice*, he should bee so muche the more compelled to beare respect to the *Venetians*: And yet though he would doe nothing of himselfe, they were assured the Duke of *Myllan* would induce him, for that he desired greatly to make knowne to the *Venetians* that he had serued their turne in that action: And albeit many difficulties were almost resolued at *Ferrara*: yet both in their last perfection, and in many perticularities, the power of the arbitrator was not litle, who, notwithstanding the compromise would yet haue a libertie to depart from that which was first debated: On the other side, the *Venetians* were at a point, if the compromise went not forwarde, to passe no further, not so much for that they were promised more in the Arbitrator then the *Florentyns*, as for that there were risen amongst them many contrarieties & obiections touching the present matter: for, albeit the greatest part of them were weary with the intollerable expenses that increased dayly with a very small hope of profit, which not a litle aduaunced their disposicions to agreement: yet were there many euen in the Senat, who for their experience not so well staied as the rest, & for their mocions of youth, more forwarde then would councel or reason, would not consent to agreement, vnlesse the libertie of the *Pisans* were wholly preserued, or at least vnlesse that part of the countrey remayned stil to them which they possessed whē they tooke them into their protection: To which opinion they ioyned many reasons, but chiefly they vrged a promise ratified by decree publike to the *Pisans* to protect their libertie, which they could not breake without apparant blemishe to their common honours, and perpetuall stayne to the reputacion of their common weale: Some others made easie touching all other articles, were immoderatin the quantitie of expenses, which they required to bee repayed by the *Florentyns* in abandoning of *Pisa*: A requeste which they commended to bee very reasonable, for that it was no lesse iust for the *Florentyns* to make recompence of the charges, then for the *Pisans* to make restitucion of that they helde in possession: But the chiefe wisdom and authoritie of the Senat, had a councell contrary: who, sounding more deepely the estate of things, preferred still with many importunities the cōsideration of the great charges, wherein as good stewardes of the treasures of their common weale, it was a iust office in them all, to be carefull and circumspect: They saw nothing but dispaire in the defence of *Bybienna*, and lesse possibilitie to susteyne any longer the generall quarell of *Pisa*, without encrease of new troubles and charges, for the many difficulties that still appeared aswell in succouring them, as to diuert and draw away the forces

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of thennemies the *Flerentyns* hauing obiected impediments far aboue their eſpectacion in the beginning: Beſides, they cõſidered that albeit thenterpriſe againſt the Duke of *Myllan* might be ſuppoſed eaſie, yet the french king, being not pacified with the king of *Romains*, & ſtanding ſubiect to diuers impediments ordinarily hapning at home, might by many aduentures be hindred & made ſlow to proſecute the warre: And though he ſhould put it to action, yet in the buiſines of warre, many daungers vnlooked for & difficulties no leſſe intricat, may chaunce dayly eyther to the vtter diſappointing of his purpoſes, or at leaſt to alter his diſpoſicion: But aboue all, trembling at the great preparacions which was ſaide *Baiazet Ottoman* made both by ſea and lande to inuade thoſe partes towardes *Grece*, their reſolucion was, (ſeeing their neceſſitie was more mightie then their inclinacion) that it was both iuſt, reaſonable, and neceſſarie, rather to conſent that honeſtie in ſome parte ſhould giue place to vtilitie, then, in ſtanding obſtinatly vppon their promiſe and fayth giuen, to perſeuer and nouryſhe as it were a perpetuall intereſt in troubles, charges, and perplexities: And becauſe they were well aſſured that theſe concluſions would be hardly conſented to in their councelles, (albeit they knewe from the beginning that of neceſſitie they muſt bee allowed) they had (whileſt the negociacion was at *Ferrara*) wyſely procured, that by the councell of the *Pregati* ſhould bee giuen fulnes of authoritie touching thaffaires of *Piſa*, and the reſolucion of thaccord, to the councell of the *Dieci*, which is a councel compounded of a leſſor number, none being called vnto it but ſuch as bee of greateſt grauitie & authoritie which conteined the moſt parte of thoſe that moſt deſired thaccord: But now the ſolicitacion continuing at *Venice*, and being in no truſt to be able to diſpoſe the councell of the *Pregati* to conſent to the articles which had bene debated at *Ferrara*, and knowing withall, that if only the councell of the *Dieci* condiſcended to them, there might ryſe occaſions to charge thoſe that aſſiſted it: they ſolicited that the compromiſe might bee made, hoping that touching the iudgement that might come of it, men would rather tranſferre thimptuacion to the Arbitrator then to them, and that more eaſely would that bee ratified which had bene alreadie publiſhed in ſentence, thẽ that which ſhould be cõſented vnto with the partie entreating by way of accord: So that after thoſe things had bene debated for certeine dayes, (the Duke of *Myllan* threatning the *Florentyns* refuſing to compromit to withdrawe immediatly all his companies out of *Tuskan*) there was a free and abſolute compromiſe for eight dayes in the perſon of *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*, who, after he had well conſidered of all thinges, pronounced the ſixt day of Aprill, that within eight dayes next following the *Venetians* and *Florentyns* ſhould ceaſſe to offende one an other, and that by the next Saint Markes tyde all the bandes, ſuccors, and aydes of eyther parties, ſhould retyre and returne into their countreys, that the *Venetians* at the ſame tyme ſhould make iſſue out of *Piſa* and all the places thereaboutes all their regimentes of Souldiours, which they interteined there: That they ſhould abandõ *Bybyenna* with all other peeces takẽ vppõ the *Florẽtins*, & they to pardõ to thoſe of *Bybienna* all their faltes & treſpaſſes: That for the recõpẽce of al charges (which the *Venetiãs* aſſured to amoũt to eight hũdred thouſãd duckats) the *Florẽtyns* ſhould be boũd to repaie thẽ in. xij. yeares, xv. thouſãd duckats by the yeare: That al offẽces ſhold be pardoned to the *Piſãs*, to whõ ſhold be ſuffred to exerciſe by ſea & lãd all ſorts of ſciẽces & marchãdiſe, & to remein in their gard, al the fortreſſes of *Piſa* & other thoſe places which were holdẽ by thẽ the day of the ſentẽce: but vnder this charge, that if they beſtowed Garriſons of the coũtreimẽ or others, that they ſhould not be perſons ſuſpected to the *Florentyns*, and that they

ſhould be paied of the reuenues which the *Florentyns* ſhould collect of *Piſa*, encreaſing neither the numbers of men, nor the paies accuſtomed affore the rebelliō: That if the *Piſans* thought good, they might deface & diſmantle all thoſe citadels & fortreſſes of the proper countrey of *Piſa*, which had ben recouered by the *Florentyns* for the time the *Venetians* held them in their protectiō: That within *Piſa* the firſt inſtāces of cauſes ciuile ſhould be iudged by a Podeſtat ſtraunger choſen by the *Piſans* of a place not ſuſpected by the *Florentyns*, that the Capteine choſen by the *Florentyns* ſhould not medle but with cauſes of appellacion, & haue no power to proceed in any caſe cryminall concerning bloud, baniſhment, or cōfiſcaciō without the councel of a ſuperintendent to be choſen by *Hercules* or his ſucceſſors, & of fyue Doctors of law which the *Piſans* ſhould name to him: That the goods moueable & vnmoueable occupied by the one & other partie, ſhould be reſtored to whō they apperteined, not making reſtituciō of the fruites, of the which euery one was abſolued: That in all other things, they ſhould ſuffer the *Florentyns* to enioy fully their rightes in *Piſa* & the territorie, forbidding the *Piſans*, that neither for the regard of the Citadels & fortreſſes, nor for other cauſe what ſo euer, they ſhold practiſe or cōſpire any thing againſt the commō weale of *Florence*: This ſentence was no ſooner publiſhed at *Venice*, but there were heard thorow the citie great complaintes euē of the nobilitie, againſt the Duke of *Ferrara* & thoſe ſpecial Senators which had managed the whole actiō: The moſt of them, cōſtruing to great blame that faith ſhould be brokē to the *Piſans* with ſo many infamies to the maieſtie of the commō weale, complained vehemētly, that the article touching the expenſes of the warre was paſt ouer with ſo light cōſideracion: The diſcourſe of this agreement inflamed not a litle Thembaſſadors of the *Piſans*, who, being before the ſentence cunningly enterteined by the *Venetians* in many promiſes & hopes, that vndoubtedly they ſhould remeine in full libertie, & that not only the reſidue of the coūtrey ſhold be adiudged to thē, but happly alſo the port of *Lyuorne*, made the reſolutiō ſo much the more greeuous to thē, by how much the effects fel out cōtrary to the perſuaſions wherin they had bene noriſhed: In ſo much as they began with publike cryes to appeale to the equitie of the Senat, to whom they cōplained, that the promiſes to protect their libertie ſo oftentimes reiterated by the Senat, vnder thaſſurāce of whoſe faith they had not only reiected thamities of all other Potētates, but alſo refuſed far better cōdicions offred by the *Florētyns*, were vnworthely defiled & broken, their ſecuritie being not prouided for but with vaine apparances: for, what degree of ſafetie was that, or how could they be aſſured that the *Florētyns* reeſtabliſhing their maieſtrates within *Piſa* & their marchāts & ſubiects returning to traffike there, & on the other ſide their Paiſāts, who had ſerued as a principal member in the defēce of the citie, retiring to their houſes & farmes would not bring vnder their iuriſdictiō by ſome propertie of fraude, the whole gouernment of their town? hauing withal ſo many oportunities but chiefly the gard & cōmaūdemēt of the gates: And how could there but lurcke intēciō of infidelitie vnder that ſuertie, where we holding the fortreſſes, & ſuch as were appointed to the gard of thē, were to be paied by the *Florētins*, & not to be lawful in a time ſo doubtful, to beſtow a ſtrōger garde thē had ben accuſtomed in ſeaſōs peaſible & aſſured: The pardon for the treſpaſſes committed, was likewiſe a thing vaine, ſeeing the *Florētins* had good meane to deſtroy them by waies iudicial & by iudgements: for that the marchandiſes & other goods as had ben made pillage in the time of rebelliō amoūted to ſuch a valew, that in recōpēce they wold not only diſpoſe & cōfiſke our ſubſtāces, but alſo in ſuch a reuēgeful authoritie our perſōs ſhould not be aſſured frō impriſōmēt: But to cut of the impor-

importunitie of these cõplaints, the principals of the Senat brought to passe the day, folowing (although the tearme of the cõpromise was expired) that *Hercules*, (to whõ the general indignacion of the citie brought not a litle feare) added to the sentence published, a declaratiõ without the knowledge & priuitie of the *Florentyns*: that vnder the name of fortresses, was comprehẽded & ment the gates of the towne of *Pisa*, with other peeces that had fortresses, for whose garde, & interteinmentes of the podestat & superintendent, should be assigned to the *Pisans* a certeine part of the reuenues of *Pisa*. And that the places not suspected, wherof mentiõ was made in the sentence, & frõ whẽce they might draw souldiours, should be the state of the church, of *Mantua*, of *Ferrara*, & of *Bologna*, not comprehending therein souldiours of other places: That touching restitutiõ of goods, there should neuer be speche of it: That it should be in the power of the *Pisans*, to name the superintẽdent, borne in any place not suspected: That the Capteine should not proceede in any cause cryminal, (how litle so euer it were) without the superintẽdent: That the *Pisans* should be wel intreated of the *Florentyns* according to the custome of other noble cities of *Italy*, and that there should not be imposed vppon them any new charges.

This declaracion was not solicited for any desire the *Venetians* had that it should be obserued, but somewhat to qualifie the iust importunities of the *Pisan* Embassadors, & so to iustefie thẽselues to the coũcell of the *Pregati*, that if the libertie of the *Pisans* were not altogether obteyned, at the least they had so well prouided for their suertie and commoditie, that they could not bee charged to haue passed them ouer as a praye, or left them abandoned: So that in this councel of the *Pregati*, after much discourse of disputacion & reasoning, at last what with the cõsideratiõ of the cõdicions of times, & the difficulties to mainteine *Pisa*, but specially for feare of the Turkes armies, it was resolued, that the sentence should not be ratified, with an expresse consent, but that things which were of greatest importance should be put in execution, making to cease within viij. daies all offences, & drawing all their bands out of *Tuskã* at the time determined, with intenciõ to medle no more with the quarel: yea many of the Senators begun to desire, that the *Florentyns* should rather recouer *Pisa*, then that it should fal into the power of the Duke of *Myllan*. At *Florence*, after the tenor of the sentẽce was communicated to the citie, most of the multitude begã to murmure in their mindes, & not only held thẽselues oppressed in this, that they must make repaimẽt of the expenses of the warre to those who had vniustly vexed them: but much more for that it seemed to them they had obteined no other thing but the naked and simple name of Lordes, seeing, both the fortresses were in the garde of the *Pisans*, and the administracion of cryminal iustice (one of the principall members to preserue estates) could not haue his course without their Maiestrates: Neuertheless, the same protestacions of the Duke of *Myllan* which had induced them to compromit, constrained them to ratifie it, and hoping withall that within a litle tyme, by industrie and good behauior to the *Pisans*, they might redresse things in a better forme: they ratified by name the sentence published, but not the addicions & declaraciõs which were not yet come to their knowledge.

But farre greater were the indignacions and doubtes of the *Pisans*, who moued not a litle against the name of the *Venetians*, and ielous of some greater deceipt, assoone as they vnderstood the reapport of the sentence, discharged their soldiours from the garde of the fortresses & the gates: And not suffring them any more to lodge in the citie, they stoode many dayes in great variacion and doubt, whether they should accept the condicions of the sentence or not: On thone side, feare, being the instru-

ment of compulcion, ouerruled their wills, ſtanding now abandoned of all comfort and councell: And on the other ſide, the generall hate they bare to the *Florentyns*, made their paſſions redouble and kept them reſolute: But muche more did reteyne their inclination to conſtancy, their deſperate exſpectacion to obteyne pardon for their heauy & infinit tranſgreſſiõs, whoſe qualitie they held ſo much the more great and intollerable, by how much they had put the ſtate of *Florence* to infinit expenſes and harmes, & many times had brought into tearmes daungerous, euen their proper libertie: In theſe doubtes & diuerſities of myndes, the Duke of *Myllan* councelled thẽ to giue place, offring that he would worke ſo much with the *Florentyns* that the cõdiciõs of the ſentẽce ſhould bee more in their fauors & to their aduaũtages: yet, they, to make trial if he remeined ſtil poſſeſſed with his aũcient couetouſnes, determining in this caſe to giue thẽſelues wholly to him, they ſent to him Embaſſadours: But at laſt (ſuch are the deſtinies of minds drawne & deuided) after many thoughts & variaciõs, they determined rather to make trial of al extremeties, thẽ to return vnder the yoke of the *Florentyns*, wherunto as the *Piſans* had ſecret incitaciõ to by the *Genouvays*, *Lucquoys*, & *Pãdolffe Petrucci*: So alſo it was not doubted of the *Florentyns* but that the Duke of *Myllan* (the truth being otherwayes) had encoraged thẽ to that obſtinat reſoluciõ, ſo litle exſpectacion is there of ſinceritie and faithful actions in that man, whom the world hath taken into opinion to be double and ſuttle.

The Piſans not keeping thaccord are beſeeged by the Florẽtins.

Thus the *Florentyns*, being out of hope to recõcile *Piſa* by accorde, thought they had a great occaſiõ to vãquiſh & force the citie: And therfore, cauſing *Pavvle vitelli* to returne eftſones into that coũtrey, they leuied with ready diligence the prouiſiõs demaunded by him: But whileſt that ſtrength was aſſembled & in preparing to action, the daũgers of *Lodovvyk Sforce* encreaſed wonderfully for that his interpoſicion into thaccord had in no ſort appaiſed the minds of the *Venetians*, who, for hate to the mã, & hope of their profit, were wholly in deſier to cõſpire his ruine: To theſe diſtreſſes of *Lodovvyk*, was ioyned this further aduerſitie, that *Maxymylian* was nothing ſo ready to make warre on the french king, as he was importunat in cõtinual demaũdes of mony of *Lodovvyk*: yea, cõtrary to his many promiſes, he prolõged the truſſe for the whole moneth of Auguſt next, taking frõ him at one time the hope that he had that his ſuccors would ſtand him in more ſtead, then had don his councell to diuert the warre: *Maxymylian* alſo, being vnited with the league of *Svveaden*, began warre vppon the *Svvyſſers* declared rebels of the Empire for many controuerſies betwene them: which warre cõtinuing on both ſides in great fury, with ſundry accidents and fortunes on both partes: *Lodovvyk* began to aſſure himſelfe, that in no neceſſitie, he could hope for ſuccours from *Maxymylian*, vntill that warre againſt the *Svvyſſers*, tooke ende eyther by victorie, or compoſicion: And yet *Maxymylian*, promiſing him that he would neuer accord with the french king or with the *Svvyſſers*, without comprehẽding him in it, *Lodovvyk* was ſtil cõſtrained to refurniſh thexpẽſes of that warre, & to enterteine Themperors prodigalities with new ſupplies of money. This occaſion was not vnknowen to the new king of *Fraunce*, who, cõſidering how much it imported him, to haue the Pope & the *Venetians* for him, eſteemed litle the perſuaſions of many of his councell, that in regard he was newly aſcended to the Crowne, and his treaſures very ill furniſhed, hee might put of the warre till the yeare folowing: But the king framing his hopes according to the importunities of his deſire, imagined a poſſibilitie to obteine the victory in fewe monethes: And therefore caſting in his coniecture that in ſuche a ſhortnes of tyme, the ſeruice coulde not ſuffer great neceſſities of money, entered into open preparacion for the

warre

warre alwayes furnishing the *Svvyssers* affore hande with some proporcion of money, to thende to keepe *Maximilian* in busines: for which cause the Duke of *Myllan*, discerning such manifest tokens of the warre, laboured with a wonderfull diligence and care not to bee alone in so great daungers: wherein hauing an absolute distrust in all possibilities and meanes of accord or reconciliacion with the *Venetians*, & fynding in the king of *Spaine* an inclinacion suspicious, & (notwithstanding his many solicitacions) a careless remembrance of his perils: he turned his eyes to the contemplacion of other helpes, and sounding in one instant the willes almost of all other Potentates, he sent *Galeas Viscomte* to *Maxymylian* and the *Svvyssers* to negociat an agreement betwene them: And as aduersitie is mightie to make men search thoperacion of all councels: So, *Lodovvyk* knowing, that according to the Popes desire, the mariage of *Charlotta* with his sonne *Cæsar Borgia*, could not well succeed, for that the young Lady eyther mooued with the loue and authoritie of her house and parents, or els gouerned by the persuasions of the french king (in whom notwithstanding were expressed many faire apparances to the contrary) refused with great constancy & resolucion of mynd, to make him her husband, if with all he put not an end to the affaires of *Federyk* her father, who offred to the french king yearely tribute with very large condicions: *Lodovvyk* labouring vppon these occasions, had hope, to alyen and estrange him from the fauours he bare to thenterprises of *Fraunce*, soliciting him with many importunities to draw him into cõfederaciõ with him, wherin he promised thassociacion of king *Federyk* and the *Florentyns*, with many faire offers that aswell he as the confederates, would contribute with him in a common succour against the Viccaires of the church, & indue him besides with a great quantitie of money to purchase some honorable estate for his sonne: These offers, as the Pope at the first mocion seemed to heare them with a dissembled eare, so, in the ende he was content to giue them leaue to vanishe and become mearely vaine: for, hoping to receiue by the societie and fauours of the french king, benefittes and farre greater liberalities, then those which hee looked to obteyne if *Italy* were not filled full of the forreine armies of *Fraunce*: he consented that his sonne excluded alreadie from the maryage of *Charlotte*, should take one of the doughters of the Lorde *Albrett*, who, for his affinitie with the bloud royall, and for the greatnes of his estates and liuinges, was one of the greatest in all the kingdome of *Fraunce*: But *Lodovvyk* to whom appeared dayly more tokens and testimonies of the euill inclinacion of the *Venetians*, ceassed not by expresse solicitors (but in secret manner, king *Federyk* concurring in the same action) to stir vp against them the Prince of the Turkes, hoping that being assailed and vexed by him, they would haue no oportunitie to molest the state of *Myllan*: And being with al wel aduertised of the preparacions which the *Florentyns* made to haue *Pisa*, he labored, vnder offers of all sorts of succors to them, to bynd them to his defẽce with three hũdred men at armes & two thousand footmen after they had recouered *Pisa*: On the other side, the frẽch king required importunatly their promise to refurnishe him for one yeare with fyue hundred men at armes: And for recompence he offred to binde himself, assone as he had accomplished the cõqueste of *Myllã*, to minister to them for one whole yeare the succors of a thousand Launces, for thaduancemẽt of their enterprises, with promise that he would make no accorde with *Lodovvyk*, if not at the samé time they were not repossessed of *Pisa*, & their other places withholdẽ besides, he wold brĩg to passe that the *Pope* and the *Venetians* should ioyne to their protection, if (affore the conqueste of *Myllan*) they fel into any necessitie of defẽce: for which demaunds so cõtrary & full of

varietie, the *Florentyns* ſtood wauering in their reſolucion, no leſſe for the difficultie of the matter then for their deuiſion of myndes: for, *Lodovvyk* requiring their ayde (but in caſe that they recouered *Piſa*,) the ſuccours that he promiſed were far more preſent and certeyne, then the helpes promiſed by the french king, in whom they iudged litle oportunitie of action to the ayde of *Piſa*, for that, being abandoned of euery one, they determined to haue it that ſommer: Beſides, many were moued with the memorie that the *Venetians* were confederat with the french king againſt *Lodovvyk*, for that he had miniſtred to them in their perils: But much more moued them the feare of diſpite, leaſt in refuſing to gratifie his demaunds, he wold not hinder thē to get *Piſa*, a thing which he might eaſely do: And of the cōtrarie, looking into their owne infirmities, and ſeeing no poſſibilitie of power to reſiſt the french king & the *Venetians*, it ſeemed a councel daungerous to make themſelues enemies with a king whoſe armies they exſpected within few monethes to runne ouer all *Italy*: And the memorie of the fauours receiued of *Lodovvyk* in the warre againſt the *Venetians* (to the which they referred the originall of all their daungers) was eaſely defaced by this conſideracion, that the rebellion of *Piſa* was firſt kindled by his meanes: And that nouriſhing alwayes ambicious deſires to aſpire to the iuriſdiction of it, he had ſuſteined them, and for many monethes, ioyned the ſupportacion of others, conſpiring in thoſe tymes many other wrongs and iniuries againſt the *Florentyns*: So that, they referred more imputacion to his offences, then benefit by his fauours, which yet he did not communicat in liberalitie and franknes, but by the impacience & intolleratiō he had that the *Venetians* ſhould not take from him that which with hope and ambicion he had long ſince iudged to be duly apperteyning to him: they fell at laſt into this laſt doubt, that if they declared themſelues for *Lodovvyk*, the frenche king aduauncing the meanes and oportunities he had by the Pope and *Venetians*, might many wayes hinder them in the recouering of *Piſa*: In ſo muche, as conferring the nature of the perils on both ſides, with their condicion preſent, they determined in the ende, not to ſtir either in the fauour of the french, or the Duke of *Myllan*, but to apply the tyme to thadvauncing of the enterpriſe of *Piſa*, wherein they reappoſed nothing in fortune nor forreine aydes, but iudged their proper ſtrength hable & ſufficiēt, not forgetting for all that, to enterteyne *Lodovvyk* with ſhows & ſhadows & neare tokēs of hope, leaſt he ſhould take occaſiō to obiect impedimēts, dalying with him in thoſe deceites which to their hurts, they had oftētimes experienced in him: Therefore after they had for many dayes made delayes in aunſwearing, they diſpatched at laſt a ſecretorie publike to giue him vnderſtanding, that thintencion of the commō weale was cōformable to his deſires as touching theffect, but cōcerning the manner there was ſome difference: for that as they had made a full reſolucion, that aſſoone as *Piſa* was recouered, he ſhould not faile of the ſuccours hee had demaunded: ſo they deſired him to conſider how perillous it was to contract their promiſe vnder expreſſe couenant, for that in free cities, ſuch thinges being not to be diſpatched without the conſent of many, there was no poſſibilitie to holde them ſecret, and being diſcloſed, they would giue occaſion to the french king to drawe the Pope and the *Venetians* to readminiſter ſuccours to *Piſa*: by which it would come to paſſe that their promiſe would bring harme to themſelues, and prooue vnprofitable to him, for that *Piſa* being not taken, neither ſhould they be bounde to him, neyther were they hable to helpe him: for theſe reaſons they ſayde and eſteemed that fayth and promiſe might ſuffice giuen in wordes with the conſent of the chiefe citizens, vppon whoſe authoritie all their publyke deliberacions depended: That for other

occaſion

occasion they refused not to couenant with him by writing,but offred him for ende for better declaracion of their will and intencion, that if he knew any other meane whereby his desire might be satisfied,and so great domages auoyded, they would be as readie to execute it in deede as they required him to holde them assured in good will and affection towardes him: By which aunswere subtill and full of arte, and for that also they did not accept the offers of his succours,*Lodovvyk* sawe there was no hope left to haue bandes of souldiours from them,and lesse expectacion of succors from other partes: for that the comforts promised so continually by the king of *Romains* prooued very vncerteine,no lesse by his natural inconstancie,then for thimpediment of his warres with the *Svvissers:* And for *Federyk*, where hee promised to sende him a strength of foure hundred men at armes and fiue thousande footemen vnder the leading of *Prosper Collonne*, he doubted not so much of his will (for the defence of the Duchie of *Myllan* turned to his profit) as of his dishabilitie and delayes: And *Hercules*,his father in lawe (reproching almost the auncient iniuries done by him in the composicion of *Polesma)* aunswered him with excuses, & that it brought no small greefe to him to be restrained to succour his distresse,for that the landes of the *Venetians* ioyning so neare to the gates of *Ferrara*,he was constrained to be carefull ouer the suertie of his owne estate.

Lodovvyk thus made naked of all forreine hopes, and driuen altogether to reappose in his strength and comforts at home: beganne carefully to fortefie *Auon*, *Nouare*, and *Alexandria de la Paille*,townes standing in the mouth of the first perils and inuasions of the french: his resolucion was to send out against the fury of the french army,*Galeas de.S.Seueryn* with the greatest part of his strength,and to oppose the residue against the *Venetians*, vnder the gouernment of the *Marquis* of *Mantua*, notwithstanding a litle after,eyther by indiscression or by couetousnes, or for that there is no power to resist the councels of God, he became estraunged from the *Marquis:* for that falling into this vaine persuasiō,that the *Venetians* (against whom the Turke had opened the warre aswell by land as by sea with a wonderful preparacion) would haue no oportunitie to molest him,being constrained to defende their owne estates against so strong an enemy: And desiring withall to satisfie a particular humor in *Galeas.S.Seueryn*,whose ambicion could not brooke that the *Marquis* should enioy a title more honourable then he,he began to make difficulties, as refusing to pay him a certeine remeynder of olde payes,and required of him othes and cawtions not accustomed for thassurance of his faith: And also notwithstanding that, afterwardes being aduertised that the *Venetians* dispatched many bandes of men into *Bresse*,to be readie to enter into the warre at the same tyme that the french should begin it, hee sought by the meane of the Duke of *Ferrara* his father in lawe,to reconcile him to him,yet the difficulties could not so soone bee resolued, as the daungers appeared, growing daily both more great and terrible: for the Duke of *Sauoy*, being eftsoones conioyned with the king,set at libertie all oportunities and passages for his bandes to march continually thorow *Piemont*,and to be bestowed about the confines of *Ast:* And to the hopes of *Lodovvyk* appeared daily tokens of declinacion, for that king *Federyk*,either by dishabilitie or by necligence,was slowe to minister to his perilles: And that small remeynder of hope which hee enterteined as his chiefest comfort, that the *Florentyns* hauing once gotten *Pisa*, would sende to his succours *Pavvle Vitelly* (whose valour held great reputacion in all the partes of *Italy*) was cut from him by the diligence of the frenche king, who, debating with their Embassadours with wordes sharpe and full of threatnings,wrought so much with their common weale

Lodowyk strengtheneth himselfe against the king.

that they made him ſecret promiſe by writing to miniſter no ayde at all to the Duke of *Myllan*, a promiſe, for the which they receiued in recompence no couenant or graunt of him: *Lodovvyk*, leauing the *Count Caiazze* on that ſide to the *Venetians* with a very ſmall companie not ſufficient to any great reſiſtance, ſent *Galeas de.S.Seueryn* beyond the Ryuer of *Pavv*, with an army of a thouſande ſixe hundred men at armes, a thouſande fyue hundred light horſmen, ten thouſande footemen *Italians*, and fyue hundred footemen *Allemains*, but more with intencion to defend his places, then to reſiſt in the plaine fielde: for that he eſteemed it moſt to his profit to enterteyne and holde thinges in delay, chiefly for that he had daily exſpectacion of the concluſion of an accorde ſolicited in his name by the Viſcount, betweene *Maximilian*, and the *Svvyſſers*: which if it were accompliſhed, he was fedde with many promiſes of mightie ſuccours, which other wayes he could not only not hope for, but it was very harde for him to draw any proporcions of footmen from thoſe quarters, for that by the troubles that were thereabout, all the countrey was almoſt kept trauelled in that warre.

Touching the warres of *Myllan*, there was performed neyther of the one nor other part, any exployt of warre, other then certeine light incurſions, vntill the regiments of the Lord *de Ligny*, *Eberard*, *Aubigny*, & *Tryvulce*, were paſſed the mountes: for that, albeit the king was come to *Lyon*, and the bruite ranne that he would paſſe into *Italy* in ſeaſon conuenient, yet he referred thinges to direction, appointing the marche of the army to be gouerned by his Capteines: The ſtrength of the frenche army was a thouſande ſix hundred Launces, fyue thouſande *Svvyſſers*, foure thouſande *Gaſcoyns*, and foure thouſande of other natures of ſouldiours in *Fraunce*: with whom, aſſoone as they were drawne into an army accompliſhed and beſtowed vnder their ſeuerall Guidens and leadors, the Capteines erected a Camp, and the thirtienth of Auguſt, planted it affore the Rocke *Arazze*, ſcituate vppon the ſhore of the Ryuer *Tanare*: And albeit, it was garded with a ſtrength of fyue hundred footemen, yet was it taken within a very ſhort tyme, the fury of the Artillerie being the cauſe, and no leſſe the cowardiſe of the Garriſon that were within: from thence they drew their Campp to *Auon*, a litle village along the high way to *Aſt* & *Alexandria*, vppon the bankes of *Tanara* and right ouer againſt *Arazze*: And being ſtrong by the propertie of his ſcituacion, the Duke of *Myllan* had eſtſoones fortefied it certeyne monethes before: And albeit *Galeas.S.Seueryn* who with his armie had taken the fielde neare *Alexandria*, was well aduertiſed of the loſſe of *Arazze*, and had determined to ſende to the ſuccours of the other bandes of footemen better reſolued, for that the ſeuen hundred beſtowed there firſt, were of the new leuies and not trayned to the warre: yet he could not put his deuiſe in execucion, for that the Frenchmen, to cut of all recourſe of ſuccours thether, had manned *Sillizana* which is betweene *Alexandria* and *Auon*, and that by the ſuffrance and conſent of the *Marquis* of *Mont Ferat* Lorde of the place: In ſo much, that they that were within *Auon* expreſſing in action and experience no better proofe of their vallours, then aunſweared the exſpectacion and opinion of moſt men, fell into the daunger of the french, who, after they had firſt battered the Suburbes, and afterwardes ſhaked the walles of the towne in foure ſeuerall quarters, they enforced it in two dayes and likewiſe the Caſtell, making ſlaughter of all the footemen that were thether withdrawne: The ſucceſſe of which enterpriſes whoſe furie vanquiſhed all reſiſtance, and the ſodeines ouercame all opinion and exſpectacion, brought ſuch aſtoniſhment to *Galeas.S.Seueryn*, that he retyred with all his army into *Alexandria* coollouring his feare with an excuſe,

The French king diſcendeth into Italy.

The frenchmen take diuers peeces in the Duchie of Myllan.

excuſe, that both in his ſouldiours wanted vallour, and in the people was litle fayth towardes *Lodovvyk*: which tymerous reſolucion ſtaying not a litle the reputacion of a generall, gaue occaſion of greater courage to the french, who drew their Camp within foure myles of *Alexandria*, and at the ſame ſeaſon tooke *Valence* plentifully ſtored with Artillerie and ſouldiours, and that by the treaſon of *Donat Raffaguin* of *Myllan*, at that tyme Capteyne of the Caſtle corrupted by the promiſes of *Tryvulce*: This Capteyne let them into the towne by the Caſtle, behelde with his eyes all the ſoldiors that were within eyther ſlaine or taken, & *Octauyan* baſtard brother to *S. Seueryn* made priſoner: ſo buiſie is the humor of treaſon that in whom it aboundeth, it rageth without reſpect to tyme, perſon, or the ſelfe partie in whom it worketh: for, this Capteyne twentie yeares before falſefying his faith to *Madame Bonne* and the young Duke *Iohn Galeas*, deliuered vp to *Lodovvyk Sforce* one of the Portes of *Tortona*, the ſelfe ſame day that he put the frenchmen into *Valence*: Thus fortune folowing the victors, and the victors applying to the fauour and oportunitie of the tyme, the frenchmen as a violent thunder running ouer the whole countrey *Baſigniana*, *Voguera*, *Nevvcaſtle*, and *Pont Corona*, yelded to them without reſiſtance, as alſo the Caſtle and towne of *Tortona*, from whence, *Anthonio Maria Paluoiſui* gouerning the Garriſon there, retired beyond the Riuer of *Pavv* without tarying for any aſſalt: The aduertiſement of theſe accidents being come to *Myllan*, *Lodovvyk Sforce*, ſeeing afore his eyes nothing but a lamentable face of all extremities, & that his eſtate haſtned with a vyolent ſvviftnes to his ruine, became confuſed (as hapneth in ſuddeyne extremeties) both in councell and courage, and had recourſe to thoſe remedies, wherein (men being accuſtomed to runne to them when thinges bee ſo farre afflicted, that they bee almoſt brought to the laſt diſpaire) they declare to euery one rather the greatnes of the daunger wherein they are, then that they receiue profit or comfort by them: he cauſed to mooſter and enroll all the men of the towne of *Myllan* that were hable to beare armes, and cauſing to aſſemble the people, which hated him not a litle for the many exactions he had impoſed vppon them, he acquited thē of one parte of the tributes and impoſicions whereunto they were bound, vſing perſuacions accompanied with wordes and ieſtures pitifull, that if they thought he had at any tyme too heauely burdened them, that they would not aſcribe it to his diſpoſicion and nature, nor to any deſire to heape to himſelfe a particular treaſor, but rather to the eſtate of the tymes, and daungerous condicions of *Italy*, no leſſe for the greatnes of the *Venetians*, then for the diſcending of the late king *Charles* of *Fraunce*, matters for their importance very ielous, and for which, his particular intereſt conſtrained him to thoſe actions, to thende to bee the better hable to protect the peace and ſuertie of that ſtate againſt all oppreſſions and inuaſions, iudging that hee could not ſhow a greater affection to his countrey and his people, then to foreſee that they ſhould not be trauelled with warres: That the fruites which they had reaped made good teſtimony of thineſtimable profittes they had gathered by ſuch a pollecie and councell, ſeeing they had liued many yeares vnder him in great tranquillitie, and by that benefit their citie raiſed into a wonderfull eſtate and maieſtie of riches, reputacion, and glorie, as was well expreſſed in the aſpect of ſo many pompes, glories, and honors, with the multiplicacion almoſt of infinit ſciences and inhabitantes: benefits, wherein the towne & Duchie of *Myllan*, doth not only not giue place, but doth exceede all other Climats and regions of *Italy*: That they ſhould remember, that he had gouerned them without bloud and crueltie, and with what affabilitie and readines he had harde euery one, and that hee only (aboue all the Princes of his tyme)

Lodowyk muſtereth all thinhabitants of Myllan, and laboureth to reconcile the hartes of the people.

without bearing reſpect to the paynes and trauels of his perſon, obſerued the dayes appointed for publike audiences, and alwayes had giuen to euery one a ready expedicion and vpright iuſtice: That they ſhould beare reſpect and remembrance to the merits and gracious behauiors of his father, who had gouerned them rather in an affection of children, then in the propertie and condicion of ſubiectes, and withall to ſet before their eyes how harde & greeuous it would be for them to beare the proud and inſolent yoke of the frenche, who, for the neighbourhead and nearenes of the realme of *Fraunce* (if they once came to commaund ouer theſtate of *Myllan*) would plant there their perpetuall dwelling, and chaſſe out the auncient inhabitantes, an impietie which heretofore they had exerciſed vppon all *Lombardy*: To theſe reaſons he added the conſideracion of the barbarous manners of the french nation, and to ioyne all together with myndes reſolute for the defence of their countrey and proper ſafetie, not doubting but if their reſiſtance vanquiſhed the firſt brunt of daungers (which lyke a ſtorme would bee vyolent and but ſhort) but the reſidue of the action wold be eaſie, for that this was a propertie infallible in the french nature, to be more furious to aſſaile, then conſtant to continue, and for that alſo he had in exſpectacion a ſpeedie and mightie ſuccour from the king of *Romains*, who, being alreadie compounded with the *Svvyſſers*, prepared to reskue him in perſon, lyke as alſo the regimentes which the king of *Naples* ſent to him vnder the leading of *Proſper Colonne*, were on the way, and did march: Laſtly he made them beleeue that the *Marquis* of *Mantua* (all the controuerſies betweene them being now reſolued) was already armed, & with three hundred men at armes entred the countrey of *Cremona*: to which ſuccours and forces, if he might adioyne the readines and fayth of his people, hee made himſelfe aſſured againſt his enemies, yea if their army conteined all the power of *Fraunce*. Theſe perſuaſions were heard with more diligence then profit, & ſerued him to as litle purpoſe, as the forces which he oppoſed againſt the french: for feare of whom waighing lightly the preſent daunger of the *Venetians*, who had begun the warre in *Guiaradadda*, and taken the towne of *Carauage* with other peeces neare the Ryuer of *Adda*, he called backe the Count *Caiazze* with the moſt part of thoſe bands which he had ſent for the defence of that quarter, and cauſed him to marche to *Pauya* to ioyne with *Galeas* for the defence of *Alexandria*: But, as ſuch as haue their deſtruction determined, are ſeene to decline by degrees, ſo his ruyne was aduaunced on all ſides: for, the *Count Caiazze*, was a litle before at a ſecret accord with the frenche king, being more caried with diſdaine that *Galeas* his brother, younger in yeares, and of leſſe exerciſe and experience in armes was preferred before him in the gouernment of the armie, and in all other honors and fauors then with the memorie of the innumerable benefits which he and his brethren had receiued of *Lodovvyk*: Some are of opinion, that *Lodovvyk* was aduertiſed of his reuolting certeine monethes before, and after many deepe cogitacions of the diſpoſicion of the man, he aunſwered at laſt with many ſighes to him that gaue him thaduertiſement, that as he could not be perſuaded of ſo great an ingratitude, ſo, if it were a thing true, it was an euil whoſe nature reſiſted all remedies, and for his part, he knew not in whom to reappoſe confidence, ſince in his fauorits, and familiars, & ſuch as had moſt communicated with his liberalities & benefits, were found diſpoſiciõs of treaſon: Affirming (with compaſſion bringing teares) that he eſteemed it not a calamitie leſſe hurtfull to depriue himſelfe by a vaine ſuſpicion of the ſeruice of perſonages faithful, then by too haſtie & light credulitie, to reappoſe his ſuertie in the faith of thoſe whoſe behauiors gaue occaſion to doubt them: But in the meane while, the *Count Caiazze* makes a bridge

The Count Caiazze leaueth the Duke of Myllan.

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ouer *Po* to ioyne with his brother,& interteining with cunning delayes thexecuciō, whileſt the bridge is in worke and labour he deferreth to paſſe,notwithſtanding the frenche armie was two dayes affore, entred into *Alexandria* which they did batter: And *Galeas* whoſe ſtrength was a thouſande and two hundred men at armes, a thouſand and two hundred light horſmen,with three thouſande footemen, in the night of the third day without the priuitie of any the Capteines except *Luke Maluezze*, fleeth ſecretly out of *Alexandria* with a parte of the light horſmen, giuing the whole world to know to his great diſhonor,and no leſſe reproche to the wiſdome of *Lodovvyk*,howe great difference was betweene the ſport to manage a Courſer, & runne at tilt and torney with huge Launces(exerciſes wherein he exceeded moſt *Italians*) and the office to be a Capteine of an armie: And how much thoſe princes beguile themſelues to their harmes,who, in the election of men to manage and commaund ouer affaires of daungerous importance,beare more regarde to the fauour of ſuche whom they chooſe,then to their vertue and habilitie: Aſſoone as it was knowne in *Alexandria* that *Galeas* was fledde,ſuche as remeined in the armie (example doing much in caſes of aduerſitie) began in general tumult,to ſhow diſorder,diſobedience and all the other euilles that inflict an armie abandoned: ſome fled, ſome hid themſelues,& ſome wandred at auenture without all hope of fortune: by occaſion wherof,the french armie (running with thoportunitie) entred the towne at the breake of day,and not only ſtripped all the ſouldiours that were there,but with an vnbridled libertie of warre,put the whole citie to ſacke: There ranne a bruite, that *Galeas* was commaunded by ſecret letters ſubſigned with the name of *Lodovvyk Sforce*, that for a certeine mutinie then ryſen at *Myllan*,he ſhould retire thether immediatly with all his bandes: But ſome were of opinion that the letters were falſly made and forged by the *Count Caiazze*,as by that meane to make more eaſie the victorie of the french: The letters *Galeas* was wont to ſhow afterwardes for his iuſtification, as though he had bene charged by the ſame,to abandon raſhelie his armie,and not to leade it ſafe into places where he knew he could leaue it in ſecuritie: But to what inuencion ſo euer the letters were referred,or to what intencions ſo euer they were interpreted, his excuſes are not ſo credible,as it is holden moſt certeyne with all men, that if in *Galeas* had bene founde any reputacion of a generall,any councell of a Capteine,or any courage of a man reſolute,he might haue made eaſie the defence of *Alexandria*, and all the reſidue beyond *Po*, with the ſtrength he had: wherein happelie fortune would haue honored his vallour with good ſucceſſe,for that one parte of the french armie,being paſſed the Ryuer of *Bornia* a fewe dayes before, and by reaſon of the ſodeine raines falling,albeit they were incloſed betweene the Ryuers of *Bornia* & *Tanaro*, yet *Galeas* had not the hart to ſet vppon them, notwithſtanding hee was tolde that certeine of his light horſmen, iſſued out of *Alexandria* by the bridge vppon *Tanaro* which ioyneth the ſuburbes to the Citie, had charged them, and almoſt put to the chaſe the firſt battell.

The loſſe of *Alexandria* brought no litle aſtoniſhment to all the reſidue of the Duchie of *Myllan*, not onlie afflicted more and more with freſhe calamities, but alſo ſo much the more neare his perill and ruyne,by how muche the french men hauing paſſed their armie ouer the Ryuer of *Po*, were gone to beſeege *Mortaro*, which made them of *Pauya* put themſelues into accord with them: And the *Venetians*, hauing taken the Rocke of *Carauage* & paſſed the Ryuer of *Adda* vppon a bridge made for preſent ſeruice,commaunded almoſt all the countrey euen to *Loddy*, the whole reſidue of the places being for the moſt parte drawne into rebellion: And as, when

aduerſities come they thunder all at once, ſo euen at *Myllan* there was no leſſe confuſion and feare, then in the other places, for that the multitude, being now weary of their long exſpectacion of chaunge, and the perticular factions of citizens drawing to *Monopolies* and priuat councels, the whole citie conſpired and tooke armes, and that with ſo ſlender reuerence to their Lorde, that his treaſorer generall comming from the Caſtle from ſoliciting affaires with him, was ſlaine at noone dayes in the ſtreetes, (perticular hatreds working no leſſe in the conſpiracie, then the councelles of ſuch as deſired innouacion and new thinges: by reaſon of which accident, no leſſe inſolent in the manner, then bloudie in the matter, *Lodovvyk* entring into a great feare of his perſon, and ſtanding naked of all hopes and poſſibilitie, determined to auoyde the preſent daunger, not by his vertue to reſiſt, but by his pollicie: & deuiſing to leaue the Caſtle of *Myllan* in good garde, he found no better remedie for his ſafetie, then to flee into *Iermany* with his children, where carying with him in his perſon the true aſpect of his calamities, he ſayde he would ſolicit *Maxymylian* to come to his ayde and ſuccours, hauing alreadie concluded, or at leaſt helde for reſolued, the peace with the *Svvyſſers*: following this reſolucion, hee ſent away his children accompanied with the Cardinall *Aſcanius* (come from *Rome* not many dayes before to ſuccour aſwell as he could the affaires of his brother) and with Cardinall. *S. Seueryn*, with whom alſo hee ſent his treaſor, very much diminiſhed from his auncient proporcion: for, it is credibly knowne to many that not eight yeares paſſed, *Lodovvyk*, to make a glorious bragge of his power, ſhowed to many Embaſſadours and others of reſpect, the eſtate and ſubſtance of his treaſor which at that tyme, aſwel in money, as in plate of golde and ſiluer, (beſides Iewels & wealth of other natures in no ſmall number) amounted to a Myllion and an halfe of Duckats: but at his departure, according to thopinion of men, it conteyned not a reckoning of two hundred thouſand: Aſſoone as his children were departed, he appointed (notwithſtanding many of his friendes labored to turne him) for the garde of the Caſtle *Barnardin de Corto* borne at *Pauya*, whom he had nouriſhed and brought vp of long, and being at that tyme Capteine of the Caſtle, he preferred the faith of him, affore all opinion & truſt in his brother *Askanius* offring to take vppon him that charge: he left for that defence three thouſande footemen vnder the authoritie of Capteines in whom he reappoſed moſt, with proporcions of vitels, munitions, and money, ſufficient for many monethes: Touching *Genes* and the affaires there, he determined to recommend them to the honour and confidence of *Auguſtyn Adorne* (gouernor preſent) and to his brother *Iohn*, to whom (the better to aſſure his faith) he had ioyned in mariage one of the ſiſters of the *S. Seuerins*, and ſent them foorthwith the aſſignation of the Caſtle: To the *Baromoyes*, gentlemen of *Myllan* he reſtored *Augniara*, *Arona* & other landes vppon the lake *Maior* which he had taken from them: And to *Iſabell* of *Aragon* the wydowe of Duke *Iohn Galeas*, hee gaue by reaſon of her dowrie, the Duchie of *Bary* and the principallitie of *Roſſano* for thirtie thouſande Duckats, notwithſtanding ſhe denied to truſt him with the ſonne of *Iohn Galeas*, whom he deſired to ſende with his children into *Iermany*.

Lodovvyk abandoneth Myllan.

After he had eſtabliſhed this forme of direction, and in his owne ſeeming had ſet downe aſmuch as might ſuffice for the ſuertie of things, leauing the towne to the gouernment of it ſelfe, he departed the ſecond of September with his eyes ful of teares, accompanied with the Cardinall of *Eſte*, and *Galeas. S. Seueryn*, and for his ſafetie by the way, he had *Luke Maluezze* with a good trowpe of men at armes and footemen: And as he was iſſuing out of the Caſtle (decay of fortune traynes with it all ſortes of diſcom-

diſcomfort) The *Count Caiazze*, ſeeking to ſhadowe his diſloyaltie with ſome cooler, met him and ſayde that, ſeeing he abandoned his eſtate, he helde himſelfe acquited of the othe of warre which he had made to him, and from thence forwarde to bee in full power to profeſſe what ſeruice hee would: And at thinſtant the *Count* diſcloſed to him the titles, names, & enſeignes of the army of the frenche king, into whoſe paie he entred immediatly with the ſelf ſame regiment which he had leauied with the treaſors of *Lodovvyk*: who from *Coma* where he left the Caſtle in the power of the people, wēt along the riuer, to *Belleaſia* & from thence (being ſet on lande) he paſſed by *Bormy* & all thoſe places, where at other times when he was in glory & felicitie he had receiued *Maximilian* paſſing then into *Italy*, rather as a Capteine to him & the *Venetians*, then with a maieſtie & eſtate of a king of *Romains*: Betweene *Coma* & *Bormy*, he was purſued with bands of the french & the companies of the *Count Caiazzo*: frō which places, leauing garriſon within the Caſtle of *Tyran* occupied not many daies after by the *Griſons*, he tooke his way towardes *Spruch*, where he vnderſtood was the perſon of Themprour: After the ſeedes of aduerſitie be ſowen, there is no long exſpectatiō for the fruites, which draw to their effects with a ſwift courſe, euen as whē the cloude is gathered to his thicknes, there is an apparāce of raine with a diſpoſition ready to diſperſe the ſtorme that lōg hath ben in breeding: for *Lodovvyk* was no ſooner departed, thē the inhabitāts of *Myllā*, diſpatching Embaſſadors to the frēch Capteines (approched with the whole army within ſix miles of the citie) conſented with ready & frāke wils to receiue thē, reſeruing the cōdiciōs & capitulaciōs till the kings cōming, in whō they had many hopes to finde great fauours & graces (regard to particular profit preuailing more in thē, thē any cōſideraciō or cōſcience of obedience to their Lord:) Moſt of the other places of the duchie of *Myllan* made their example a ſufficiēt occaſiō to reuolt: The citie of *Cremona* which was beſet with bands of the *Venetiās* (whoſe yoke the inhabitants abhorred) wold alſo haue don the like, if the frēch king, that yet would not breake the cōtract made with the *Venetians*, had not cōpelled the towne to be rēdred to thē: And as in calamities, general exāples induce wonderfully, ſo the citie of *Genes*, folowed this vniuerſall reuolt, (the people, & the famuly of the *Adorneys* with *Iohn Levvys de Fieſque*, ſtriuing who ſhold giue vp the citie vnto the king): And to thend that with ſo great & ſodein ruines againſt *Lodovvyk* (loſing in eight daies ſo mightie an eſtate) the world might alſo diſcerne the examples of ingratitude: the Capteine of the Caſtle of *Myllā*, choſē aboue al others for the reputaciō of his faith & vertue, not abiding ſo much as one boollet or any forme of aſſalt, deliuered to the frēch king within twelue daies after the departure of *Lodovvyk*, the Caſtle which was ſuppoſed to be impregnable: And receiued in recōpēce of ſo great diſloialtie a great proporciō of mony, a company of an hūdred Laūces, a perpetual pēſion, with many other priuileges & graces: But with ſuch infamy & hate euē amōgſt the frēch, that being eſchued & reiected of euery one, & perſecuted with ſkornes & reproches, he died of thought within few daies after, tormēted belike with ſhame & the ſpirit of his cōſciēce which are two mighty & moſt aſſured skourges to vex traitors & faithbreakers: The Capteines aſſigned to him for the ſeruice of the caſtle, did cōmunicate in that infamy, but chiefly *Philippin de Fieſque*, who, trained vp & aduaūced by the Duke, & left there for the credit & opiniō of his faith, ioined him ſelf to the cōſēt of the caſtle keper to betray their charge (being both made blind with one pouder of corrupt promiſes): The king receiuing at *Lyō* the newes of ſo great a victory ſucceded with a ſpeed ſwifter thē his exſpectaciō, made way with great diligence to *Millā*, where, being receiued with a ioye of the people, equal to the fortune

The towne of Myllan yeldeth to the frenchmen.

The french king commeth to Myllan.

of his victorie, he agreed to the deposing of diuers tributes and impoſicions, which as it is an action firſt requiſite in Princes newly poſſeſſed of conqueſt, and a fauour moſt plawſible to people altered, So yet they of *Myllan*, rayſing their deſires aboue reaſon or order, were not fully ſatiſfied for the opinion they had that the kinges liberalitie would make them free from all exemptions: hee diſtributed honourable giftes of reuenues to many Gentlemen of *Myllan*, and amongſt other thinges gaue *Vigeneua* to *Iohn Iacques Tryvulce* in recompence of his merits.

The taking of Caſsina.

In the ſelfe ſame ſeaſons that the french king runne this fortune againſt the Duke of *Myllan*, *Pavvle Vitelly*, hauing now reaſſembled the bandes and prouiſions of the *Florentins* to cary with more eaſe, the victory of *Piſa*, planted his Camp affore the towne of *Caſcina*, which, notwithſtanding it was ſufficiently manned and vittelled, with a wonderfull ſtrength of trenches and Rampiers, was taken, after the ſommonce of the artillerie, within leſſe then ſix and twentie houres: for that, the defendants, beginning now to feare the great ruyne which the artillerie had made of their walles being of no ſtrength, ioyning with the forreine ſouldiours that were within, rendred the place, and compounded only for their lyues and goods, leauing the Commiſſioners and ſouldiours of the *Piſans* wholly in the arbitracion of the Victors: Immediatly after this, (one euill following an other,) the Towre builded to guarde the mouth of the Ryuer of *Arne*, and the Baſtilion of the poole, being abandoned of the *Piſans*, yelded at the ſommonce of one only Trumpet: (The malice of fortune confounding the vallour and vertues of men) So that the *Piſans* helde no other peeces within the whole countrey then the Caſtle of *Verrucole* and the little Towre *Askanius*, which ſuffred no vexacion of thenemies, both for thincommoditie of the Ryuer of *Arne* which hindred all actions of inuaſions or aſſalt, and alſo being ſo neare *Piſa*, it ſtoode poſſible to ſpeedie and readie ſuccours, thimportance alſo of thenterpriſe required not the loſſe of ſo much tyme: In ſo much as there remeyned now no more to get but *Piſa*, which was an enterpriſe very hard (according to the diſcourſe of ſuche as ſounded thinges with diſcreſſion) aſwell for the forteſſe of the towne, as for the numbers, vertue, and reſolucion of the men that were within it: For, albeit there were within *Piſa* no forreine ſouldiours other then *Gurlyn de Rauenna* with ſome very ſmall troupes, who comming at firſt in the paye of the *Venetians*, remeyned ſtill poſſeſſed of that ſeruice after their regiment was withdrawne: yet there were no ſmall numbers of Citizens and Paiſantes well woorthie of accompt, both for that by a continuall experience of fyue yeares, they were made ſeruiceable and fitte for the warre, and alſo they nouriſhed ſuch an immoueable reſolucion of minde not to returne eftſoones vnder the power of the *Florentyns*, that they held for nothing all other aduerſities how greeuous ſo euer they were: And albeit there were no ditches nor trenches before the walles of the citie, yet were they very thicke & of auncient building with ſtones ſo wel couched by the facultie of the lyme and ſande proper to that countrey, that their reſiſtaunce was more mightie againſt thartillerie then is in the common ſort of walles, and by that benefit, affore they were beaten flat with the earth, the defendantes had good time and leaſure to reenforce and reedefie their Rampiers: But theſe defences, conſidered with all the other ſtrengthes of the Citie, coulde not ſtaye the diſpoſicion of the *Florentyns*, who, being determined to aſſaltc it, were ſtyrred to it the rather by *Pavvle Vitelly*, and *Rinucce de Marciano*, who gaue no ſmall hopes to take it within fyfteene dayes: And hauing muſtred together a ſtrength of tenne thouſande footemen, with many *Guidons* of horſemen, and drawne together

together according to direction, many other great prouisions *Pavvle* planted his Camp there the last of Iuly, not (as many aduised him, and the *Florentyns* desired) on that side to *Arne* to intercept the succours that might come from *Lucqua*: but on the other side the Ryuer right ouer against the bastillion and Towre of *Stampace*: wherein he occupied this reason, that eyther in taking that fortresse he might the easelier cary the towne, or in respect of the great commoditie of vittels brought from the Boroughes about the hilles, or at least by some speciall foresight or coniecture that he had, that the *Pisans* not suspecting the seege to be planted on that side, had not begunne any Rampyer there as they had done on the other side: The battery conteining twentie peeces of great artillerie, beat vppon the Bastilion of *Stampace* and a great parte of the wall aswell on the right as left hande, namely from *S. Anthony* vntill *Stampace*, and from thence vntill the watergate, or gate towardes the sea built vppon the banke of *Arne*: And of the contrary, the *Pisans* (ioyning their labours to their daungers) trauelled day and night, and with them their wiues and other sortes of women no lesse resolute and well disposed then the men: In so muche that their vallour and labours were some resistance to the furie of the enemies, for that in very fewe dayes, they had made right against the wall that was battred, a Rampier of a great height and largenes, and a ditche of more then common depth, being nothing amazed to see many of their companies slaine directly with the Boollet, and many wounded with the reuerberacion of the same: The shot also so thundred vppon the souldiours in the Camp, together with the great artillerie from the towne, specially from a plot forme that was vppon the Towre of Sainct *Marke*, that the whole Camp was constrained eyther to remoue their tents to haue better couerture, or els to pitche their Cabinettes within the ditches: Many dayes paste in this forme of action, wherein albeit they had throwne to the ground a great quantitie of the wal from *S. Anthony* vntill *Stampace*, & had reduced that fortresse into suche tearmes, as the Generall hoped to obteine it without great difficultie, yet, to make the victorie more easie, hee continued the battery from *Stampace* till the gate to the sea, interteyning in the meane whyle many skyrmishes betweene the wall which they battered, and the Rampyer, so farre separate from the walles that *Stampace* remeyned whollie without the Rampier: In one of these skirmishes the *Count Rinucce* was hurt with a shot of a Harguebuze: The Generall determined that assoone as he had wonne *Stampace*, to plant there his artillerie and also vppon the wall which hee had battred, by which meanes, giuing (in the Flancke) vppon all that syde which the *Pisans* defended, he made his hope of the victorie almost certeyne: hee made at the same tyme fall towardes the Rampier (to thende the ditche being filled, the souldiours might enter with more ease) one parte of the ruyne of the wall which was betweene *Stampace* and the Rampier, which being alreadie shaked, was not now supported but with proppes and matter of wood: On the other syde, the *Pisans*, who, in defending were altogether directed by the councell of *Gurlyn*, had made towardes *S. Anthony* certeine murdering houses within the ditche, to thende that if the enemie discended, it should not bee filled vp by them: they had also bestowed vppon the Rampiers towardes *S. Anthony*, muche artillerie, and placed their footemen at the foote of the Rampier, to thende that thinges drawing to straytes and extremeties, they might bee opposed with their proper persönnes against their enemies: At laste, *Pavvle Vitelly* not willing to deferre any longer the taking of *Stampace*, the tenth day after he had planted his Camp there, gaue thassalt at the breake of day: And notwithstanding

Pisa is beseeged.

his ſouldiours were greeuouſly vexed with thartillerie of the olde Citadell,yet,their proper vertue preuailing aboue their preſent daunger, and the preſence of their generall aſſuring much the victorie, they tooke it, both with a fortune more ſpeedie, and an action more eaſie then was looked for, and with ſuch a terrible amaze to the *Piſans*, that abandoning their Rampiers, they fledde in all the quarters of the Citie, yea many, amongeſt whom was *Peter Fambecourte* a noble citizen with fortie Croſbow ſhot on horſebacke which hee had in charge, fledde out of *Piſa:* many did the lyke,without that the Maieſtrates made reſiſtance at the gates,in ſo much as if others of the Camp had followed the fortune of that mourning, they had caryed the towne to the great glorie of the Capteyne to whom had bene moſt happie the ſucceſſe of that day, which indeede was the beginning of his calamities: for that, not knowing (ſo he excuſed himſelfe) of thoccaſion that hapned without thinking of any ſuche, and being not determyned to giue thaſſalt with all the Camp, nor to other place then to that Towre, hee ſent not his men only to aſſalt the Rampier where they ſhould haue founde no reſiſtance, but alſo he made retyre moſt part of his footbandes,& they vnderſtanding that the fortreſſe of *Stampace* was wonne,deſiring to make a pillage & pray of the towne,run thether by heapes to enter: And in the meane while the *Piſans* (a bruite running thorow the Citie that the enemies folowed not the victorie) puſhed forwerd by the lamentable cryes of their wiues & women,who encouraged them rather to chuſe death,thē to liue vnder the yoke of the *Florentyns*,began to returne with a new valour to the gard of the Rampiers:Amongſt whom,*Gurlyn* remembring that from a part or Iawme of *Stampace* bending towardes the towne, there was a way that led to the gate of the ſea which they had before filled vp with earth & wood,& fortefied on that ſide to the Camp,but not on that part that looked to *Stampace*, he cauſed it to be rampierd & filled vp on that ſide,& caſting a plot forme of earth,he cut of the entrey on that part with the artilleries that were beſtowed in flanke: Aſſoone as *Stampace* was wonne *Pavvle* cauſed to be mounted there certeine Falcounets & port peeces,which ſhot thorow the towne of *Piſa*,but offended not the Rampiers,which albeit were much afflicted with the artillerie that was planted below,yet the *Piſans* redobling in corage by thimportunitie of their daūgers,abādoned them not at the ſame inſtant they battred the murdring houſe towardes.*S. Anthony*,& the water gate,& the defenſes,(*Pavvle Vitelly* not ceaſing to labour to fil vp the trenche with earth baſkettes, the more eaſelie to take the Rampier:) Againſt which oppreſſions the *Piſans*,riſing in courage in that they had receiued the night folowing from them of *Lucqua* a ſuccor of three hundred footmē, hurled into the trenche many ſortes of wildefyers: And laboring with a wonderfull reſolucion of minde and diligence to cōſtraine the Camp to abandon the Towre of *Stampace*,they turned directly thether a very great Port peece called *Bufole*,by whoſe furie the Camp was compelled to diſmount the artillerie which they had mounted aboue: And albeit *Pavvle* cauſed to be braked againſt it certeine Port peeces of his, by the which the mouth of *Bufole* was choked and broken, yet, ſparing not for all that to ſhoote, they brought in certeine dayes the Towre to that reaſon that *Pavvle* was conſtrained, not only to remoue his artillerie, but alſo to abandon the place: Notwithſtanding all this, the Generall would not make himſelfe fruſtrat of the hope he had to cary in the endē the victorie,which,(according to his cuſtome)deſiring to haue with the moſt ſuertie,& the leaſt hurt to the army that could bee,albeit in many places there was more then fyue hundred yeardes of the wal vppon the earth:he labored cōtinually to encreaſe the battery,to fil vp the ditches with earth,

earth, and to fortefie the Towre of *Stampace*, to replant new artilleries, and to beate in flanke the great rampiers which the *Pisans* had made, labouring with all his pollicie and industrie to winne alwayes some commoditie to giue with more suertie, the assalt generall & determined: which last exployt, (notwithstanding he had brought thinges into that estate that as often as he would haue followed the assalt he might haue had great hope of the victorie) he prolonged willingly, to thende the harmes of the armie might not deface the honor and reputacion of the victorie: And albeit the assistantes of the *Florentyns* (to whom euery litle respit was troublesome) and the continuall letters and messages from *Florence*, ceassed not to hasten him to the assalt, the better to preuent those impediments that might happen: yet *Pavvle* stood firme in his owne councel, which, albeit might happely be discreete & according to thexperience & discipline of warre, yet, it had a cõtrary fortune: for that the countrey of *Pisa*, which is ful of lakes & marishes betwene the next sea & the citie, being in that season of the yeare subiect to ayres pestilent, and specially on that side towardes the Camp, there came vppon the army in two dayes many diseases, which so wasted and weakned the bodie of the Camp, that when *Pavvle* gaue order to prepare to the assalt the foure and twentith of August, he founde so many of his regimentes made vnprofitable and vnhable for seruice, that those that remeined whole and disposed, sufficed not to meinteyne thassalt: which vnhappie accident, albeit the *Florẽtins* and he (who was also sicke) labored to helpe by leauying new bandes of footemen, yet, the influence of the ayre contending against their industry, made thinfectiõ so vehement that euery day the diminucion was found greater then the supplie: In so much that their long hope of the victorie being now turned into an other habit both doutful & desperat, & fearing harmes both more speciall and importing, he determined to leauy & breake vp the Camp: A resolucion much resisted by the *Florentyns*, who aduised him that leauing garrison sufficient within the fortresse of *Stampace*, he wold reapose with the armie about the confines of *Pisa*: But he, making this councell no direction to him, abandoned the Towre of *Stampace*, which he helde not tenable, for that it had bene first shaked with his artilleries and then battred with the great shot of the *Pisans*: And drawing the whole armie to the way of the sea the fourth of September, and not hable to trayle his artilleries by lande to *Cascina*, for that the wayes were drowned with waters, he embarked them in the mouth of the Ryuer of *Arne* to conuey them to *Lyuorne*: But fortune striuing against him in this laste action, many of thartilleries were sunke in the waters, and a little after drawne vp againe by the *Pisans*, who at the same tyme recouered eftsoones the Towre that gardes the mouth of the Ryuer: By these occasions (the seruices yea and faith of men, are interpreted by opinion) the ill disposicion conceiued alreadie by the people of *Florence*, was so redoubled with the Maiestrates, that within fewe dayes being called to *Cassina* by the Commissioners, vnder cooller to consult into what places they should distribute the companies, hee was made prisoner by commaundement of the soueraigne Maiestrate of the towne, and from thence sent to *Florence*: where the same night he arryued, being painefully examyned by torments, hee was executed by the head the day following by sentence of the Maiestrate, his brother being almost taken in the same daunger and fortune: for that as the Commissioners sent to apprehende him in the same instant: So, beyng sicke of the disease hee had taken in the Camppe, hee made semblaunce to obey them: And rysing out of his bedde, he conuerted the tyme that they gaue him to araie him, into deuises & directions to steale away: In so much as beguiling with

Pavle leauieth the siege.

The Florentyns put. P. Vitelly to death.

diligence, the ſecuritie of the *Florentyns*, he was in one inſtant with the helpe of his ſeruantes, well mounted vppon a horſe of ſpeede, and fleeing to *Piſa*, he was receiued with generall gladnes of the whole inhabitantes. The principall pointes wherein they quarelled with the lyfe of *Pavvle Vitelly*, & condemned him, were theſe: That it proceeded of his will only that *Piſa* was not taken, hauing good meane and oportunitie thereunto the ſame day that the rocke of *Stampaco* was forced: That he only did deferre to giue the aſſalt: That hee had many tymes giuen audience to men comming to him from *Piſa*, and neuer communicated with the *Florentyns*: That he had leuyed the Camp againſt the publike commaundement, and with the like contempt had abandoned *Stampace*: That he had drawne diuers others of the Capteines to occupie with him, *Caſcina*, *Vicopiſan*, and the artileries, to thende that in payments and other condicions, they might manage the *Florentyns* as they thought beſt: That in the coũtrey *Caſẽtyn*, he had had ſecret intelligẽces with the *Medicis*, & at the ſame time treated and almoſt concluded with the *Venetians*, to ſerue them when the time, of his paie with the *Florentyns* ſhould be determined, which now was almoſt expired: That, in that reſpect he had giuen ſafeconduit to the Duke of *Vrbyn* and to *Iulyan de Medicis*: he was ſtraitlie examined vppon all theſe pointes, & albeit he confeſſed nothing particularlie, yet they cut of all further examinacions, & fearing leaſt the french king (now come to *Myllan*) would vrge his deliuerie, they proceeded to execute him ſpeedely: Not one of his ſeruantes which after his death were examyned at leaſure, would confeſſe any thing, ſauing that he was much diſcontented with the *Florentyns*, for that they had made the *Count Rinucce* concurrant with him in authoritie, and for the difficulties they vſed in thexpedicion of prouiſions which hee demaunded, and ſometymes in his affaires particular, not forbearing at *Florence* to ſpeake ordinarily to his diſhonor: by which teſtimonies and confeſſions of his ſeruantes, albeit ſome remeyned poſſeſſed of this opinion, that hee behaued himſelfe not loyallie in his charge, hauing a pretence to be Lord of *Piſa*, and to occupy ſome other parte of the demeyne of *Florence*, where he enterteyned many intelligences and amities: yet the moſt parte beleeued well of his innocencie, and were perſuaded that he nouriſhed a great deſire to take *Piſa*, for the reputacion & glorie that would redowne to him, the principall end and reſpect of euery great Capteine.

The french king being at Myllan compoundeth with the moſt parte of the Potentates of Italy.

The french king, being now aryued at *Myllan*, all the Potentates of *Italy* except king *Federyk* came to him, ſome in perſon, and ſome by Embaſſadors, ſome to congratulat his victorie, and ſome to iuſtefie themſelues of thimputacion to bee more inclined to *Lodovvyk Sforce* then to him, and ſome to ſeeke ſuertie of him hereafter of their proper eſtates: The king receiued them all graciouſly, and compounded with them all, but diuerſly according to the diuerſitie of condicions, and according to the greatnes of the profit which he might drawe: hee tooke the *Marquis* of *Mantua* into his protection, and indued him with a companie of an hundred Launces, with an honorable penſion and the order of *S. Michaell*: he receiued likewiſe into his protection the Duke of *Ferrara* (he and the *Marquis* were with his maieſtie in perſon) who pertaked not in that benefit without well paying for it, with other difficulties, for that euer ſince he rendred the Caſtle of *Genes* to *Lodovvyk*, he hath bene eſteemed to beare a mynde contrary to the french: he accepted alſo into his grace and protection (but vnder a great ſumme of money) *Iohn Bentiuole* who had ſent to him his ſonne: But of all the reſidue, the *Florentyns* compounded with him moſt hardly and chargably for that (their merits all forgotten, and the harmes they had ſo long tyme endured during the late king, in folowing the frendſhips of *Fraũce*)

all

all the court almoſt was againſt them, thoſe reaſons were not accepted that, (not to ſtir vp *Lodovvyk Sforce* againſt them, for the matters of *Piſa*,) had conſtrained them to remeyne Newters: for that thimpreſſion which the frenchmen tooke when king *Charles* gaue libertie to the *Piſans*, remeyned yet firmly fixed in their affections, beſides that the men of warre of the Camp, iudged them (both by brute and experience) to be men of merit, valour, and reputacion for ſeruice, which drew not a litle their diſpoſicions to beare them fauour: Beſides, the authoritie of *Tryvulce* was no ſmall impediment to the purpoſes of the *Florentyns*, for that aſpiring ambiciouſly to the Lordſhip of *Piſa*, he fauored wholly their cauſe, who deſired to receiue for their Lorde eyther him or any other in whom was habilitie to defende them againſt the *Florentyns*: who were generally blamed by the mouthes of the whole Court for the death of *Pavvle Vitelly*, as to execute without occaſion, a Capteyne of ſo great merit, and to whom the Crowne of *Fraunce* owed much in honor and friendſhip, for that his brother was killed and he made priſoner in the frenche ſeruice during the warres of *Naples* vnder the late king *Charles*: But in the ende, the king inclining more to his proper profit thē to things vaine, entred into cōpoſicion, by the which his maieſtie receiuing them into his protectiō, bound himſelf to defend thē againſt all men with ſix hundred Laūces & foure thouſand footmen, as alſo the *Florentins* to defend his eſtates in *Italy* with foure hūdred mē at armes & three thouſād footmē: That the king at their requeſts, ſhould apply that ayde of Launces, & (if need were) a ſtrength of artillerie, for the recouering of *Piſa* & the places occupied by them of *Syena* and *Lucqua*, but not of thoſe peeces which the *Genovvays* helde: And that, if theſe companies were not demaunded of him before, he ſhould be bounde, when he ſent an armie to the enterpriſe of *Naples*, to conuert either the whole or part of it to this expedicion: That the *Florentyns*, if they recouered *Piſa* and not otherwayes, ſhould be bounde to miniſter to him for the conqueſt of *Naples* fyue hundred men at armes, and fiftie thouſand Duckats to defraie the payes of the *Svvyſſers* for three moneths, that they ſhould reſtore to him thirtie thouſand duckats which *Lodovvyk Sforce* had lent them, rebating (according to thaccompt which *Iohn Iacques Tryvulce* ſhoulde make) ſo much as they had paied or diſpended for him: Laſtly, that they ſhould take for Capteine generall of their men of warre, the *Prefect* of *Rome*, brother ro the Cardinall. *S. P. ad Vincla*, at whoſe inſtance it was demaunded: In ſo goodly an occaſion, the ambition of the Pope ſlept not, who, ſoliciting earneſtly to haue promiſe kept with him, the king gaue to the Duke *Valentynois* (comē with him out of *Fraūce*) three hundred Launces defraied vppon the treaſors of the king, and guided by *Yues D'alegre* & foure thouſād *Svvyſſers* vnder the charge of the Bailiffe of *Dyō*, but paide of the Popes purſſe, which companies were for his ayde in the warre which he mēt to make vppon the Viccaires of *Romagna*.

The eſtate of Romagnia in the tyme of the Duke Valentynois.

The townes of *Romagna*, vexed with others that are ſubiect to the church with ſundry accidents, haue bene for many yeares gouerned with a iuriſdiction almoſt ſeperat from the demayne of the church: for that ſome of the Viccaires payed not their tributes as they ought in homage of ſuperioritie, others payed them but with difficultie and hardnes, and for the moſt parte out of ſeaſon: But they all indiffrently without licence of the Popes, put them ſelues in paie with other Princes: wherein much leſſe that they made exceptions not to ſerue them againſt the church, but of the contrarie, they bounde themſelues to protect them euen againſt the authoritie and armes of the Popes being ſo much the more plawſible to thoſe Princes, by how much they were conuenient for their ſeruice, both for thoportunitie of their eſtates

& forces,& withal to hinder that the power & pride of the Popes ſhold not ſwel and riſe aboue order: In that time the *Venetiãs* poſſeſſed in *Romagna* the cities of *Rauenna* & *Ceruia*, which they had (not many yeares before) takẽ from the familie of *Polenta*, a people who, of Citizens priuat of *Rauenna*, were become Tyrants ouer their coũtrey, & afterwardes had thinveſtiture of Viccaires: *Faenza*, *Furly*, *Ymola*, & *Rimini*, were in the power of Viccaires perticular: *Ceſena*, that had ben long cõmaũded by the family of *Malateſte* was eftſones returned to the church *Domynick*, the laſt Viccaire of the ſame Citie, being dead without children certeine yeares before. Therefore the Pope (whoſe ambicion was greater then his doctrine) pretending that thoſe Cities for many reſpectes were diuolued to the ſea Apoſtolike, and that he would reeſtabliſhe and reduce them to their auncient iuriſdiction (but indeede had intencion to appropriat them to *Cæſar* his ſonne) had contracted with the french king, that when he had accompliſhed his conqueſt of the Duchie of *Myllan*, he ſhould contribute and communicate with him for the recouery only of thoſe townes which were poſſeſſed by the Viccaires, comprehending the Citie of *Peſera*, whereof was Viccaire *Iohn Sforce*, aforetyme his ſonne in lawe: for, the greatnes of the *Venetians* did not ſuffer, that thoſe thoughtes ſhould ſtretch out againſt them, who did not aſpire at that tyme to thoſe litle townes, which confining vppon the Ryuer of *Po*, were holden by the Duke of *Ferrara*: In ſo much that the Duke *Valentynois*, aſſoone as he had obteyned of the king the bandes promiſed, and ioyned them to the regiments of the church, he entred into *Romagna*, where he tooke with a ſpeede and fortune aboue his exſpectacion, the Citie of *Ymola* by accord, and that about the later end of the yeare a thouſand foure hundred nientie and niene, a yeare wherein *Italy* being afflicted with ſo many emotions, felt alſo a ſcourge by the Turkes armies: for, *Baiazet Ottoman* hauing aſſailed with a mightie armie by ſea, the peeces which the *Venetians* held in *Grece*, ſent by lande an armie of ſix thouſande horſmen to pray the countrey of *Fryull*, and finding it without garde, they ouerranne it making *Pillage* and burnings euen vntil *Lyuence*: And hauing taken an innumerable proporciõ of priſoners, when they came neare the Ryuer of *Tagliamente* (to returne with the more eaſe) they reſerued ſuch as they thought they might leade with them in ſafetie, and made cruell murders of the others: And as it is a cuſtome infallible with fortune, not to let happen one miſchiefe vnaccompanied, ſo in *Grece*, the affaires of the *Venetians* trayned no better ſucceſſe, for that *Anthony Gryman* Capteine generall of tharmie which the *Venetians* oppoſed againſt thenterpriſe of the Turkes, was accuſed to haue let ſlippe thoccaſion to vanquiſh the enemies that iſſued out of the port of *Sapience*, and an other tyme at the mouth of the Gulphe of *Lepanto*: And after he was depoſed and an other preferred to his place, they acyted him to *Venice*, recommending thinformacion of the cauſe to the councell of the *Pregati*, where that cauſe was debated many monethes with no ſmall exſpectation of thiſſue, (his authoritie and greatnes defending him on the one ſide and on the other parte, his accuſors purſuing him with many arguments and teſtimonies: At length, ſtanding in great likelehood to haue the vpper hande, eyther by his authoritie, or the great number of his parents, or laſtly for that in that councell compounded vppon many wiſemen, there ſhould not be ſo much regarde to the generall bruites and ſlaunders which were not well proued, as to a deſire to vnderſtande ripelie the truth of the fact: the knowledge of the cauſe was transferred ouer to the iudgement of the great councell, by the maieſtrate of the aduocates of the communaltie, where fauors ceaſſing, or rather the lightnes of the multitude carying more then the grauitie of the Senators, hee was in the ende

Duke Valentynois takes Ymola by the ayde of the french men.

The diſcending of the Turke.

paſſed

passed into exile perpetuall in the Ile of *Essera*.

Such and so great matters were brought to passe in the yeare. 1499. But in the yeare. 1500. were accomplished things of no lesse importance, nor lesse worthie of memorie, specially for the ful remission of that vaine and superstitious *Iubile*, which being instituted in the beginning by the Popes to bee celebrated the *Iubiley* from a hundred yeares to an hundred yeares, not for pleasure and pomp as the *Romains* did in their sportes and feastes secular, but for an opinion (vaine and erroneous) of the health of soules, for that in the same (according to the fantastyke beliefe of Christian people) were abolished whollie all the sinnes of those who, acknowledging with true repentance their faltes committed, made visitacion to the churches of *Rome* dedicated to the Prince of Thapostles: It was afterwardes ordeined to bee celebrated from fiftie yeares to fiftie, and in the ende reduced to fyue and twentie: But for the more solemne memorie of his primitiue institucion, the hundreth yeare was celebrated with a greater affluence of people then the others.

In the beginning of this yeare, the Duke *Valentynois*, obteined without resistance the Citie of *Furly*, the Ladie of the place hauing sent her children and riches most precious to *Florence*, and abandoned that which shee could not defende, did determine to hold only the Cytadel & Rocke of *Furly* refurnished with sufficient strength of men and Artilleries: She had a vallour aboue the propertie of that sex, and a resolucion more resembling a man then a woman, wherewith entring the place, shee studied to her great glorie howe to defende it: But the Duke *Valentynoys*, after hee had assaied in vaine to dispose her to yelde, began to batter the wall of the Citadell with a great furie of artillerie, the same bringing downe to the ground a great quantitie of the wall, with the which the earth of the Rampier which was behinde being choked, filled almost the depth of the ditche or trenche, and made the entrey more easie to his souldiours: By meane whereof, the defendantes falling into feares and doubtes, gaue place to their perils and abandoned the place, seeking to retyre into the Rocke, whether the Ladie made also her retraite after she had performed all that could be required in the office of a defendant: But, as when things are in aduersitie, many occasions concurre to aduaunce the ende, so, as she entred the Rocke, feare raised a tumult and confusion, and the Dukes souldiors comming fast vppon them, almost all her companies were cut in peeces, and the Victors entring with the same furie into the Rocke, tooke it and made slaughter of all such as were there for defēce, except certeine of the chiefest which were retired with the Ladie into a Towre, who were made prisoners, & she also communicating in their fortune, whom the Duke, (hauing more regarde to her vallour, then to her kinde) sent prisoner to *Rome* where she was kept in the Castle of. *S. Ange*, being notwithstanding deliuered a litle after at the request of *Yue D'alegre*.

Duke Valentynois taketh Furly.

After the Duke had obteined *Imola* and *Furly*, he marched to thexecution of other townes, but new accidents hapning vnlooked for, hindred his expedicion: for, after the french king had established the thinges he had gotten, with orders conuenient, and hauing prolonged the truse with the king of *Romains*, (comprehending therein the Duchie of *Myllan* and all that he helde in *Italy*) vntil the moneth of May next ensuing, he returned into *Fraunce*, leading with him the litle sonne of *Iohn Galeas* giuen to him indiscreetly by the mother, he dedicated him to a monastical lyfe, and left *Iohn Iacques Tryvulce* gouerner generall of the Duchie of *Myllan* in whom he reappposed much aswell for his vallour and merits, as for the great enuy he bare to *Lodovvyk Sforce*: But (the faith of men chaunging with the alteration of kingdoms)

The french king returneth into Fraunce hauing first set order in the Duchie of Myllan.

the peoples of that ſtate kept not fidelitie with the king: partly for that the cuſtomes & behauiors of the french were intollerable to many, & partly for that they had not found in the king that liberalitie in depoſing all their tributes, which vnwiſely they perſuaded themſelues to obteine: And laſtly it imported much and was very greeuous to all the *Gebelyn* faction which was mightie in the towne of *Myllan* and confines, that *Tryvulce* chiefe of the *Guelffes* ſhould bee preferred to the gouernment: This euil diſpoſicion was wonderfully augmented by him ſelfe, who, bearing a nature factious and a ſpirit hautie and buiſie, fauoured (vnder thauthoritie of Maieſtrate) much more then was conuenient, thoſe that were of his partie: Beſides, (he that is falling ſhall finde many ſtumbling blockes) he eſtraunged much from him the myndes of the communaltie, for that in the open market place, he ſlue with his own hande certeine Butchers, who, following the raſhnes of the other populars refuſing to paye tributes from the which they were not exempted, reſiſted with force, the miniſters deputed to gather the reuenues: for which tyrannous and bloudie reaſons, moſt parte of the nobilitie & communaltie, naturally deſirous of newe things, wiſhed the returne of *Lodovvyk*, and euen began to call vppon his name with words and voices plaine and to be vnderſtanded: But after many thoughtes and cares trauelling commonly myndes afflicted, and redobled with a lamentable remembrance of his happines paſte, *Lodovvyk* with his brother *Aſkanius* preſented himſelfe to *Maxymylian*, of whom they were receiued with an humanitie expreſſing both compaſſion and comfort, for that he did not only perſuade them to be reſolute in their fortune, but alſo ſhowed many tokens to be much diſcontented with their calamities: he nouriſhed them with continuall promiſes to diſcende in their ayde in perſon, and with a ſtrong armie to ioyne with them for the recouerie of their eſtates, hauing thereunto good oportunitie for that he was then at accorde with the *Svvyſſers*: But thoſe hopes, both for the variation of his nature, and for that his intencions ill grounded, were as eaſely confounded, appeared euery day to be more vaine, and that ſo much the rather, by how much being continually preſſed with his accuſtomed neceſſities, he made them weary with his importunate demaundes for money: In ſo much as *Lodovvyk* and *Askanius*, making no foundation of his ſuccours, & leſſe certeintie in his hopes & promiſes, determined to make thenterpriſe of themſelues, being continually ſolicited by many gentlemen of *Myllan*, & did leauy for their better ſtrength, eight thouſand *Svvyſſers*, and fyue hundred *Burgonion* men at armes: of which ſtrong preparation *Tryvulce* gathered many feares and doubtes, and therefore, the better to encounter ſo great a daunger, he ſent immediatly to the Senat of *Venice* to cauſe their companies to march along the Ryuer of *Adda*, ſignifying withall to *Yues D'alegre* that it were neceſſary to leaue for a tyme the ſeruice of the Duke *Valentynois* and returne with ſpeede to *Myllan* with the frenchmen at armes and the *Svvyſſers*: And as daungers haſtie and ſodeine can ſuffer no delayes of remedie, and where the fyre beginneth firſt to kindle, there let water bee ſpeedely applied to preuent his further violence: So ſuch was the pollicie of *Tryvulce*, that to reſiſt the firſt furie of the enemies, he ſent one parte of his ſouldiours to *Coma*, (the ielouſie he had of the people of *Myllan* not ſuffring him to turne thether all his forces) But the care and quicknes of *Sforce* and his brother preuayled aboue all diligence in others, for that not tarying for the whole armie they had leauied, but leauing order to marche after them with ſpeede according to the neceſſitie of their perill, they paſſed the mounteines, and with a diligence aboue all exſpectacion being embarked in thoſe veſſels which were in the lake of *Coma* they approched neare that towne which they

Diſorders in the french gouernment in Myllan.

tooke

tooke without reſiſtance (the frenche being retyred for the knowledge they had of the ill diſpoſicion of thinhabitantes:) The bruite of the loſſe of *Coma* (fame flyeth with ſwifter winges in caſes of reuolt and chaunge then in any other matter) being come to *Myllan*, ſo altered the mindes of the people, and almoſt all the chiefeſt of the faction *Gebelyn*, that they began to drawe into manifeſt tumult, and riſe into ſuch inſolent diſpoſition, that *Tryvulce* ſeeing no other remedie to the kinges affaires, retired ſodeinly into the Caſtle, and the night following fledde to *Nouarre* together with the men at armes which were retired into the Parke ioyning to the Caſtle (the people in their retrait following them by heapes vntill the Ryuer of *Theſin*): And leauing within *Nouarre* foure hundred Launces, he with the reſidue of his ſtrength went to *Mortaro*, thinking (and the other Capteines alſo) that they ſhould more eaſely recouer the Duchie of *Myllan* with the new ſuccours that were to come out of *Fraunce*, then be hable to defende it being thus deuided: Such is the incerteintie of fortune, that ſhe tranſferreth to one that which ſhe takes from an other, not regarding the equitie of cauſes, nor the merits of perſons, but making her fancie the meaſure of her actions, ſhe takes delite to ſhowe variacion of power vppon the Princes of the earth: for, aſſoone as the french men were gone from *Myllan*, the Cardinall *Askanius* made his entrey firſt, & then *Lodovvyk* who recouering it in as ſhort tyme and litle difficultie as he loſt it (except the Caſtle) was alſo made glad at his returne with a more franke and generall ſhow of affection and ioy of the people of *Myllan*, then they expreſſed when hee departed: The lyke diſpoſicion was founde in other cities and communalties, as in *Pauya* & *Parma* declaring immediatly for *Lodovvyk*, whoſe example, *Lody* & *Plaiſance* had folowed, if the bandes of the *Venetians*, (marched affore towardes the Ryuer of *Adda*,) had not bene entred: *Alexandria*, and almoſt all the places beyond *Po*, being furtheſt from *Myllan* and neareſt to *Aſt* which was french, ſtirred not, determining to take aduiſe what they ſhould doe vppon the iſſue and traine of things: *Lodovvyk* being thus repoſſeſſed of *Myllan*, made ſpeedy leauies of as many *Italian* footmen and men at armes as he could, labouring, by peticion, by offers, and all maner of hopes, all thoſe in whom he had any reaſon to exſpect ſuccours in ſo great neceſſitie: Therefore he aduertiſed Themprour by *Galeas S. Seueryn* of his happie beginning, beſeeching him to ſupplie him with men and artilleries: And becauſe it ſtood not with his fortune and alſo was farre from his deſire to haue the Senat of *Venice* his enemie, he gaue direction that the Cardinall *Askanius* ſhould ſpeedely ſende the Biſhop of *Cremona* to *Venice* to offer them the readie will and inclinacion of *Lodovvyk* to accept ſuche condicions as it pleaſed them to demaund: But the conſtancy of the Senat of *Venice* made vaine all that labour, for that they determined not to exchaunge their confederacion with the french king, for the vncerteine and newly reconciled frendſhips of *Lodovvyk*: The *Genovvays* notwithſtanding the importunate ſolicitacions of *Lodovvyk*, refuſed to returne vnder his obedience: And the *Florentyns* would not heare his requeſt touching the repayment of the money which he had lent them: Only the *Marquis* of *Mantua* ſent to him his brother with a certeine proporcion of men at armes: there came to him alſo the Lordes of *Myrandola*, of *Carpy*, and *Corege*, and the *Siennoys* releeued him with ſmall ſummes of money: ſuccours almoſt contemnible in ſo great daungers, as alſo did litle import the aydes of *Phillipp Roſſe* and of the *Vemineſques*, whoſe fathers albeit had bene diſpoiled by him of their auncient liuinges: yet, *Phillip*, leauing without leaue the paye of the *Venetians*, went thether to recouer his landes, and hauing obteyned them, ioyned himſelfe to the army of *Lodovvyk*: the famuly of *Verma*

The french abandon Myllan.

did the lyke, and they both to reenter into grace by that occasion: *Lodovvyk*, ioyning diligence to his fortune, and not vsing the fauour of the tyme in vayne, after he had assembled a thousande fiue hundred men at armes, besides the *Burgonion* bandes of horsemen, and layed to the regiments of *Svvyssers*, many *Italian* footmen, he left the Cardinall before the Castle, and passed ouer *Thesin*: And obteyning by accorde the towne and Castle of *Vigeneua*, he layde seege to *Nouarre*, choosing that enterprise affore thexpugnacion of *Mortaro*, either for that the frenche had made strong fortifications at *Mortaro*, or els for that he esteemed *Nouaro* (a towne renowmed and plentifull with all thinges) to import more for the reputation & substance of the warre, or perhappes he imagined, that the recouerie of that towne woulde breede want of vittels, and so constraine the french that were within *Mortaro* to abandon it: or at least he cast, that it would hinder *Yue D'alegre* from entring *Nouaro*, who was now marching from *Romagna*: for, assoone as he had receiued aduertisements from *Tryvulce* (leauing the Duke *Valentynois* in the enterprise of *Pesero*) he departed speedely with all the horsemen and the *Svvyssers*: And vnderstanding neare to *Parma*, the rebellion of *Myllan*, he accorded with those of *Parma* and *Plaisance* not to offende them, so that they would not hinder his passage: And being come neare *Tortona* he entred the towne, where, at thinstigacion of the *Guelffes* of that Citie burning in desire to be reuenged of the *Gebelyns*, who, (returned to the deuocion of *Lodovvyk*) had expulsed them, he put all to sacke and spoile, (the *Guelffes* crying out in vaine of his faith, for that their loyaltie was no better respected, but being the kings faithful seruants, they were no otherwise vsed, then belonged to the deseruings of his most traiterous enemies: from *Tortona* he marched into *Alexandria*, where he staied, for that the *Svvyssers* of his armie, either because they were not paied, or for some other secret reaso, left him, & wēt to the Duke of *Myllās* Camp, whose strength being now greater then his enemies, he prepared speedely to the battry of *Nouaro*, to thend to cary it, affore the frēch (exspecting succors from the king) were strong enough to encounter him in the field: A matter which succeeded happely to him: For that the frēch bands that were within *Nouaro*, hauing no reason of hope or possibilitie to defende it, agreed to deliuer vp the towne, receiuing the promise of his faith to depart in suertie with all their goods, which he kept iustly with them protecting them with safeconduite to *Verceyll*: And albeit, he was persuaded by many that the ouerthrowing of those bandes was of great importance for his victorie, wherein they occupied these reasons, that if it were lawfull, according to thauthoritie and examples of great men, to breake faith to conquer a Lordship of an other, that it was more lawfull to straine both othe, faith, and all promises, to keepe that which was his owne: yet he abstained from all violacion, hauing regarde to the estate of his perils, & fraile condicion of his fortune: After he had got *Nouaro*, he deuised how he might haue the Castle: But it was beleeued that if he had aduaunced to thenterprise of *Mortaro*, all the french bandes had fled affore him ouer *Po*, (*Tryvulce* and the Lorde of *Ligny* not agreeing well together.)

Whilest *Lodovvyk* was in these expedicions, following the fortune that best led him to the reconquering of his estates, no lesse care and diligence occupied the frenche king, who, vnderstanding the rebellion of *Myllan*, disgested it with no litle greefe and discontentment: And therefore, (sodeine mischiefes requiring speedie remedies) he dispatched with a wonderfull speede into *Italy*, *M. Trymoylle* with sixe hundred Launces, and sent to leauy a great regiment of *Svvyssers*, (folowingan auncient and assured experience of warre to represse with a strong force a rebellion in

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an eſtate newly conquered) And laſtly,to thende there might be an exact diligence in all prouiſions,he created the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*,his Lieftenant for *Italy*, & diſpatched him immediatly to *Aſt*: In ſo much as all things prepared with a quick readines,there was muſtred in *Italy* for the king in the beginning of April, a ſtrength of fiftiene hũdred Laũces,ten thouſand *Svvyſſers* footmen,& ſix thouſand of the kings ſubiects,vnder the leading of *Trymoylle*,*Tryvulce*,& *Ligny*:Which companies being drawne into one Camp at *Mortaro*, marched to *Nouarro*, hauing no leſſe cõfidence in treaſon,then in their forces: For that the *Svvyſſer* Capteins which were with *Lodovvyk*,had ſecret intelligence & practiſe of cõſpiracie with them by the meanes of their countreymen which ſerued in the french armie (notwithſtanding in the action of *Nouarro* they ſhowed faith,vallour, & good ſtabilitie of affection) whereof *Lodovvyk* being iealous by many apparant cõiectures,laboured much(his neceſſities being violent) to ioyne to him the foure hundred horſmen & eight thouſand footmen which were leauied at *Myllan*:But as a ruine determined runnes to his end by a proporcion of degrees & partes meaſured & limited: So,at *Nouaro* the *Svvyſſers*,ſtirred vp by their Capteins,began to mutyn,taking their occaſion for that their paies were not performed at the iuſt daies that were promiſed: And albeit the Duke ran to the ſtirre in perſon,& beſides his pitiful requeſtes and praiers training with them great occaſion of compaſſion,gaue amongeſt them all his ſiluer plate & veſſell, deſiring to reſt contented but till the money came from *Myllan*: Yet the *Svvyſſer* Capteynes fearing that if the bandes which were leauied at *Myllan* ſhould bee ioyned to the Camp, their treaſon would ſuffer eyther imperfection or preuention,wrought ſo that the frenche Camp being all put into armes and readines,approched the walles of *Nouarro*, and enuyroning a great parte of the towne, they diſpatched certeyne horſmen to occupie the wayes betweene the Citie and the Ryuer of *Theſin*, to cut of from the Duke & all others,all means to flee to *Myllan*: But as neceſſitie is mightie to make men reſolute, ſo the Duke ſeeing more and more into his perils, & that almoſt the whole diſpoſicion of his Camp agreed with the ſtate of his daungers, ſought to iſſue out of *Nouaro* with his whole armie to feight with the enemie,hauing alreadie ſent out in order the light horſmen & the *Burgonions* to begin thẽ skirmiſh: But he was apparantly reſiſted by the *Svvyſſer* Capteines,who tolde him they wold not come to blowes with their parentes,brethren,and countreymen, without the leaue of their Lordes, but made as though they would departe ſodeinly into their countrey: The Duke not hable eyther by praiers,with teares, or infinit promiſes to practiſe any whit their barbarous diſpoſicion,made electiõ of the beſt part of his aduerſitie & recommended himſelf wholly vnto them, at leaſt that they wold lead him to a place of ſuertie:A miſery ſo much the more lamentable,by how much the cõdicion of his affaires & perils,cõſtrained him to ſeeke for his ſafetie,where he ſawe nothing but apparant arguments of conſpiracie againſt his life: Wherin in this was he moſt miſerable and vnhappie,that being ſo neare the laſt action of recouerie of his eſtates,he was not only depriued of the glorie of his victorie, but alſo (fortune is infinit in malice) paſſed ouer to a deſolacion irreparable, and a ruyne whereunto remeyneth no other conſolacion, hope,or mercie,then ſuche as may be exſpected of an enemie ambicious, iniurious and reuengefull: But the *Svvyſſers* hauing contracted with the french Capteines to go their wayes,& not to lead him with thẽ, albeit their crueltie wold not ſuffer them to graunt to his ful demaũd,yet in cõpaſſiõ they conſented that he ſhould march away amongeſt them, taking the attyre and furniture of one of their footemen, and ſo,if he were not knowne, to ſaue himſelfe

by the helpe of his fortune: which condition he was driuen to accept for a laſt neceſſitie, but yet it was not ſufficient for his ſafetie: For that, they marching by direction thorow the midſt of the french armie, he was vnhappely knowne by the diligēt eſpiall of ſuche as were aſſigned to that charge: Or (more likely) diſcloſed by ſome ſecret inſtruction of the *Svvyſſers*, as he marched in a Squadron on foote, attired and armed & diſguiſed in all pointes as a *Svvyſſer*, & haſting to his laſt calamitie, he was by that meane made priſoner: A ſpectacle ſo lamentable that it brought teares into the eyes of many yea euen of the verie enemies: *Galeas S. Seuerin*, *Frecaſſa*, and *Anthony Maria*, his brethren, communicated with his fortune, being betraied by the ſame diſloialtie of the *Svvyſſers*: After the Duke was takē, the army wēt diſperſing, and no more reſiſtāce appearing, all things were ſeene ful of feare & cōfuſion, which made the Cardinal *Askanius*, who had already ſent towards the Camp thoſe bandes that were leauied at *Myllan*, to leaue the Caſtle, & ſeeke his ſuertie in ſome place of better truſt: Many of the nobilitie of the *Gebelyns* folowed him, who being too apparantly declared for *Lodovvyk*, diſpaired to finde pardō with the frēch: But as it was ſet down in deſtiny, that in the calamitie of the two brethren, treaſon ſhold be mingled with euil fortune: So he had determined to reappoſe himſelf ſomewhat the night after at *Riuolta* in the coūtrey of *Plaisāce*, which is a borough apperteining at that time to *Conrard de Lande*, a Gentleman of the Citie of *Plaiſance* & his kinſman and auncient friend: The ſame *Conrard*, chaunging wil with fortune, ſent preſently to *Plaiſance* for *Charles Vrſin* and *Sonzin Benzon* then in the paye of the *Venetians*, to whom he deliuered the ſayde *Askanius* and *Hermes Sforce* brother to the late Duke *Iohn Galeas*, with one parte of the Gentlemen that came with him, the reſidue, being more happie or more wyſe, forbare their reſt that night, and paſſing further, preuented their perill: *Askanius* was immediatlye ledde priſoner to *Venice*, but the French King, iudging it neceſſarie for the ſuertie of the Duchie of *Myllan* to be poſſeſſed of him, ſent for him to *Venice*, where finding ſome difficultie to deliuer him, he required him with proteſtations and threates, alleaging that he apperteyned to him in due propertie and intereſt, for that he was taken in a countrey of his obedience: A requeſt which albeit ſeemed verie ſharpe and vnworthie of the name of the *Venetian* ſtate, yet, to auoyde the furie of his armies, it was graunted more by compulſion then conſcience, and not only the perſon of the Cardinall deliuered, but alſo all thoſe of *Myllan* that were taken with him: And withall, *Baptiſta Viſcounte* with other Nobles of *Myllan* which were withdrawne for the ſame occaſion into the townes of *Guiaradadda* vnder ſafeconduit to remeyne there in ſuertie with expreſſe mencion of the Frenche, were put into the Kinges handes for feare of the frenche armies, ſo muche did preuayle with the Senat of *Venice* the terror of the french forces, more then the regarde to the dignitie of their common weale: The Citie of *Myllan*, abandoned of all hope yelded to the generall calamitie, and ſent ſpeedie Embaſſadours to the Cardinal of *Amboyſe* to ſolicit for pardon: he receiued them into grace, and pardoned the rebellion in the name of the King, but vnder this bonde, to paye three hundred thouſand Duckattes, of the which the King acquited them afterwardes of a great parte: He pardoned alſo other Townes that had rebelled, which he taxed according to their qualitie, making the victorie profitable, and the tranſgreſſions of thoffendors an encreaſe of the Kings treaſor.

The Duke of Myllan made priſoner by the treaſon of the Swiſſers.

Cardinall Askanius leaueth Myllan abandoned.

Cardinall Askanius betraied and taken.

Cardinall Askanius deliuered ouer to the frenchmen.

The enterpriſe thus happely ſucceeding, and the regimentes of men of warre diſſolued and licenced, the footemen of the foure *Cantons* of *Svvyſſers* which bee more neare then the others to the Towne of *Bellyzona* ſcituated within the mountaines

mountaines, tooke the Towne as they returned to theyr countrey : A place which the Frenche King might haue drawne from them in the beginning, for a verie ſmall porcion of money : But as he loſt oftentymes by the propertie of his nature, occaſions of great thinges, by ſparing ſmall proporcions of expences : So tymes and accidents came ſo about afterwardes, that many tymes, and by many ſolicitations, he would haue purchaſed it of them with a verie great price, for that it is a ſtraite verie conuenient to hinder the deſcending of the *Svvyſſers* into the Duchie of *Myllan : Lodovvyk Sforce* was caried to *Lyon* where the King was, and entring the towne at nooneday es, many multitudes of people flocked to ſee a Prince, who, from ſuch a greatnes and maieſtie, and for his felicitie enuied of many, was falne into ſo great a miſerie : And not hable to obteine leaue to be brought to the Kinges preſence, which he much deſired, he was conueyed within two dayes after to the Towre of *Loches*, wherein he remeyned priſoner ten yeares, euen to the ende of his life, being now incloſed in one ſtraite priſon the thoughtes and ambicion of him, which earſt could ſkarcely be conteined within the limits & tearmes of all *Italie:* A Prince, certeinly moſt excellent for his eloquence and induſtrie, and for many giftes of nature and ſpirit, a creature of verie rare perfection : And laſtly not vnworthie of the name of mylde and mercifull, if the death of his Nephew had not defiled him with bloudie infamie : But on the other ſide, he caryed a mynde vayne & full of thoughtes buiſie and ambicious, and nouriſhing alwayes intentions diſſembled, he kept no reckoning of his promiſes and faith : He alwayes preſumed ſo muche of himſelfe, that ſeeming to be diſcontented, when praiſes were giuen to the wiſedome and councels of others, he perſuaded him ſelfe to be hable by his Arte and induſtrie to alter and turne the conceptions of euerie one to what purpoſe he liſted : The Cardinall *Askanius* folowed him a litle after, but he was both receiued with more honor and humanitie, and graciouſly viſited by the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, by whoſe interceſſion he was ſent to the great Tower of *Bourges*, a priſon more honorable, wherein the king that ſent him, had bene reſtrained two yeares in captiuitie : So variable and miſerable is the deſtinie of man, and ſo incerteine to euery one what wil be his cõdicion in time to come.

The ende of the fourth booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE FYFT BOOKE.

THE vvarre of Pisa continueth: The Duke Valentynoys pursueth his enterprise of Romagna: The kinges of Spaine and Fraunce, inuade ioyntly the kingdome of Naples, they occupie it and deuide it betvveene them, and aftervvardes make vvarre one vppon an other: The Duke Valentynoys, putteth to death the Vrsins: The Svvyssers descende into the Duchie of Myllan: The Spanyardes remeine victors ouer the Frenche at Cirignolo, and take Naples.

THE FYFT BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

SVCHE is the disposition of myndes occupied with ambicion, that who are desirous of glorie, are easelie stirred to doe thinges contrarie to reason, councell, and experience: Ambicion is an humor that carieth men into weenings farre aboue the possibilitie of their proper power, & ouerruleth their thoughtes without regard to the oportunitie of tymes, places, or occasions: as is expressed in thinclinacion of the French King, in whom the absolute & happie conquest of the Duchie of *Myllan*, had nourished suche spirites of will and courage, that the selfe same sommer he woulde haue proceeded to thenterprise of the kingdome of *Naples*, had not the feare which he had of the descending of the *Alemans*, restrayned his rashenes, and made him wyse agaynst the propertie and working of his will: For, notwithstanding he had (the yeare before) obteyned a contract of truce of *Maxymylian Cæsar*, wherein the Duchie of *Myllan* was comprehended: yet, *Maxymylian* debating with better consideration, howe muche the maiestie of the Empyre woulde bee diminished by the alienation of so principall a Cheeff, and what dishonour woulde followe him for suffring to be deuested from it *Lodovvyk Sforce*, who not only had put him selfe vnder his protection, and reappposed whollie in the hopes which hee gaue him: But also, had bound himselfe to his succours by receiuing his money at sundrie tymes, & in great quãtities: He would no more heare Thembassadors of the French, & refused also all audience to the Agents of the *Venetiãs*, as vsurpers of certein places apperteining to Thempire: And lastly, ioyning to the memory of aunciẽt ielousies & iniuries don to him

him and his predeceſſours in diuers ſeaſons by the houſe of *Fraunce*, the inflamed compaſſion which he had of the miſerable calamities of the two brethren: he helde many generall diottes and aſſemblies, to ſtirre vp the electors and other Princes of *Iermany* to ioyne in the quarrell and reuenge of ſo high wrongs committed no leſſe againſt him thē the whole nation of *Iermany*, to whom thimperiall dignitie was proper: And to giue better operaciō to his purpoſe in the minds of the *Iermain* princes, he laide affore thē conſideratiōs of daungers that might happen, if the french king, preſuming more and more by ſo great a pacience of the Princes of Thempire, and riſing into pryde by ſo many fauours of victorie and fortune, woulde ſo farre aſpire as to ſet the Crowne imperiall vppon the heades of french kinges, and incorporate the ſoueraine eſtate in that forreine famulie as had bene done affore tymes: Whereunto the Pope would conſent eaſelie, partly by neceſſitie, (not hable to reſiſt his power) and partly for the reſpect of his ſonne, whom he ſtudied to make to excell in greatnes and dignitie, not remembring that thoſe authorities are vniuſt, whoſe meanes be vnlawfull, and that the vertuous man ſhoulde not obtrude into rule, but receiue it as if he were thereto compelled.

This was the cauſe why the king (not knowing to what ende the race and courſe of his plottes might runne, tooke truce with his enterpriſes, & deferred till an other tyme the execution of his thoughts touching the warre of *Naples*: By reaſon & meane wherof, his men of warre being not intangled with other enterpriſe, he was cōtēted to giue to the *Florentyns* thoſe bands & regiments which they did demaunde for the recouering of *Piſa* & *Pietraſanta*: And yet not without many doubts & difficulties, for that both the *Piſans*, the *Genovvays*, the *Siennoys* & they of *Lucqua*, made great inſtance to the cōtrary, offring to giue the king preſently an hūdred thouſand crownes vppon condition that *Piſa*, *Pietraſanta*, and *Mont Pulcian* might be protected from the harmes and ambicion of the *Florentyns*, & to make to him a perpetuall paiment of fiftie thouſand duckats yearely, if the *Piſans* by his meanes obteined the fortreſſes of the port of *Lyuorna* with all the region of *Piſa*: To theſe offers it ſeemed that the mynde of the king was much inclined, by a couetous deſire of the money: Notwithſtanding (as was his familiar cuſtome in things of importance), he referred the councell and deliberation of all thinges to the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, who was then at *Myllan*: Affore whom, notwithſtanding the importunities & labours of the ſtates affore named, did negociat with great diligēce *I. Iacques Tryvulce*, & *I. Lovvys de Fieſque* they both noriſhing an equall deſire to manage the iuriſdiction of *Piſa*, and in that reſpect offred to paie to the king for the graunt, a great proporcion of money, alleaging withall that (thoportunitie & occaſion concurring) it was an actiō meete for his ſuertie to holde vnder the *Florentyns*, and keepe in weaknes the other Potentates of *Italie*: But the Cardinall, preferring integritie affore particular fauor, ioyned to the fayth and promiſe giuen by the king, the conſideracion of the late merites of the *Florentyns*, who, expreſſing a liberal and readie ayde to his enterpriſe and conqueſt of *Myllan*, conuerted at his requeſt into bandes and ſtrength of men, the paimentes of money which they were bounde to paie in that caſe: And therefore it was reſolued to refurniſhe the *Florentyns* for the recouerie of *Piſa*, (beſides the reſtitucion of *Pietraſanta* and *Mutron*) with a regiment of ſixe hundred Launces paied by the king, and fiue thouſande *Svvyſſers* vnder the Bayliffe of *Dyon* with a proporcion of *Gaſcoins* at their owne charges, together with all ſuche ſortes of Artilleryes and Municions as ſhoulde bee neceſſarye for that enterpryſe: They had alſo agaynſte the Kynges will and theyr meanynges a ſtrengthe

of two thousand *Svvyſſers* more (ſuche is the cuſtome of that nation) of all which companies *Monſr Beaumont* had the charge, for that the *Florẽtyns*, reteining a memorie of his auncient readines to render to them *Lyuorna*, reappoſed more in him then in any other, and in that humor demaunded him for their Generall, not conſidering, that in matters of enterpriſe, authoritie and knowledge in thinges of warre, is no leſſe neceſſarie in a leader of an armie, then faith, for that in warre, neither the multitude of ſouldiours, nor the puiſſance vnskilfull, can ſo much auayle to the victorie, as knowledge, and exerciſe: The king with a more ſounde and better counſel, had determined to giue them *M. D'alegre*, a Capteine farre more experienced in warre, and to whom, for his noblenes of bloud, and reputacion of vertue the armye would haue giuen a more readie and willing obedience: But the troubles and difficulties which accompanied the ſuccours of the french, began euen now to appeare: for that the payment of the footmen beginning from the firſt day of May, they had ſpent all that moneth in *Lombardie* in the ſeruice of the king, who deſired by meane of that marching to draw money from the Marquis of *Mantua*, & the Lords of *Carpy* of *Correge*, and *Myrandola*, to puniſh them for that they had miniſtred ayde to *Lodovvyk Sforce*: In ſo much that albeit the *Florentyns* holding for ſuſpected their ſlowe proceeding, & that thintermiſſion and diſcõtinuance gaue oportunitie to the *Piſans* to prepare & prouide, were at a reſolutiõ to abãdõ thẽterpriſe: yet, looking better into the neceſſitie of their affaires, they held it leſſe hurtful to refurniſh a ſecond pay, & ſo make thẽ march on, thẽ to let mony ſuppreſſe ſo fayre an occaſiõ: At lẽgth, the *L.* of *Carpy*, of *Myrandola*, & of *Correge* (for whõ the Duke of *Ferrara* made interceſſiõ) cõpoũded for twẽty thousãd duckats, & the labour being vaine to ſtaie to force the Marquis of *Mantua*, who, on thoneſide fortefied himſelfe, and on the other ſide alleged his pouertie and want of money, and ſending withall his Embaſſadours to the king to ſolicit his pardon: the armie marched and encamped at *Montchiarucola*, a village in the countrey of *Parma* apperteining to the famulie of the *Torellys*, who had ſuccoured *Lodovvyk Sforce*: Not ſo muche for any deſire the armie had to puniſhe them, as to threaten *Iohn Bentyuolle* by drawing vppon the limits of *Bolognia*, hauing (amongeſt the reſidue) borne fauors to the cauſe of *Lodovvyk*: The peril of his condicion, conſidered with the ill inclination of the time, made him to compound, paying the king fortie thouſand Duckattes, for the which, his maieſtie tooke him of new into his protection together with the Citie of *Bolognia*, but with this expreſſe limitacion, not to preiudice the prorogatiues or rightes which the church had there: After the contract of *Bolognia*, and *Montchiarucola* taken by force, the armie returned backe to paſſe ouer *Thappenyn* by the way of *Pontremo*: And as they entred the coũtrey of *Lunigiana*, following more their profites and appetites, then honour or equitie, they runne into many inſolences, and at the inſtance of the *Fregoſes*, tooke the borowe of *Maſſa* and other landes, from *Aubry Maleſpina* being vnder the protection of the *Florentyns*: Paſſing further in this courſe of behauiour, they of *Lucqua* (notwithſtanding they were in great ſtrife for the matter, the communaltie muche impugning it) deliuered ouer *Pietra Santa* to *Monſr Beaumont* in the kinges name, who leauing Garriſõ in the Caſtle, tooke not away their officers of the town, for that the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, in whom remeyned ſmall reckoning of the promiſes made to the *Florentyns*, for that he had receiued a certeyne proporcion of money of the *Lucquoys*, had receiued them into the protection of the king, with conuencion that his maieſtie ſhould holde *Pietra Santa* in deputation vntil he had declared to whom the right did apperteine: But in theſe ſeaſons, the *Piſans* ſeeing many intencions diſclo-

Monſr Beaumont a chiefe leader of the french armies.

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sed to their harmes and ruine, became the more resolute & obstinate in their defẽce, and had by the helpe of *Vitellozze*, (with whom they were entred into great coniunction being also enemie to the *Florentyns*) certeine ingenists to dresse their fortifications, wherein might be discerned a wonderful trauell both of men & women in great concurse and emulation who should labour most to set forwarde the workes: And yet (it is ordinarie with men in faction and enterprise to dissemble) they forgot not to enterteine the french, submitting with generall consent, their whole towne to the king, and in that regard sent instruments Autentike not only to *Monsr Beaumõt*, but also to *Thyllypp Rabestyn* gouernor for the king at *Genes*, who, with a singuler rashnes accepted it in the kinges name: And *M. Beaumont*, sending a *Heralt* to *Pisa* to demaunde the towne, they made answere with many humilities, that they desired nothing with greater affection then to liue vnder the kinges obedience, & in that estate of loue and well meaning they were readie to giue them selues vp to his deuocion, so that his maiestie would assure them vnder his honour and word of a Prince, that he would not put them vnder the power of the *Florentyns*: which protestation they followed with the teares and weepings of the Ladies, with all other sortes of means wherein they thought was vertue to persuade the Heralde, that their hartes, willes, and affections were wholly dedicated to the Crowne of *Fraunce* which had first put them in libertie: These petitions were vaine to *M. Beaumont*, who looking further into their weakenes and necessities, then bearing any compassion to their calamities, denied to accept the offers of their Embassadors sent to him, and encamped before the towne the last day sauing one of Iune, betweene the gate of *Plages*, and the gate *Calcesana* right ouer against the quarter called *Barbagianui*: he battered all that night with great furie, and continued the action the most parte of the day following, in which time, the artillerie, both good of it selfe, and planted to all conueniencie, had made euen with the earth, threescore Cubits of the wall: And assoone as the batterie ceassed to shoote, the horsmen and footemen entermedled together, runne without order or discipline to giue thassalte, not considering in what sorte they might passe a deepe trenche which the *Pisans* had made betweene the wall that was battered, and the Rampier that was within: In so much as when they had discouered the greatnes of it, and wondred much at his deapth, they consumed the residue of the day rather as beholders of the difficultie then disposed to make good thassalt: The fortune of this day, ioyned to the consideration of the impediments disclosed made diminishe more and more the hopes of the frenchmen to cary *Pisa*: partly for that they fainted in courage, aswel for the qualitie of the Rampiers, as resolucion of those in the towne: and partly, for that the *Pisans* renuing the practises and meanes which they were wont to vse, the auncient inclination of the french, began to take new lyfe and nourishe newe fauours towardes them: In so muche as the frenchmen, beginning to enterteine meetinges & familiarities with those that were within the towne communicating together with a friendship and libertie not suspected: and they for their partes recontinuing the same offers to resigne themselues wholly to the kings deuocion vppon condicion not to be eftsoones passed ouer to the oppression of the *Florentyns*, The cause of the *Pisans* was fauored thorow the whole Camp, and oftentimes defended with such declarations of good meaning euen affore the Captaines, that the greatest part of the Camp, gaue thẽ corage to meinteine their defẽce, wherin (besides the incitation of the frenchmen) they were specially incouraged by *Fraũcis Tryvulce* Lieftenant of the regiment of *Iohn Iacques*, and by *Galeas Paluoysin*, which ledde a band in the french Camp: By thoportunitie of these disorders & sufferance

M. Beaumont sendeth to demaund Pisa in the kinges name.

The frenchmen affraid to assalt Pisa.

of the Camp, *Tarlatyn* (of the towne of *Caſtello*) entred into *Piſa* on that ſide towards the ſea, with certeine olde ſouldiours which *Vitellozze* ſent to the ſuccours of *Piſa*: A man at that tyme but darke and vnknowen, but aſpiring afterwardes to the place of Capteine, he continued and followed the defence of that Citie to the ende, to his great honour: To this common inclination, many bands of horſmen and footmen, added many other inſolencies, for that, deſiring that the ſeege might be leauied, they began to ſacke and ſpoile the vittels that were brought to the Camp: And ſo farre multiplied they in all diſorders (thauthoritie of the Generall being not ſufficient to reſtraine them) that the footbands of the *Gaſcoines*, abandoned the armie in manner of tumult, (their example breeding the lyke mutinie in all the reſidue): And at parting, certeine footbandes of the *Svvyſſers* which were come from *Rome*, according to the kinges direction, ſtaide as priſoner *Luke D'albiſſe* Commiſſarie for *Florence*: The occaſion (as they alleaged) was, for that their paies were deteined which were due for a ſeruice they had bene at affore tyme within *Lyuorna*: The Camp diſperſed by degrees, for that the regiment of *Svvyſſers*, and other footebandes, went awaye foorthwith: Only the men at armes ſtaied ſomewhat neare about *Piſa*, where they had not ſpent many dayes in reappoſing themſelues, but they returned into *Lombardy* without tarying till they knew the kinges wil and direction, leauing the affaires of the *Florentyns* in great diſorder, for that they had diſmiſſed all their footbandes, to be more hable to furniſhe the paies of the *Svvyſſers*: The *Piſans* turned theſe confuſions into an occaſion of exploit and enterpriſe, and with an expedicion agreeable to the conſent and oportunitie of the tyme, they went and planted a Camp affore *Librafatta*, which they tooke eaſely, no leſſe by thindiſcreſſion of thennemie, then by their proper ſtrength: The manner of that ſucceſſe was this: Whileſt the aſſalt was in charging all the footemen that were within, running to the breach, ſome of thoſe of the Camp by ſkaling Ladders entred by the higheſt Iawme of the Caſtle which was not garded: Which ſurpriſe both ſodeine and terrible, ſo aſtoniſhed the footemen, that they yelded themſelues: And linking ſtill their fortune with their victorie, they drue their Camp with a preſent ſpeede affore the Baſtillion *Ventura*, & whileſt thaſſalt was in action, the footemen yelded either by faintnes of courage, or by treaſon of the Capteine *S. Brandano*, Cunſtable of the *Florentyns*, of nation a *Luckoys*, and there remeining in Garriſon: But as the conqueſt of theſe places was verie profitable to the *Piſans*, for that it had opened to them a larger ſkoape on that ſide towardes the *Lucquoys*, and giuen elſwhere almoſt a generall libertie: So yet, ſuch ſucceſſe of the thinges of *Piſa* troubled not a litle the minde of the french king, who ſaw howe much it would diminiſh the reputation of his armie, beſides that he bare very impaciently that one perticular Citie, ſupported only by her inhabitantes, & wherin was not only one Capteine of name, ſhold reſiſt the armies of *Fraunce*, which had runne thorow all *Italy* to the generall terror & feare of euen the chiefeſt Potentates: wherein as men in thinges that be greeuous to them doe oftentimes beguile themſelues, he occupied in him ſelfe this perſuaſion, that the aduerſities of *Piſa* hapned by this defalt that the *Florentyns* had not made due prouiſions of vittelles, Pyonners, and Munitions as his people aſſured him for their diſcharge, beleeuing that all other thinges had rather failed in tharmie, then vallour, he complained alſo that fauouring too much thimportunities of the *Florentyns*, he yelded to commit ſo great an armie rather to *M. Beaumont* then to *M. D'alegre*, by which indiſcreſſion thoſe diſorders were hapned: And of the other parte, deſiring to recouer the reputacion loſt, he ſent to *Florence M.de Corocu* his Chamberlaine, not ſo muche to be informed if the reap-

The Piſans take Librafatta.

reapportes of his Capteines were true, as to practise with the *Florentyns*, that not losing hope to haue hereafter a better successe, they would consent that his men at armes might returne to soiorne in the countrey of *Pisa*, the better to keepe that Citie for the winter following, in continuall feare & bridle, with intencion in the spring tyme, to recontinue the seege with an armie more reasonable, compounded of Capteines better experienced, and souldiours more obedient: This offer was refused of the *Florentyns*, as dispairing of any better issue by the ayde of the Frenche armies, a matter which made worse their condicions, for that, a bruite running in all places that the King had left them, the *Genovvays*, the *Lucquoys*, and the *Siennoys*, beganne to minister openly to the *Pisans* both men and money: And at *Florence*, the diuisions so increased amongest the Citizens, that they were not only in dishabilitie to recouer the thinges lost, but also they prouided not in any sort for the disorders that were in their iurisdiction: For, some particular factions, falling into open armes and priuate force, there were done betweene them aswell in the towne as fieldes, many hostilities and burninges, proceeding sometymes with forreine ayde, euen as if it were a warre ordeined and set: To these insolent disorders, they applied no order, to the great reproche of their common weale.

In this tyme *Cæsar Borgia* omitted no oportunitie to aduaunce his affaires: And albeit the King was much discontented with the Pope, for not ayding him to recouer his Duchie of *Myllan*, the same being the cause why his maiestie had deferred to sende him bandes of men to prosecute thenterprise begun against the Viccaires of *Romagnia*: Yet the desire he had to keepe amitie with him, made him chaunge opinion, for the feare he had of the descending of *Thallemaines*, hauing no meane to establishe an accord with Themperour: But much more was concurrant in that desire the authoritie of the Cardinal of *Amboyse* for thambiciō he had to obtein the legacion for the realme of *Fraunce*: The Cardinall in this aspiring desire, had litle remembraunce to the councell of Sainct *Gregorie*, that he that seeketh authoritie, let him consider howe he commeth to it, and comming wel to it, howe he ought to liue well in it, and liuing well in it, howe he must gouerne, and gouerning wisely, he must ofte call to memorie his owne infirmitie: Ambicion is an humor verie vnmeete for Churchmen, for that it hindreth to their humilitie and charitie, and generally altereth the whole vertue of their profession: It is hurtfull to raise a mynde ambicious into high authoritie, for that he that is desirous of glorie, is soone stirred to do things against equitie, and to him that seeketh to be aboue all men, it is harde to keepe alwayes equitie, which is the chiefe parte of iustice: The Pope eftsoones promised the King to ayde him with men and with the person of his sonne, when soeuer he would aduaunce the enterprise of *Naples*, & to indue the Cardinall of *Amboyse* with the legacion of the realme of *Fraunce* for eightiene monethes, which was esteemed a great matter, aswell for that it was new and rare, as for that it diminished muche the doinges and profites of the Court of *Rome*: The King for his parte, sent to him vnder the leading of *Monsr D'alegre*, three hundred Launces and two thousand footmen, making knowne to euerie one, that what soule so euer would oppose agaynst the enterprise of the Pope, he would take it to hart, as if the iniurie were done to his proper person: With which reputacion ioyned to his proper forces conteining six hundred men at armes and sixe thousand footemen, the Duke *Valentynois* entred alreadie into *Romagna*, tooke without resistance, the Cities of *Pesera* and *Rimini* whose Lordes and owners fledde: Afterwardes he turned his force to *Faenza*, which had no other defence then of the people of the place: For, not only *Iohn Bentyvolle*, vncle

Sainct Gregory against ambicion.

The French King sendeth ayde to the Pope.

by the mother ſide to *Aſtor* a litle childe, was made contented, aſwell for feare to ſtir vp the armes of the Pope and his ſonne, as to obey a commaundement he had receiued from the King: (The *Florentyns* and Duke of *Ferrara* doing the lyke for the ſame occaſions): But alſo the *Venetians*, who were bound to defende him, ſignified to him (obſeruing the requeſt the King made to them) that they had renounced the protection of him, a thing which they had likewiſe done affore for the ſame occaſion to *Pandolfe Malateſte* Lord of *Rimini*: And which more is, to expreſſe with greater apparance that they fauoured the Pope, they created at the ſame tyme the Duke *Valentynois* Gentleman of their Towne, an action not accuſtomed to that common weale, but for recompence of benefites receiued, or in token of very deare & ſtraite amitie: The Duke *Valentynois* enterteined in his Paye *Dennis de Nalda* Natyffe of *Briſiquolle* a man of great opinion in the vale of *Lamona*: by his meanes hee tooke the Towne of *Briſiquolle* without daunger, and with the ſame fortune brought vnder his commaundement almoſt the whole Vally: He tooke the olde Citidell by force, and caryed the newe Caſtle by accord made with the keeper: He had alſo hope to enter into the Caſtle of *Faenza* by meane of a practiſe enterteyned by the ſayde *Dennis* by the Caſtle keeper who was of the ſame Vallye, & had long tyme gouerned theſtates of *Aſtor*: But thintelligence being diſcouered, he was made priſoner by the *Faventyns*, who making their fortune no feare to them, ſhowed no ſignes of faint courage for that they were abandoned of euerie one, and much leſſe ſtood diſcomforted for the loſſe of the Valley which was of great importance: But as people reſolued to vanquiſhe their aduerſities with their proper vertues, They determined to paſſe vnder all perilles to continue their ſubiection to the famuly of the *Manfredis*, vnder whoſe obediẽce as they had liued in eaſie gouernment a long tyme, ſo doubting the worſt that might come by chaunge of Lordes, they ſtood reſolute in their faith and loyaltie, and carefully ſtrengthned their Citie againſt the preſent daungers: From which diſpoſition, the Duke of *Valentynois* being not hable to turne them neither by promiſes nor threatninges, he incamped neare the walles of their Citie betweene the Riuers of *Lamona* and *Marſana*, and planted his artillerie on that ſide that is towardes *Furly*, which albeit is incompaſſed with walles, yet commonly it is called the Subburbes, where the *Fauentyns* had erected a ſtrong *Baſtillion*: He battered it with great furie together with that lawme or corner that is betweene the Subburbes and the Towne, & the fift day he gaue the aſſalt: But finding the reſiſtance of the towne aboue his exſpectation, he ſownded the retraite, (his ſouldiours bringing away many woundes and maymes, and *Honorius Sauella* a principall man ſlaine in the action:) The Camp ſuffred litle reſt all the reſidue of the dayes it remeyned there, aſwell by a continuall affliction of the artillerie from the Towne, as alſo by the vallour of thinhabitantes, who, notwithſtanding they had a verie ſlender ſtrength by forreine ſouldiours, yet, they made many iſſues and ſallies, and ſkirmiſhed with no leſſe fortune then courage: But aboue all other perplexeties, (albeit the moneth of Nouember was not yet finiſhed) the tyme, which was more extreme then agreed with the cuſtome and nature of that ſeaſon, troubled him much, both for the Snowes that fell, and the froſts that were intollerable (greeuous impediments to the trauels of warre) and alſo for that his lodging was naked and open to the ayre, (the *Fauentyns* affore the Camp came neare their walles, hauing burned all their houſes, and cut downe all ſuch wood and trees as might giue ſuccours to their enemies: Theſe difficulties preſſed ſo much the Duke of *Valentynois* that he leauied his Camp the tenth day, and diſperſing his regiments to winter in places thereaboutes, he bare his fortune with manifeſt

D. Valentynois beſeegeth Faenza.

D. Valentynois leauieth his Camp.

manifeſt impacience, ſpecially for that beſides his french forces, he had an army floriſhing with Capteines and ſouldiours *Italians*, wherein were *Iohn Pavvle*, and *Iulio Vrſins*, *Vitellozze* and *Iohn Pavvle Baillon* with many men of choice: And hauing promiſed to him ſelfe in his ambicious conceites, that neither the ſeas nor the mounteines had power to reſiſt him, he could not endure without perturbacion of minde, that the reputacion of his firſt exploites ſhould be darkned, by a people that had lõg liued in peace, and at that tyme, had no other commaunder then a litle childe: wherin he gaue ſuch libertie to his Paſſion, that he ſware and that with many ſighes and vehement proteſtacions, that aſſoone as the ſeaſon of the yeare would giue leaue to his deſire, he would returne to the ſeege, and recontinue thenterpriſe with a reſolucion of a man determined either to carie the victorie or to dye in the action.

D. Valentinois diſdaineth to be repulſed.

In which time his father the Pope, to thende their might be ſocietie in their doings hauing regard to one ende, created the ſame yeare to his great infamie twelue Cardinalles, not of ſuch as deſerued beſt, but of thoſe that offred moſt: And to omit no meanes to heape treaſors and money, he ſent out and ſowed thorow all *Italy*, and ſtraunge prouinces, the *Iubyle*, which being celebrated at *Rome* with great concurſſe of people, was ſẽt with no leſſe deuociõ beyõd the Mountes, giuing power that who could not come to *Rome* to obteine it, ſhould communicate in the grace and benediction for certeine ſummes of money, the which, together with all other treaſors he could drawe in what ſort ſo euer, aſwell of the ſpirituall fruites, as treaſors temporall of the Church, he ſent to the Duke of *Valentynois*, who ſtaying at *Furly*, made ſtrong preparacion to recontinue the ſeege of *Faenza*, againſt whoſe intencions the *Fauentyns* prouided by fortifications and other remedies conuenient to reſiſt an enemie ſo apparantly profeſſed: Theſe thinges were done in the yeare 1500. But matters of farre greater importance were ordeined by the french king for the yeare folowing, and to haue the more libertie to execute them, he had ſought by continuall ſolicitacion to haue vnitie with the king of *Romains*, wherby obteining thinueſtiture of the Duchie of *Myllan*, he might haue ſuffrance to aſſaile the realme of *Naples*: To which endes he vſed the meane and inclinacion of Tharchduke his ſonne, who declared a readie diſpoſition to peace, for that his peoples, fearing thentercourſe of marchandiſe wold ceaſſe, brooked vnwillingly all perſuaſions to leauy warre againſt the french: But the thing that moſt ſupported this inclinacion, was that the french king hauing no iſſue Male, offred to giue in mariage his doughter Madam *Clavvde*, to *Charles* ſonne of the Archduke, and to indue her with the Duchie of *Myllan* for a dowrie when they had habilitie to conſummate the mariage, for neither of them had not yet three yeares of age: By theſe offers, and his interceſſion, (for that many difficulties hapning in the practiſe and negociacion of the peace abſolute, could not ſo ſoone be reſolued) the french king obteyned in the yeare folowing of *Maxymylian*, a truce for many monethes, but not without the price of certeine proporcions of money: This truce was voyd of all mencion of the King of *Naples*, notwithſtãding that *Maxymylian*, in conſideracion of fortie thouſand Duckats, with bonde, to miniſter to him monethly fiftiene thouſande Duckats (his neceſſities ſo requiring,) he had promiſed to make no accord without comprehending him in it, and to vexe the Duchie of *Myllan* with inuaſions and warre when neede were to turne away the powers of the french king: Thus the king dwelling aſſured that the *Allemains* would not ſtirre, and hoping in ſhort tyme to make the peace perfect and abſolute, and to obteine thinueſtiture of the Duchie of *Myllan* by meane of the ſame Archduke, turned all his thoughtes to thenterpriſe of *Naples*, againſt the which, fearing leaſt the

The Pope createth xij. Cardinals at one tyme.

Truce betweene the French king and king of Romains. 1501

king of *Spaine* would make some obiection, and that both the Pope and *Venetians* (ielous ouer his greatnes) would ioyne with him: he renued eftsoones the practises that had ben begun in the time of king *Charles* for deuiding of the same realm, whervnto in deede *Ferdinand* king of *Spaine* pretended to haue right: For, albeit *Alphonso* king of *Aragon* had conquered it with rightes and titles separate from the Crowne of *Aragon*, and therfore had disposed it to the person of *Ferdinand* his bastard sonne as his owne: yet, *Iohn* his brother which succeeded him in the kingdome of *Aragon*, and *Ferdinand* the sonne of *Iohn*, had alwayes secretly quarelled that title as lawfully apperteining to the Crowne of *Aragon*, for that *Alphonso* had conquered it with the armes and treasors of the same realme: Which quarell *Ferdinand* had couered with a suttletie and pacience of a *Spanyarde*, forgetting nothing, not only of the dutie of a parent towardes *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, and the others, but also more assuring and augmenting them with bondes of newe affinitie, for that he gaue to *Ferdinand* for wyfe, *Iane* his sister, and consented afterwardes that *Iane* the doughter of her, should be maried to young *Ferdinand*, wherein yet he could not worke in such cloudes, but the vaile of his couetousnes was long tyme before made open to the kinges of *Naples*: In so much as the french king and *Ferdinand* concurring in one inclination, the one to remoue all impediments and difficulties, the other to obteyne parte of that he had lõg desired, seeing there was no oportunitie to obtein the whole, they made an agreement to inuade at one tyme the kingdome of *Naples*, and to deuide it betweene them in this sort: That the french king should haue the Citie of *Naples* with all the lande of *Lauoro*, and the prouince of *Abruzzo*: And to *Ferdinands* part should fall the prouinces of *Povvylla* and *Calabria*: That either one should conquere his owne parte by him selfe, the other not being bounde to helpe him, but only not to empeach or hinder him: But specially it was agreed, that this contract should bee holden very secret vntil the armie which the french king should send to execute that enterprise, were arryued at *Rome*: At what tyme Thembassadors of them both, alleading this contract to be made for the benefite of Christendome, and to inuade thinfidelles, should require the Pope with a ioynt voice, to graunt thinuestiture according to the deuision that had bene made betweene them, receiuing *Ferdinand* into faith and homage vnder the title of Duke of *Povvylla* and *Calabria*, and the frenche king, no more king of *Cicilia*, but king of *Ierusalem* and *Naples*: Which title of king of *Ierusalem*, being once come to Themprour *Federyk* the seconde, who was king of *Naples*, by his wyfe which was doughter of *Iohn* king of *Ierusalem* (but in name not in effect) was alwayes kept by the kinges folowing, notwithstanding that at one tyme, the kinges of *Cipres*, being of the house of *Lusignan*, who likewyse pretended to it, would appropriat it to them with a couetousnes as apparant and great as the rest:

The kings of Spaine and Fraunce deuide betweene them the realme of Naples.

" So violent are the desires of Princes to embrace coullers by the which they may
" with any honest couerture (albeit most often against all lawe and reason) torment
" and inuade the estates that are in the possession of an other, not considering what a
" world of calamities, vniust warre and oppression doe drawe with them, and muche
" lesse remembring that right may be troden downe, but not troden out, but hath her secret meanes to support her, and her seasons appointed to reuiue and reuert: This capitulation was no sooner established betweene the two kinges, then the frenche king began immediatly and openly to prepare his armie.

But whilest these practises were in working to their execution, the Duke of *Valentynois*, returning by night in the first dayes of the new yeare to the Subburbes of *Faenza*, and working by conspiracie & intelligence, made an vse of a number of skaling

ling ladders: But that labor and trial reſoluing into ſmoke and vanitie, and reapoſing no more hope in treaſon, he tooke in fewe dayes after, *Ruſſi* with the other places of that countrey, & laſtly returned eftſones with his Camp to *Faenza* in the beginning of the ſpring: And incamping before the Caſtle, he battred the wal on that ſide, & followed thaſſalt *Pellemelle* with the french & Spaniſh that were in his paie, who going to the ſeruice in diſorder, retired without honor or profit: But three dayes after (obſtinacie noriſheth peril) he recharged it with an other aſſalt with the ſtrength of the whole Camp: The firſt charge fell to *Vitellozze* and the *Vrſins*, who, colling out the flower and choice men of their bandes, marched to the breach with a wonderful boldnes, and very well aſſured order, their vallours giuing great hope at that time to carie the victorie: But thoſe that were within fighting for their lyues and libertie, were no leſſe reſolute to defende, then the others were valiant to aſſaile: They had ſo intrenched and fortefied the place, that their induſtrie made amaſed their enemies, who finding affore them a great ditche for depth and largenes, and being beaten in the flanke with the furie of thartillerie, were conſtrayned to retyre, *Ferdinand* of *Farueſa* remeyning dead with many other men of marke, without reckoning the great numbers whoſe bodyes ſmarted in the woundes they receyued: The chaunces in warre are dyuers, and haue in them many hidden fortunes which neyther the wyſedome of the leadors can foreſee, nor the vertue of the ſouldiours reſiſt, nor any councell of man aſſure, but running gouerned by certeine ſwyft deſtinies, ſeeme to communicate in the qualitie of the wynde which no humaine wit can make ſetled, but is caried by incomprehenſible mocions frō one quarter to an other in a momēt: For notwithſtāding the reſoluciō of the *Fauētyns* to fight it out to the laſt mā, cōmitting their liues & liberties to one perill, yet hauing receiued great harmes by this aſſalt, they began to take ſuch coūcel of their preſēt condicion, that ſeeing on all ſides general apparāce of daūger, & no exſpectaciō of ſuccors in a ſtate ſo abādoned, their cōfidence begun to turne into feare: And as there was no poſſibilitie, that their proper vallours only without freſh ſuccors, could make long reſiſtance againſt ſo great an armie alwayes renued: So they ſawe that with increaſe of more harmes, & worſe condicions, they ſhould in the ende eyther be taken by force, or conſtrayned as a laſt neceſſitie to put them ſelues vnder the power of the victors: And therefore their fortune making theſe feares reaſonable in them, they yelded to the Duke vppon couenaunt to haue their goods and lyues ſaued, and that *Aſtor* theyr Lorde ſhould remeyne in his libertie and to enioye wholly the reuenue of his proper poſſeſſions: Theſe couenants the Duke kept faithfully on the behalf of the people of *Faenza*: But *Aſtor*, a yoūg man of xviij. yeares & of an excellēt beuty, his age & innocēcie yelding to the diſloialtie & crueltie of the victors was reteined by the Duke with very honorable demōſtraciōs, vnder cooler that he ſhold remein in his Court: But within few dayes after being ſent to *Rome*, after (ſo went the bruite) ſome had ſatiſfied their vile vnnatural luſt on him, he was ſecretly put to death together with his baſtard brother.

Faenza yelded to the Duke.

After the victorie of *Faenza*, the Duke marched towardes *Bolonia*, laying his plot not only to occupie that Citie, but alſo to moleſt the *Florentyns* which were nowe become muche vnderfoote, hauing added to the firſt diſcontentment of the frenche king, newe occaſions of diſliking: For, being weary of the huge expenſes which they had made, continuing ſtill for the furniſhing of the warre with *Piſa*, & hauing ſuſpiciō of the forces of the Pope & Duke *Valentinois*, they paied not to the king (notwithſtāding his great inſtāce) the reſidue of the moneys which had ben lēt thē by the Duke of *Mylla*, nor yet thoſe ſums which he pretēded to be due to him for

the *Svvyſſers* whom he had ſent againſt *Piſa:* The *Florentyns* (contrary to their contract eſtabliſhed with the Cardinal of *Amboyſe*) refuſed to furniſh one paye for them to returne into their countrey, for that they departed, long affore the tearme of the ſeruice for the which they had receiued paye, was exſpired: But the king, to entertein alwayes that natiõ in good friendſhip, made good their paie of his proper treaſor, which he redemaũded of the *Florentyns* with ſharpe words, not admitting thexcuſe of their inhability, which was made greater by the ciuil diſcords that tooke their beginning of the diſorders which were in the gouernmẽt popular: Wherein no man hauing a ſoũd care of thaffaires, and many of the principal Citizens being ſuſpected either for friends to the *Medicis*, or as men deſiring an other forme of gouernment, things were ouerruled more with confuſion then with councell: By occaſiõ of theſe trobles ciuil, they made no prouiſion to ſatisfie the demaunds of the king, but letting paſſe without effect, the reſpits & delaies which he had giuẽ thẽ, they had made him much diſcontented: And increaſing his anger by thoccaſion of their weaknes, he required them to prepare to contribute to him the moneys & other aides, which they promiſed, for thexpediciõ of *Naples:* He ſaid that albeit they ought him none according to the couenants that were made betwene thẽ (vnles they had recouered *Piſa*) yet, as touching him, they ought to hold it for recouered, ſeeing it was through their own falt that their victorie agreed not with their exſpectaciõ: Of this was the cauſe, either the deſire of money, which of his owne nature he loued much, or the diſcontentmẽt that they had not obſerued the reſpits he had graunted them, or rather the opinion he had, that for the diſorders in their gouernment, & the great number of friends the *Medicis* had in *Florence*, he was hable to make no foundaciõ in thoccurrance of affairs: And to bring thẽ by ſharpnes to that, which his authoritie could not lead thẽ vnto, he deliuered publiklie very angrie termes to their Embaſſador reſident about his perſon, whom he aſſured that he was no more bound to their protection, for that, they failing to accompliſh the capitulacion made at *Myllan* in not making him ſatisfied at the tyme appointed of the moneys promiſed in the ſame, he was at libertie from all right or lawes of obſeruacion: By meanes whereof, *Iulian de Medicis*, being gone to his Court with the priuitie and recommendacion of the Pope, to beſeech his maieſtie in his name, and in compaſſion of his brethren, to be reſtored to their countrey, promiſing him great quantities of moneys, he heard him willingly & deuiſed continually with him of the meanes for their returne: And on the other ſide the Duke *Valẽtynois*, vſing thoportunitie of theſe occaſiõs, & puſhed forward withal by *Vitellozze* and the *Vrſins*, then in his ſeruice & paie, and who were iuſt enemies to the *Florentyns*, the one for the death of his brother, & the other for the cõiunctiõ he had with the *Medicis:* Had, for that cauſe ſent affore to the ſuccors of *Piſa*, *Lyuerot de Ferme* with an hundred light horſmen, and ſince the conqueſt of *Faenza* ſtoode determined to moleſt them, notwithſtanding that neither his father nor he, had receiued of them no harmes, but rather plcaſures and commodities, ſeeing at theyr requeſtes, they had renounced the protection of them of *Riara*: Whereunto they were bound, and conſented to libertie and paſſage of vittels thorow their landes to his Camp: Being then departed out of *Romania* in this deliberacion, and ſince the conqueſt of *Faenza*, being declared by the Pope, with the iuſtification of the conſiſtorie, Duke of *Romania*, and enioying alſo thinueſtiture of the ſame, he entred with his armie into the territories of *Bollognia*, with great hope to occupie it: But the ſame day that he lodged in the borow of *S. Peter* ſtãding almoſt vppõ the cõfines betweene *Ymola* and *Bollognia*, he receiued commaundement from the french king

to

to proceed no further in the ſubduing of *Bollognia*, nor to chaſe out of it *Iohn Bentyvolle* for that he had takē aſwel him as the citie into his protectiō: His maieſtie alleaged that the expreſſe exceptiō which he had made nōt to preiudice the rights of the church, ought to be vnderſtāded of thoſe rights & preeminences which the church did then enioy, for that being conſtrued without diſtinction, & not according as the words ſoūded, as the Pope pretēded, it had ben a thing vain & of no moment for the *Bellōnois* & for the *Bentyuoleis*, to receyue thē into his protectiō: Therfore the Duke, leauing for that time, with no ſmal complaints of the Pope & the king, the ambicius hopes he had cōceiued, made a couenāt with *Bētyuolle* by the mean of *Pavvle vrſin*, which bare theſe articles: That they of *Bollognia* ſhold giue him libertie of paſſage & vittels: That he ſhold paie to him yearly niene thouſād duckats: That he ſhold ſerue him with a certein proporciō of men at armes & footmē for his expediciō into *Tuſkane*: And to leaue him *Caſtelbollognia*, a place betweene *Ymola* & *Faenza* & of the iuriſdictiō of *Bollognia*, which he gaue to *Pavvle Vrſin*: Whē this accord was made, *Bētyuolle*, either for a fearful ſuſpiciō he had of himſelf, or for that Duke *Valētynois* (as the ſaying was) to make him more hateful in that Citie, had told him that the famuly of the *Mariſcotties*, (a faction puiſſant and of great fauours, and for that reaſon and for his inſolencie muche ſuſpected of him), had deſired him to make thenterpriſe of *Bollognia*: He cauſed preſent ſlaughter to be made of almoſt all that famuly that were within *Bollognia*, vſing for miniſters in that crueltie, together with his ſonne *Hermes*, many noble young Gentlemen, to thende that for the memory to haue defiled their handes in the bloud of that faction, and by that meanes become enemies to that famulie, they ſhould be the more aſſuredly bound to the preſeruacion of his eſtate: „ weake ſuertie whoſe foundacion is builded vppon the bloud of innocents, and a la- „ mentable example, to purge ſurmiſed ſuſpicion, by vnlawful ſlaughter. „

The french bandes folowed no further the Duke *Valentynois*, hauing aſſignement to ioyne with the armie of the king, which conteined a thouſand laūces & ten thouſād footmē marching vnder *Monſr D'aubigny* to thēterpriſe of *Naples*: But the Duke *Valentynois* tooke his way thorow the coūtrey of *Bollognia*, to the lands of the *Florentyns*, with an army of ſeuē hūdred men at armes & fiue thouſand footmē of choice, & with fiue hūdred men at armes & two thouſād footmē which *Bētyuolle* gaue him vnder the leading of his ſonne the pronotorie: He ſent to demaūd of the *Florētyns* paſſage & vittels through all their lands, & marching on without tarying their anſwere he enterteined with gracious words Thembaſſadors which they had ſēt to him, vntil he was paſt the *Appenyn*: But aſſoone as he was arriued at *Barbaryna* (his ſweet words turned into ſower meanings) he required that they wold make cōfederaciō with him: And that they wold take him into their paie with ſuch regimēts of men at armes & other cōdiciōs as agreed with the greatnes he held: And that chaūging the preſent gouernment, they wold eſtabliſh an other, ſuch one as he might reappoſe more in: The thing that gaue him this boldnes to demaund theſe things, was not ſo much his power or ſtrength (for he had no great armie or artilleries to batter walles) as the ill eſtate of the *Florentyns*, who had verie fewe men at armes, nor other footemen then they of the coūtrey whō they commaūded daily: He was alſo much furthered in this actiō by the feare, ſuſpiciō, & great diſagreemēts that were in *Florēce*, for that he had in his army *Vitellozze* and the *Vrſins*, and for that, by his direction, *Peter de Medicis* was abiding at *Loiana* in the countrey of *Bollognia*: And laſtly for that the people were full of ielouſies by an opinion they had conceyued, that the greateſt Citizens had procured his cōming, to thend to erect a gouernment according to their fācies:

Notwithstanding the Duke *Valentynoys* had no great desire to reestablish or set vp again *Peter de Medicis*, for that he esteemed not the greatnes of the *Vrsins* & *Vitellozze* cõuenient for his enterprise, with whõ he knew that *Peter* had great affinitie, & being repossessed of his coũtrey, wold minister no smal strength to them: Ioyntly to this, I haue vnderstand by men worthy of faith & credit, that he kept fixed in his minde, the remembraunce of an auncient grudge against him, whẽ being Archbishop of *Pampelnua*, & his father not yet Pope, he studied the cõmon lawes in the schooles of *Pisa*, for that he went to *Florẽce* to complain to him of a certein crime committed against him by one of his familiars, & wayting in vaine many houres to haue accesse to him (being occupied either in his affaires or pleasures) he returned to *Pisa* not so muche as speaking with him, esteeming himself much disgraced & iniured: And yet he made other semblance to the *Vitelly* & *Vrsins*, rather to entertein them in deuociõ, thẽ that his thoughts were simple, or his intencions not dissembled: But much more to augment the mutinies & disagreements of the *Florentyns*, by the which he hoped either to range them to better cõdiciõs, or to be hable to occupie some place of importãce in their iurisdictiõ: But finding by many tokens apparant that the french king brooked not his entrey in that sort into their countrey, when he came to *Campy* six miles from *Florence*, he accorded with them in this sort: That betweene the commõ weale of *Florence* & him there should be a cõfederacion indifferent for the defence of their estates, with prohibicion to ayde rebelles either of the one or other part, and chiefly that the Duke should not succor the *Pisans*: That the *Florentyns* shold pardõ to who so euer, all faltes cõmitted by his cõming, & shold not oppose thẽselues against him for the defẽce of the lord of *Plombyn*, who was vnder their protectiõ: That they shold entertein him for three yeares with three hũdred mẽ at armes, & paye of six & thirtie thousãd duckats for euery yeare, & he to send that ayde to them as oftẽ as they shold haue need, either for their own defence, or to offend an other: After this accord was ratified, he went to *Signa*, marching by easie iournes, & remeining certeine dayes in euery reappoſing place, did great harmes in the countrey by fire and robberies, no otherwayes thẽ if he had ben an enemy professed: He demaũded besides (according to the custom in the paies of men at armes) the fourth part of the money due for one yeare, & that they shold prepare for him artilleries for thenterprise of *Plombyn*: The one of which demaundes the *Florentyns* denyed him flatly, as being not bound vnto it, the other they deferred, for that they had not takẽ councel to obserue that, which he went about to make them promise by force: By thaduertisements of their Embassador with the french king, they hoped to be deliuered from those oppressiõs by his authority, a hope which they foũd not altogether vain, for that it nothing displeased the king that the Duke should threaten them, but not assaile them: Aswel for that the chaũge of the presẽt gouernmẽt wold haue ben to his discõtẽtment, as also, albeit he could haue wished an other form of gouernmẽt yet, it wold haue greatly displeased him, if it had ben introduced with other forces or other authoritie thẽ his: In which regard, assoone as he vnderstood that the Duke was entred vppon the dominions of the *Florentyns*, he ministred to him a sharpe direction to depart with speed, & commaunded *M. D'aubigny* who was in *Lombardy* with tharmie, that in case of the Dukes disobedience, he should oppose against him the compulcion and force of the whole armie: This direction of the king brought the Duke into alteraciõ of intencion and purpose, and not tarying so much as for a quarters paye, nor any furniture of artillerie, he tooke his way towardes *Plombyn*, and gaue order that the *Pisans*, who by meane of *Vitellozzo* whom hee had sent thether for artillerie, were incamped before

Capitula. betweene the D. Valent. and the Florent.

The french king commaũds D. Valentynoys to depart from the landes of the Florẽtyns.

before a borough of the *Florentyns*, ſhoulde withdrawe and leauy theyr ſeege:

Being entred into the territories of *Plombyn* he tooke *Sugeretta*, *Scarlina*, and the Iles of *Elba* and *Piauoſa*, and furniſhing euery peece with ſufficient garriſon, aſwel for the defēce of the places alreadie occupied, as to enterteine cōtinual vexacion vppō them of *Plombyn*, he returned to *Rome* with the reſidue of his regimentes, to followe the kings armie that marched to thenterpriſe of *Naples*: Whereof one parte led by *M. D'aubigny* was entred into *Tuskane* by the way of *Caſtrocaro*, & the other followed by the countrey *Lunigiana*: The whole armie aſſembled in one ſtrength, conteined a thouſand Launces, four thouſand *Svvyſſers*, & ſix thouſand footmē of nation frēch and *Gaſcoynes*, to whom was ioyned (according to their maner) a great quātitie of artilleries: About the ſame time alſo, the armie by ſea departed out of *Prouence* for the ſame expedicion, vnder the leading of the Lord of *Ranaſtyn* gouernor of *Genes*, wherin were three Caracks of *Genes*, & ſixtiene other ſhippes, together with many other ſmal veſſels fraught with bands of footmē. Againſt theſe mouings & preparaciōs of warre, king *Federyk* (ignorant that the Spaniſh armies vnder ſhadow of friendſhyp were prepared againſt him) ſolicited *Conſaluo* (abiding in *Sicilia* with the regiments of *Spanyardes*, and making ſemblance to ſuccour him) to come to *Caietta*, after he had put into his handes certeyne places of *Calabria* which he demaunded, to thende to make more eaſie the conqueſt he intended, but vnder coōllour that it was for the ſuertie of his people: King *Federyk* made his reckoning that *Conſaluo* being ioyned to tharmie, his ſtrength in particular would conteyne ſeuen hundred men at armes, ſix hundred light horſmen, and ſix thouſand footmen, compounded vppon bodies partly interteined already by him, and partly of ſuch as the *Collonnois* leauyed at *Marina*: A force which he ſuppoſed ſufficient to reſiſt the french men, without being conſtrained to incloſe him ſelf in towns, notwithſtanding he noriſhed no great hope in the ayde from the Prince of the *Turkes*, of whom he had required ſuccors with no ſmal inſtance, ſhowing him that he had more reaſon to feare peril by the victorie of the preſēt king, then of the late king his predeceſſor: And to make a cleare way to an actiō of ſo great importance (it is a chiefe ſuertie to Princes to cut of treaſons in the beginning) he apprehended & put in priſon, the Prince of *Biſignan* and the *Count* of *Melotte* accuſed affore him to haue had ſecret intelligence with the *Count Caiezze* who was in the french armie: With theſe hopes, (hauing alſo ſent *Ferdinand* his eldeſt ſonne being very young to *Tarenta* more for his ſuertie if thinges ſucceeded ill, then to defende the Citie) he incamped with his armie at *S. Germein*: Where, attending the ſuccours of *Conſaluo* and the bandes which the *Collonnoys* leauyed, he hoped to accompliſhe a more happie action in the defence of the entrey into the kingdom, thē *Ferdinand* his Nephew had don againſt the enterpriſe of king *Charles*.

The computacion of the french army.

In this eſtate & diſpoſicion of affaires, all the regiōs of *Italy* were repleniſhed with incredible doubtes & perplexeties, euery one iudging that this enterpriſe would be a beginning of moſt great calamities: For that as the preparacions of the french king ſeemed not ſo mightie, as to be hable to ſurmount the ioynt forces of king *Federyk* and *Conſaluo*, ſo wiſemen occupied this opinion that the ſpirittes of ſo mightie kings beginning once to waxe angry, both the one & other partie would cōtinue the warre with far greater forces, which wold ſtir vp eaſely thorow al *Italy* both great & daūgerous mociōs, for the diuers inclinations of the other Potentates: But aſſone as the french army was arryued at *Rome*, the world ſawe eaſely into the vanitie of thoſe diſcourſes: For that Thembaſſadors of *Fraūce* & *Spaine*, entring together into the cōſiſtorie, made publicatiō affore the Pope & Cardinals, of the league made betweene

The Pope giueth thinueſtiture of the kingdome of Naples to the French and Spanyard indifferently.

their kings, intẽding chiefly (as they ſaid) to an expediciõ to be made againſt thennemies to Chriſtiã religiõ: And demaũding thinueſtiture of the kingdom according to the tenor of the cõuenciõ made, it was agreed vnto by the Pope with the ſame ſpeed it was required, thinking it but reaſonable to performe that which he made no difficultie to graunt: In ſo much, as no man doubting now what would be the end of this warre, the feares of men were conuerted into admiracion, euery one wondring at the doings of the french king, who, by ſuffring the moietie of the realme to fall rather into the handes of the king of *Spaine*, did as it were leade by the hande into *Italy* (where before he only was the Arbitrator of all things) an other king, to whõ ſuch as might be diſcõtented with him, might haue recourſe, & was alſo ſtraitly allied to the king of *Romains* by many bonds of affinitie: Then to endure that king *Federyk* might remeine Lord of the whole, acknowledging to holde it of him, and yeld him tribute for it, as by ſundrie meanes he had ſought to obteine it: But the vniuerſall concepcions of men were no leſſe deuided touching thintegretie & faith of *Ferdinand*, who, by an ambicious luſt to occupie one part of the kingdome, had conſpired agaynſt a king of his bloud, and to drawe him the more eaſely to his ruine, he had alwayes enterteined him with falſe promiſes to ſuccor him: Wherein he had not only defaced the reputacion of the title of King *Catholyk* which he and Queene *Elizabeth* his wife had obteined certeine yeares before of the Pope: But alſo had ſtained that renowme and glorie which helde their names raiſed vp to the heauens, for driuing the *Moares* out of the realme of *Granado*, no leſſe for the zeale they bare to religion, then for regard of their proper intereſt: To theſe imputacions, or rather reproches impoſed vppon both the one and other king, there was anſwered no other thing for the french king, but that his power was ſufficient to remedie all thoſe diſorders in conuenient ſeaſon, not remembring that where thinges are deuided, the ſuertie is intricate, & where there be competitors to one thing, & they no leſſe equall in ſtrength, then all one in ambicion, their diſtruſtes are nouriſhed, and no part free from ſuſpicion, but all things intangled with confuſion: For *Ferdinand*, it was ſaide, that albeit king *Federyk* had giuen him iuſt occaſion to be moued againſt him, as knowing that he had long tyme before practiſed ſecretly with the french king to his preiudice: yet that had not ſtirred him, But the conſideracion of the kings pretence, determining in what ſort ſo euer it were, to performe an enterpriſe vppon the realme of *Naples*, brought him to this neceſſitie either to defend it, or abandõ it: In taking vppon him the defence, he ſhould kindle ſo great a fire, that it could not but ſende daungerous ſparkes ouer all the common weale of Chriſtendome, chiefly the *Turkes* armies being ſo ſtrong and mightie againſt the *Venetians* both by ſea & lande: And if he ſhold abandon it, he knewe his realme of *Sicilia* ſtoode in manifeſt peril, and beſides, it was a thing that wrought too much to his detriment, that the french king ſhould occupie the realme of *Naples*, which of right belonged to him, & might eftſoones reuert to him by new rightes, if the lyne of *Federyk* ſhould faile: And therfore amyd ſo many difficulties he had choſen the way of deuiding, with hope that by the ill gouernment of the french, their moytie might alſo diſcend to him in tyme: And that in this caſe, as the regarde of publike vtilitie councelled him, which he had alwayes more highly eſteemed then his proper profit: So he might eyther keepe it in himſelfe, or reſtore it to *Federyk*, or rather leaue it to his iſſue and children, holding his name almoſt in horror, for that he knew, that affore the french king did any action vppon the Duchie of *Myllan*, he had practiſed with the *Turkes*: Theſe were the reaſons generall alleaged on the behalfe of both the kinges, ſupporting their actions more by

ſtrained

ſtrained coulers, then equitie of title, and applying to thaduerſitie of the king of *Naples*, their vniuſt ambicion, they made litle care to keepe their particular moyties, that had no conſcience to euict the iuſt owner out of the whole.

The league of theſe two kinges brought ſuch aſtoniſhment to *Federyk*, that notwithſtanding *Conſaluo*, ſeeming to reiect that which was publiſhed at *Rome*, promiſed him with one conſtancie to come to his ſuccours: Yet, he chaunged his firſt councelles and retyred from *S. Germain* towardes *Capua*, where he exſpected the effect of his direction for the bandes leauied by the *Collonnoys*: Who, leauing Garriſon within *Amyliã*, abãdoned all the reſidue which they held in the territorie of *Rome*, for that the Pope by the conſent of the french king, had taken armes to occupie their eſtates: In which difficulties, *Conſaluo*, being well aduertiſed that the french army was paſſed *Rome*, diſcouered at laſt his commiſſions, and ſending to *Naples* ſixe Gallies to bring away the two olde Queenes, the one ſiſter and the other neece to his king: *Proſper Colonne* aduiſed king *Federyk* to reteyne the Gallies, and drawing all his power into one ſtrength, to make reſiſtance to thennemies in the fielde: For that in making a tryall of fortune, there would be ſome hope of victorie, the iſſues of battelles being farre more inceterteyne, then all other humayne actions: Otherwayes he ſaw nothing but manifeſt perill, two ſo mighty kings ioyning againſt him, & he nothing ſtrengthned from the forreyne, and leſſe aſſured amyd the treaſons of his owne people: He tolde him that in a daunger ſo preſent, celeritie was more neceſſarie then councell, and agaynſt enemyes ſo neare approching, his greateſt ſuertie ſtoode in thexpedicion of the battell, hauing no other meane to make head againſt two ſo mightie kings inuading him in diuers partes of his kingdom: But *Federyk*, whoſe mynde was wholly ouerruled with feares and doubtes, founde litle hope in this councell, and therefore determined to looke to the garde of his townes, remembring that leſſe in any other humaine action, then in the ſucceſſe of battell, the innocencie of the cauſe getteth the vpper hande: Therefore, Sainct *Germyn* with other peeces neare about it, being alreadie drawne into rebelliõ, yea euen before *M. D'aubigny* marched from *Rome*: He determined to make the firſt defence in the towne of *Capua*, wherin he beſtowed *Fabricio Collonne* with three hundred men at armes, certeine lyght horſmen, and three thouſand footmen, and ioyned with him *Rinucce de Marciano*, whom he had newly taken into his paye: He left *Proſper Colonne* for the garde of *Naples*, and himſelfe, with the reſidue of his companyes, entred *Auerſo*: But as open warre miniſtreth many occaſions to reuenge perticular wronges: So *Monſieur D'aubigny* in his marching from *Rome*, burned *Marina*, and *Caua*, with certeine other peeces of the *Colonnoys*, being angry that *Fabricio* had put to executiõ in *Rome*, the meſſengers of certeyne Barons of the realme holding with the french, which were gon thether to cõtract with him: Afterwardes he tooke his way to *Montfortyn*, where he thought *Iulio Colonne* would make reſiſtance: But hauing left it abandoned with verie litle honour, *Monſr D'aubigny* paſſing further, commaunded all the places which be along the way to *Capua* vntill the Ryuer of *Vulturno* neare *Capua*, which being to deepe for the army to paſſe ouer without perill, the vertue of their Generall founde out a way to paſſe, by marching vp more high towardes the mounteyne, wherof *Federyk* being aduertiſed, retyred to *Naples*, and abandoned *Auerſo*, which with *Nola* and many other places gaue themſelues to the french, whoſe whole ſtrength was now brought into the confynes of *Capua* where they camped, ſome on thiſſyde and ſome beyonde the Ryuer, on the vpper ſide where the Ryuer beginneth to runne neare the towne: And putting force to their fortune, rhey battered it on all partes, and charged it af-

Proſpero Collonno aduiſeth K. Fede. to aduenture the battell.

terwardes with a furious assalt, which albeit was not pleasant to them, but were cõstrained to retyre from the walles with their many harmes : Yet imparting no lesse terror and daunger to the defendantes, the myndes of the Capteynes and Souldiors began to incline to accord, the people of the Citie beginning to drawe into mutiny, together with the regiments of Peasants withdrawne thether in great numbers: But as in warres there be some insolencies which the Capteynes can not bridle, and many negligences which be fatall instruments and occasions of perill: So *Fabricio Collonne* the eight day after the Camp was planted, hauing begun to *Parley* with the *Count Caiezzo* vppon a Bastillion, the negligent garde of those that were within (as often hapneth when men be neareſt accord) gaue occasion to thennemies to enter: And they, vsing the lawe of victors, tooke libertie to turne all things to the rewarde of their aduenture: In so much as what for the greedines of Pillage, and desire to reuenge the harmes receiued at the first assalt, they put the whole towne to sack, and made a wonderfull slaughter, reteyning only for prisoners, suche as remeyned free from theyr crueltie: The licentiousnes of the victors was such that their crueltie raged vppon all ages, sexes, and qualities of creatures, not sparing the virgins in religion, whose bodies were a miserable pray to the lust of the souldiours: And as many of them were solde afterwardes at *Rome* for a very small price, so some of them esteeming it agreeable to their vertue to feare death lesse then the losse of honour, threw them selues into welles, and offred vp in Ryuers an oblacion of their vndefiled bodies: It is sayde that besides other abhominacions worthie of prepetuall infamie, many of the women which had escaped the first furie, being withdrawne into a Tower vnder none other confidence then such as folow creatures in miserie: The Duke of *Valentynois* who folowed the armie as the kinges Lieftenant, went to take a view of them, accompanied only with the Gentlemen of his house & his guard: And after he had considered not of their estates, but of their beauties: The compassion he showed was that he reteyned for his owne vse fortie of the most faireſt of them : *Fabricio Colonno, Dom Hugo* of *Cardona*, and all the other Capteynes and men of condicion were made prisoners, amongst whom *Rinucce Mariano*, who at the assalt had receiued a wound with a Crosbow shot, being in the keeping of the soldiors of the Duke dyed within two dayes not without suspicion of poison: The losse of *Capua* cut of all hopes to king *Federyk* to be hable hense forward to defend any thing: *Caietta* yelded with a speed according to the felicitie of the victors: And *M. D'aubygny* being come with his armie to *Auerse*, & the Citie of *Naples* left abãdoned, which made composicio for three score thousãd duckats, *Federik* retired into the new castle & immediatly after (hauing only regard to his life in such extremity of fortune) made couenãt with *Monsr D'aubygny* to deliuer vp within six dayes all the townes and fortes which he helde apperteyning to that moyetie of the deuisiõ which shold discend to the french king: Reseruing only for six moneths the Ile of *Yschia*, during which tyme it should be lawfull for him to goe whether he would, except in the realme of *Naples*: And to send an hundred men at armes to *Tarenta*: That he might take out of the newe Castle and the egg Castle what he would except thartilleries of king *Charles* which remeyned there: That free pardon should be giuen to all faltes committed since the late king *Charles* conquered the realme of *Naples*, and that the Cardinalles *Colonne* and *Aragon* should still enioy those ecclesiasticall reuenues which they had in the kingdome. But within the rocke of *Yschia* might be seene drawne into one showe, a true resemblãce & figure of all the infelicities of the lyne of the old *Ferdinãd* (which was a spectacle verie pitifull): For that besides the aspect of *Federyk* newly deuested

Great cruelties of the French.

Insatiable lust of D. Valentinois.

The sorows of King Federyk redoubled.

of

of so noble a realme, the consideration of his litle children, ioyned to the lamentable condicion of *Beatriß* his sister, redoubled his sorowes: To the calamitie of his sister, this increase of miserie hapned, that, after the death of her late husband *Matthias* that renowmed king of *Hungary*, she receiuing promise of mariage of *Launcelot* king of *Boemia* inducing her to ayde him in the conqueste of the same realme: She was refused by him with great ingratitude, after he had filled his delightes with the sweete fruites of her bodie, and afterwardes maried an other by the dispensacion of Pope *Alexander*: To this infelicitie was also ioyned, *Isabell* affore tyme honoured with the titles & dignities of Duches of *Myllan*, but now no lesse wretched then the others, for that almost at one tyme, she suffred priuacion of her husbande, of her estate, & of her only sonne. Amongest these tragicall accidents, I may not forget this notable example of thaffection of a sonne to his father: A matter so much the more straunge, by how much in those tymes the loue of children was rare towardes their fathers: One of the sonnes of the *L. G. Montpensier* being gon to *Pozzuolo* to visit the sepulcher of his father, suffred him selfe to be so much ouerruled with passion, that after he had washed all partes of the monument with his lamentable teares, he fainted and fell downe dead vppon the sepulcher of his father, who had as litle sence of those his latest sorowes, as he had feeling of so great a fault to giue such libertie to the rage of nature.

A straunge affection of a sonne.

To men afflicted, this is one cõsolacion, to know the vttermost of their mishaps, and when the perils be past that nourished their feares, they returne to a comforte, not to consider what they haue suffred, but to remember that no worse can happen: Euen so king *Federyk* making the extremest reckoning of his aduersities, was resolued (bearing a setled hate to the king of *Spaine*) to recommit him selfe wholly to the honor and clemencie of the french king, to whom he sent to demaund safeconduit, and hauing obteined it, he left all the residue in the rocke of *Yschia*, where remeined also *Prosper* and *Fabricio Colonne*: And the Yle remeyning as it did before vnder the gouernment of the Marquis of *Guast* and the Counteße of *Francqueuille*, after he had sent parte of his people to the defence of *Tarenta*, he went into *Fraunce* with fyue Gallies: A councel euil taken (sauing that men in aduersitie haue no libertie of election) for that if he had bene in a place of libertie, seeing to what tearmes the warres grew afterwardes, betweene those two kinges he might happly haue bene holpen with many occasions afterwardes to returne into his kingdom: But choosing rather to sit downe with the sweete fruites of a quiet lyfe, then to followe the bitter trauels of a kingdome broken, his fortune brought him to this humilitie, to accept suche condicions as were offred him by the king, who gaue him, to thende he might remeyne in *Fraunce*, the Duchie of *Aniovv* with so liberall a pension that it mounted euery yeare to thirtie thousand Duckats: At his departure he sent order to those in whose confidence he had left the gouernment of *Yschia*, that they should deliuer it vp to the french king, and showing no lesse readines to render it then they were vnhable to keepe it, he tolde them that the way to deffye their fortune, was, not to giue her leaue to exercise her malice to their vttermost ruine.

Federyk in minde to commit him selfe to the honour and clemency of the french king.

Consaluo was marched at the same time into *Calabria*, where albeit was a generall inclinacion and desire to liue rather vnder the rule and Lordship of the french, yet their aduersities ouerruling their dispositions, he founde almost no resistance, but with affections compelled, was receiued into euery towne, except *Manfredonia* and *Tarenta*: But the destinie of the countrey running with his fortune, after he had forced *Manfredonia* and the Castle, he incamped with his armie in the confines of *Ta-*

renta, where albeit he found greateſt difficulties, yet in the ende he had it by accord, for that the *Count Potenſo*, to whoſe guarde the young Duke of *Calabria* had bene recommended by his father) and freare *Leonard* of *Naples* Knight of *Rodes* and gouernor of *Tarenta*, ſeeing no hope or poſſibilitie of further defence, compounded to giue vp the Citie and Caſtle, if within foure monethes they were not ſuccoured: In which compoſicion they receiued of him a ſolemne othe vppon the ſacrament, that he would leaue in libertie the Duke of *Calabria*, who had ſecret commaundement from his father to come to him into *Fraunce* when he could no more reſiſt his fortune: But neither the feare of God, nor regarde to his honor, had more force, then thintereſt of theſtate: For *Conſaluo*, iudging what a matter of importance it wold bee in tyme to come, if the perſon of the Duke were not in the power of the King of *Spaine*: Thinking it leſſe ſinne to diſpenſe with his othe, then to loſe that oportunitie, would not ſuffer him to depart, but aſſoone as he could, ſent him well accompanied into *Spaine*, where the king receiued him and reteyned him neare about him in high familiaritie and honors due to his greatnes.

Theldeſt ſonne of king Feder ſent into Spaine.

In theſe ſeaſons thaffaires of the Pope proceeded with a proſperitie accuſtomed, for that he had eaſely got all the eſtates which the *Colonnoys* and *Sauelles* held in the confines of *Rome*, of the which he diſpoſed one part to the *Vrſins*: And the Duke *Valentynois* continuing his enterpriſe againſt *Plombyn*, ſent thether *Vitellozze* and *Iohn Pavvle Baillon* with new regiments: For whoſe comming, and the ill diſpoſicion of his buiſines, *Iacques Appyan* the naturall Lord, leauing the towne and Caſtle manned with Garriſons according to his fortune, went with ſpeede into *Fraunce*, to ſee if he might obteine of the king (who long affore had receiued him into his protection) that for the regard of his owne honor he would not ſuffer him to periſhe: The king, without couering his infamie by art, anſwered him roundly, that hauing promiſed the Pope not to oppoſe againſt him, he could not miniſter to his diſtreſſe without doing wrong to the league ſworne: But as nothing is more ſwift then aduerſitie, which keepes his courſe by the violent mocion that dryues him: So, whileſt the miſerable Lord of *Plombyn* was in vaine ſoliciting for ſuccours, *Pandolfe Petrucci* rendered the towne to the Duke of *Valentynois*, and within fewe dayes after, the Caſtle (his induſtrie no leſſe thē his fortune, turning all things to his diſcōfort): In this courſe of the Popes felicities, he maried his daughter *Lucrecia* (wyfe affore to three huſbands and now wydow by the death of *Giſmon* Prince of *Viſelle* baſtard ſonne to *Alphonſo* king of *Naples*, whom the Duke *Valentynois* had ſlaine) to *Alphonſo* eldeſt ſonne to *Hercules D'eſtè*, with a porcion of an hundred thouſande Duckattes in readie money and many other giftes of great value: To this mariage ſo vnwoorthie for the houſe of *Eſte* which was wont to ſeeke ſocietie with the famulies moſt noble, *Hercules* and *Alphonſo* conſented, partly for that the french king deſiring to ſatiſfie the Pope in all thinges, was an importunate procurer of it, but chiefly they thought by this meane (if againſt ſo great a diſloialtie there be any ſuertie ſufficient) to aſſure them ſelues of the armes and ambicion of the Duke *Valentynois*, who, bearing a great power by the treaſor and authoritie of the ſea Apoſtolike ioyned to the fauours which the french king bare him, was the only man that was feared throughout the greateſt parte of *Italy*, euery one knowing that his ambicion was infinit, and his couetouſnes without limit: The French king continued with great diligence the negociacion of peace with *Maxymilian Cæſar*, not only for the hopes he had to ſhake of by that meane, exſpences and ſuſpicions, and to obteine of him thinueſtiture of the Duchie of *Myllan* which he deſired much: But alſo to haue oportunitie to offend the *Venetians*, as being

ing perſuaded that his proſperities were greeuous to them, and with all nouriſhing this opinion, that they laboured ſecretly to breake the peace betweene *Cæſar* and him: But that which moſt ſtirred him to this inclinacion, was a couetous deſire (as well for him ſelfe as at the perſuacions of the *Myllanois*) to recouer *Cremona* & *Guiaradadda*, townes which him ſelf had accorded to them a litle before: And alſo to get again *Breſſe Bergame*, and *Creme*, auncient appurtenaunces of the Duchie of *Myllan*, and lately poſſeſſed by the *Venetians* in the warres which they had with *Phillippe Maria Viſcounte*: To debate theſe thinges to better effect, and to ordeine the prouiſions neceſſarie for thexpedicion of *Naples*, he had long tyme before ſent to *Myllan*, the Cardinal of *Amboyſe*, the tongue & authoritie of whom, were the proper tongue and authoritie of the king, and who had remeyned there many monethes, being not hable, for the ordinarie variacions of the king of *Romains*, to eſtabliſhe any thing with him: About this tyme, the *Florentyns* ſolicited by meane of the Cardinall to be receiued of new into the kinges protection: But they made a vaine labour of it, for that the king propounded harde condicions, and declared a great alienacion and eſtraunging of mynde from them: Wherein pretending to be no further bounde to the couenantes made at *Myllan*, he cauſed to be aſſigned ouer to the *Lucquoys* (receiued of new into his protection) *Pietraſanta* & *Mutron* as being auncient members of that Citie: But not without the ſumme of four & twentie thouſand Duckats, which he receiued of them as Lord of *Genes*, for that the *Lucquoys* auncient owners of *Pietra Santa*, had by reaſon of ſome neceſſities, engaged it for the lyke ſumme to the *Genovvays*, from whom it was diſcended afterwardes to the *Florentyns* by force of armes: Beſides, the Cardinall treated with them of *Sienna*, *Lucqua*, and *Piſa*, to knit them altogether for the reeſtabliſhing of *Peter de Medicis* in *Florence*: Wherein as the Cardinall caſt his plot that the king ſhoulde obteyne by this action a rounde ſumme of money of euery of them, ſo his intencion tooke ſuche proceeding, that they were almoſt at accord, and yet the deuiſe diſſolued without effect, for that there was no agreement amongeſt them to ſatisfie the proporcion of money that was demaunded.

At length the Cardinall, winning by litle and litle vppon the inclination of the king of *Romains*, had a more certeine hope then before to contract ſome accorde: And in that regard he went to *Trent*, to communicate with him, where they treated of many thinges concerning theſtabliſhment of the mariage of Madame *Claude* the kinges daughter with *Charles* theldeſt ſonne to Tharchduke, with cõceſſion of thinueſtiture of the Duchie of *Myllan* to both the one and other of them: They treated alſo to leauy warre againſt the *Venetians*, to recouer thoſe places which eyther of them pretended to be vſurped vppon them: And laſtly, they conſulted to call a general councell to reforme the Church, not only (as they proteſted) in her members, but alſo in her head: Which mocion the king of *Romains* ſeemed to enterteine with a ſemblance of conſent, to nouriſhe the hopes of the Cardinall of *Amboyſe* to obtein the Popedom, whereunto he aſpired with manifeſt ambicion, the king his maiſter being a ſpeciall furtherer of the action for the intereſt of his proper greatnes: Such a raging humor is ambicion, that it tempteth thoſe men to ſolicit high honors, who for their proper vertues, are vnworthie of them: It makes them blynde in their deſires, and impudent to hope to compaſſe euen thinges that are without their reach: On the behalfe of the french king, it was accorded in that contract, that what confederacion or aliance he had made, it ſhould be vnderſtanded with this clauſe, ſauing the rightes of Thempire, by meane whereof it ſhould be lawfull to Themprour to

chalenge it aſwell for thoſe that ſhould be now named by the king, as for ſuch as he had affore taken into his protection: There reſted only the principall difficultie touching thinueſtiture, for that *Cæſar* refuſed to graunt it to thiſſue Males if the king ſhould haue any: They ſtoode alſo vppon tearmes for reſtitution of the exiles of the Duchie of *Myllan*, which being inſtantly demaunded by *Cæſar*, the king refuſed flatly to graunt, for that beſides they were many in number, there were alſo perſonages of importance and authoritie: At laſt by compulcion of the kinges importunities, he was content to giue libertie to Cardinall *Askanius*, and hope of the like grace to *Lodovvyk Sforce* with aſſignation of penſion of twentie thouſand Duckats by yeare to furniſhe his countenance in the realme of *Fraunce*: By reaſon of theſe difficulties, they fell not otherwayes to accord, then with hopes to be hable to introduce ſome conuenient forme, and therefore the truce being eftſoones prolonged, the Cardinall returned into *Fraunce*, holding almoſt for certeine, that the matters which they had debated, would with ſpeede diuolue to their perfection: Which opinion was augmented by this occaſion, that a litle after, the Archduke, before he went into *Spaine* to receiue in his perſon and the perſon of *Iane* his wyfe eldeſt daughter of the king there, the othe of fidelitie of the peoples, as ordeined to that ſucceſſion: He made his way by lande accompanied with his wyfe, and met at *Bloys* with the french king, who receiuing him with many honors, they reſted agreed touching the mariage of their children: In this yeare dyed *Auguſtyn Barbaryn* Duke of *Venice*, who managed his principalitie with ſuch happines and authoritie, that in many actions it ſeemed that he ouercame the degree of his predeceſſors: Therefore the power of his ſucceſſors being limited by new lawes, *Leonard Loredan* was elected in his place, the common weale feeling no chaunge in publyke thinges, neither by the death of the Prince, nor for the election of a new: So excellent was the forme of his gouernment.

In this yeare, the *Florentyns* & the *Piſans* (contrary to the cuſtomes of the yeares before) brought forth no great actions one againſt the other: for that the *Florētyns*, being no more vnder the protection of the French, and ſtanding in continuall ſuſpicion of the Pope & the Duke *Valentynois*, ſtudied more to keepe that was their owne, then to offend others: And the *Piſans* not hauing of them ſelues any power to vexe them, had leſſe poſſibilitie to doe it by the ayde of others, for that there were none that ſtirred otherwayes in their fauours, but only to ſuſteine them when they were in perill of ruine: But in the yeare 1502. might be ſeene a recontinuacion of their actions accuſtomed, for that the *Florentyns*, almoſt in the beginning of the yeare, contracted of new with the french king, after they had ouercome all difficulties more by the benefite of fortune then by the diſpoſicion of the king, or other occaſions: Seeing the king of *Romains* (ſince the Cardinall of *Amboyſe* departed) being poſſeſſed of new thoughtes and purpoſes, and refuſing to accompliſhe to the french king thinueſtiture of the Duchie, yea euen to his daughters maried, ſent as his Embaſſadours into *Italy*, *Hermes Sforce* whom the king had acquited of his impriſonment, & the prouoſt of *Beſsina*, to deale with the Pope and the other Potentates touching his diſcending into *Italy* to take the Crowne of the Empire: Theſe Embaſſadors, omitting no oportunitie wherin occaſion was giuen, as they ſoiorned certeine dayes in *Florence*, obteined promiſe of the ſame Citie to contribute to his ayde with a hundred men at armes and thirtie thouſande Duckats, aſſoone as he was entred into *Italy*: In which reſpect, the french king (Princes are iealous one ouer an other touching amities and forreine cõfidences) who feared leaſt the *Florentyns* diſpairing of his friendſhip, wold

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turne their fauours to *Maxymilian*, was content to quallefie the immoderate demaundes he had made to them, and contract an accorde vnder conditions more tollerable, the generall partes whereof were theſe: That the king receiuing them into his protection, ſhould be bound for three yeares folowing, to defend them with armes at his proper exſpences, againſt who ſo euer would directly or indirectly moleſt them touching the ſtate and dominions which at that tyme they poſſeſſed: That the *Florentyns* ſhould paie to him within the ſaide three yeares, ſix ſcore thouſande Duckattes, euery yeare a third parte: That all other capitulations made betweene them, with all bondes and promiſes depending on the ſame, ſhould be made diſſolued and voyd: That it ſhould be lawful to the *Florentyns* to proceede with armes againſt the *Piſans*, and all others that occupie their landes.

Accord betweene the french king and the Florentyns.

In regard of which confederation, the *Florentyns* recomforted and taking a newe hart, determined to giue the ſpoile to the cornes and graines of the countrey of *Piſa*, to thende that by tyme and famine, they might reduce the towne of *Piſa* to theyr obedience, ſeeing they had ſo vnluckely trauelled to force them by ſeege: This coũcell was propounded in the firſt yeare of theyr rebellion by a certeine well experienced Citizen, alleaging that by thoſe meanes, more certeine, but further of, they ſhould afflict and conſume the *Piſans*, with litle exſpences and leſſe daunger: He tolde them that in regarde of the preſent conditions of *Italy* muche troubled and moleſted, if they would make ſtore of their treaſors, they might make them ſerue their turnes in many occaſions: But if, with the waſt of their money, they woulde range them by force and compulſion, they ſhould finde thenterpriſe both doubtful and daungerous, for that the ſuertie of that Citie was great by the ſcituation and ſtrength of the walles, and full of inhabitantes well reſolute to defende it: Beſides alſo, as often as there ſhould bee perill to loſe it, it woulde bee reskued by all thoſe that to the enuy of our well doing, haue ioyned a ſetled diſpoſition to ſee it preſerued: In ſo muche as the exſpences being greater then the hopes, wee ſhoulde alwayes nouriſhe our proper daungers and cut out occaſions to ſtirre vp new trauels: All violent attemptes being ſet foorth without councell, at the beginning ſeeme mightie, but in continuance they are founde inſufficient, ſince in the fielde, armor and weapons are to ſmall purpoſe, if at home a ſounde councell ſet not downe a good direction: The councell of this graue Citizen being reiected in the beginning for hurtfull, after the courſe of many yeares, was founde profitable, but in a tyme wherein they had waſted huge exſpences and treaſors, and attempted the victorie with many intollerable daungers: After they had ouerrunne their corne, hoping that thauthoritie of the kinges protection, would defende all men from riſing in the ſuccours of the *Piſans*, they planted their ſeege before *Vicopiſan*, for that not many dayes before, the *Piſans* had taken it from them by treaſon of certeyne ſoldiours that were within: And the Capteine of the Caſtle not abiding for the ſuccors which ſhould haue arryued within few houres, did render it to them with great cowardiſe: They made no doubt to carie it, by the penurie of prouiſion and vittelles, which they knew could not ſuffice for fiftiene dayes, and they had good confidence to let that none ſhould enter, for that by the benefite of their Baſtillions, which they had builded ſeparate vppon the mounteynes, they commaunded all the paſſages: And in the ſame ſeaſon being aduertiſed, that *Fracaſſe* but pore and without paie, was going with a fewe horſemen to enter *Piſa* in the name and with letters of *Maxymilian*, they gaue direction that hee ſhoulde bee charged on the way, where his fortune being no leſſe enuious then his condition was poore, he

was made prisoner seeking his safetie in a Church within the iurisdiction of the Duke of *Farrara*: These accidentes fell in *Tuskan*, no man as yet perceiuyng what would happen by them contrary to thexspectation of euery one.

The frenche and the Spanyardes do disagree vppon the deuiding of Naples.

But farre more great and daungerous mocions, and of the which were to discend in tyme to come, effectes of right great importance, beganne to be discloſed in the kingdome of *Naples* by the discordes which hapned the yeare passed betweene the Frenche and Spanishe Capteines: They tooke their beginning, for that in the diuision made betweene both the kings, the countrey of *Lauoro* and *Abruzzo* being adiudged to the one, and to the other, *Povvilla* and *Calabria*, the cõfines & limits of the prouinces were not well expressed in the diuision: In so much as either one began to pretende that that parte which is called *Capitinato* did distinctly and particularly apperteine to him: To this controuersie gaue a great occasion, the alteration and chaunge made by *Alphonso* of *Aragon* King of *Naples* first of that name touching the auncient denomination and diuision of the prouinces: He, looking to make easie the exactions of the reuenues diuided all the kingdome into these sixe principall prouinces, *Lauoro*, *Principato*, *Basilicato*, *Calabria*, *Povvylla*, and *Abruzzo*: Of these *Povvylla* was distinguished into these three members, *Ottranto*, *Bary*, and *Capitinato*, which *Capitinato* adioyning to *Abruzzo*, and diuided from the residue of *Povvylla* by the Ryuer *Lofanto* aunciently called *avvfido*, the frenchmen, taking rather thaduauntage of thauncient diuision, then ruled by the late denomination, pretended, that eyther *Capitinato* was not comprehended vnder any one of the foure prouinces deuided, or els that it was rather parte of *Abruzzo* then of *Povvylla*: In this contention the importance of the countrey ledde them not so muche, as the consideration of these two infirmities, the one, for that not possessing *Capitinato*, they had no parte in the reuenue which was drawne of the tribute of cattell, a reuenue of greatest profite in all the realme of *Naples*: The other, for that *Abruzzo* and *Lauoro* being naked of graines and corne which came to *Capitinato*, those prouinces in tymes of sterrillitie might bee easely reduced into great extremeties, as often as the Spanishe woulde make restrainte that none shoulde bee fetched out of *Povvylla* and *Sicilia*: But it was alleaged on the contrary that *Capitinato* coulde not apperteyne to the frenche, for that *Abruzzo* which is ended in the high places, stretcheth not so farre as the plaines: And for that also in cases of difference of the names and limits of prouinces, the vsage present is alwayes cõsidered: Notwithstandyng these controuersies suspendyng, they were content for the yeare present to deuyde equally the reuenue of the cattell: But the yeare following, fallyng from that obseruation, eyther partie tooke as muche as hee could gette, whereunto were added afterwardes newe quarrelles, nourished tyll that tyme (as the bruit went) more by the willes of the Capteynes, then of the consent of theyr Lordes and Kinges: For, the Spanyardes pretended that *Principato* and *Basilicato* were included in *Calabria*, which is deuided into two partes, *Calabria Cytra* and *Calabria Vltra*, that is the one higher and the other lower: And also that the valley of *Beneuent* which the french helde, was parte of *Povvilla*, and therefore sent officers to keepe Courtes of iustice at *Tripaldo* within two myles of *Auelino*, where were resident the frenche maiestrates: These beginninges of open dissention being troublesome to the principall Barons of the realme, they interposed betweene *Consaluo*, and *Levvys D'arminack*, Duke of *Nemours*, *Viceroy* for the french king, and by their intercession, *Levvys* being come to *Melfe* and *Consaluo* to *Atele* a towne of the Prince of *Melfe*, after the trauel of certein moneths (in which time the

two

two Capteynes ſpake together) findyng in them no conformitie to any forme of accorde, they brought them to agree to exſpect ſuche reſolucion as theyr kinges ſhoulde ſette downe of the controuerſie, and that in the meane tyme they ſhoulde forbeare to innouate any thing: But the *Viceroy* for the frenche preſuming much that hee was the mightier in power and force, within fewe dayes after, publiſhed an other declaration, proteſting to make warre vppon *Conſaluo*, if hee woulde not vppon the ſight, leaue *Capitinato*: And with a ſpeede as ſwift as his councell was raſhe, hee made his ſouldiours runne vp euen to *Tripaldo*, of which inuaſion the warre tooke his beginning, wherein the Frenche perſeuering with actions of hoſtilitie, they followed theyr purpoſe without regarde, to occupie by force in *Capitinato* and other quarters, the townes which the Spaniſhe helde: Which outrages were not only not redreſſed by the frenche king, but being aduertiſed that the Spaniſhe ment not to yelde him *Capitinato*, he conuerted him ſelfe wholly to the warre, and ſending by ſea for the ſtrength of his people, two thouſande *Svvyzzers* hee kepte ſtill enterteyned in his paye the Princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignian*, and other of the principall Barons: Beſides, the kinges perſon came to *Lyon*, to thende in his owne preſence to furniſhe more conueniently the prouiſions neceſſarie for the conqueſt of the whole kingdome, whereunto (the places in queſtion were leſſe then to ſatisfie his ambicion) he aſpired manifeſtly, with intencion to paſſe into *Italy* if neede required: A voyage which he was conſtrained to performe with a ſpeede aboue his exſpectation, to ſuppreſſe the new tumultes hapned in *Tuskane*, to the which *Vitellozzo* gaue beginning with the priuitie and conſent of *I. P. Baillon*, and the *Vrſins*, but ſpecially by the councell and authoritie of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, who all ioyned in one deſire that *Peter de Medicis* might be reeſtabliſhed in theſtate of *Florence*.

The beginning of warres in Naples vnder K. Lowys the twelfth.

Of this begunne the mutinie: *VVilliam Pazzi* Agent for the *Florentyns* in *Aretze*, being aduertiſed that certeine of the Citizens had conſpired with *Vitellozze* to ſtirre the Citie to rebellion againſt the *Florentyns*, beleeued that in ſuche a communaltie of wiſe Citizens, the minde of euery one was not corrupted, nor remembring that to fauour the ſuſpicion, makes the treaſon more daungerous: And occupying with him ſelf this perſuaſion, that the authoritie of the name publike, would ſupplie the want of forces, he omitted to areare a ſufficient ſtrength to oppreſſe the conſpirators and ſuch as had power to reſiſt him, and only apprehended for priſoners, two of the acceſſories or competitors to the treaſon: A dealing too milde in ſo great peril, for that he gaue oportunitie to the reſidue of the cõſpirators, to raiſe the people, by whom (according to the ill affection they bare to the *Florentyns*) the priſoners were eaſely reskued, and the Agent apprehended, together with the reſidue of the officers, ſuffring this daunger more by theyr owne credulitie and negligence, then any prowes or vertue of theyr aduerſaries: The whole Citie forthwith publiſhed the name of libertie, and made manifeſt declaration of rebellion, the Citadell only remeyning in the deuotion of the *Florentyns*, to the which, in the beginning of the tumult, was retyred *Coſma* Biſhop of the ſame place, and ſonne to the Agent, ſeeking his ſafetie where either his feare or fortune wold lead him: After this beginning, the men of *Aretze* ſent ſpeedely to *Vitellozze*, who was not well content that the matter was burſt out affore the tyme he had agreed with the conſpirators, for that it was to intercept him in his pollicie as hauing not yet ſet downe ſufficient direction for the prouiſions he ment to make to reſiſt the bandes of the *Florentyns*, if, (as was verie likely) they made any attempt to enter *Aretze* by the

Aretze rebelleth againſt the Flor. in fauour of Pe. de Medicis.

Cytadell: For feare whereof, and to satisfie with his presence the myndes of the Citizens, hee went from *Citta de Castello* to *Aretze* accompanied with his men at armes and a choice strength of footemen, and leauing order that they should looke diligently to holde those in the Citadell straitly inclosed, to thende that through it there might bee no action against the Citie, he returned eftsoones to *Citta de Castello* promising to come againe with the same speede, but with a greater strength: In all humaine actions, there is nothing which with lesse perill may not temporise and expect, then rebellion, in the oppression whereof there is no greater vertue then expedicion of action: For that by howe much it is suffred, by so much it riseth into degrees of worse nature, euen as a soare that is lingred, breedeth a cure doubtfull: They of *Florence* to whom apperteined to prouyde for this mischiefe, considered not well in the beginning, of what importance it was: For, the principall Citizens, by whose councell the waightie affaires of the Citie had wont to passe, giuing this direction that the regimentes which were incamped before *Vicopisan* (a number so sufficient, that marching with diligence they might haue vanquished all resistance) shoulde be conuerted to *Aretze:* Many others which occupied the greatest romthes and offices, (their knowledge being lesse then their authoritie, and their ignorance slaunderous to the places they occupied) meinteyned that it was a matter but of small moment, and that they might redresse it with the forces of their other subiectes, neighbours to the same Citie: Their ignorance made them suspect the soundnes of the other councell, and according to their wilful credulitie, they beleeued that those good Citizens, bearing mindes estraunged from the present gouernment, made the daunger farre greater then it was, for a desyre they had to hinder the action of *Vicopisan,* and by that meane to take away the oportunitie to recouer *Pisa*: By which variacion and wandryng in councell, they deferred so long to sende strength thether, that *Vitellozze* takyng courage of theyr delayes, returned to *Aretze* with an increase of forces, drawyng thether after him with other bandes *I. P. Baillon*, and *Fabio* the sonne of *P. Vrsin*, *Peter de Medicis* and the Cardinall: Who hauing receyued municions from *Sienna*, they beganne to batter the Citadell, wherein, (accordyng to the custome of many which are more carefull to erect newe fortifications, then diligent to preserue the fortes alreadie builded) was no lesse want of vittelles, then of all other prouisions necessarie to defence: And to adde the laste discomforte to men in extremitie, they inuironned it so straitly with trenches and mountes on the out syde to giue impediment to the succours that might enter, that they made them naked of all comforte other then suche as men in miserie may hope for: And therefore, waighing with theyr wantes within the Castle, the weakenes of the *Florentyns* to minister sufficient succours, and in due season, (being come but to *Quarate*, and durst not passe further) they rendred by necessitie that which they could not holde by their vertue, making only this agreement, that the residue remeining in libertie, the Bishop with eight others which they of *Aretze* would chuse, shold abyde prisoners, to exchaunge them for some of theyr Citizens which were prisoners at *Florence*: The commons of *Aretze* dismantled the Citadell, and the armie of the *Florentyns*, fearing leaste *Vitellozze* and *Iohn Pavvle*, who were farre stronger then they, woulde charge them, retyred to *Monteuarcho*, leauyng to the discression of thennemyes, all the places thereabout: It was beleeued that this enterpryse was made without the priuitie or knowledge of the Pope and Duke *Valentynois*, in whom was no contentment that *Peter de Medicis*

dicis shoulde returne to *Florence*, for that hee was straitly allyed with *Vitellozze* and the *Vrsins*, whom they had secretly determined to oppresse: And yet hauing alwayes giuen them hope of the contrary, they consented that *Vitellozze*, *Iohn Pavvlo*, and *Fabio*, Mercinorie in theyr paye, should prosecute thenterpryse: Yea they did not dissemble that they were very glad of the rebellion of *Aretze*, hoping, that by those displeasures done to the *Florentyns*, it might happen, that eyther they might get some parte of their dominion, or at least constrayne them, for their profite, to some harde condicion: But the *Florentyns* not beleeuing but that they were the authours of the whole mischiefe, were so muche the more terryfied, and therefore reapposing little in the remedyes which of them selues they were hable to applie, for that, by the ill disposicion of the Citie, they had in theyr paye but a verie small proporcion of men at armes, and not hable to refurnyshe theyr power so soone as the necessitie of theyr daunger requyred: They had speedie recourse to the frenche King: Laying affore him not only that which they coulde challenge by his honour, bynding him selfe so lately to their defence, but also the apparant daunger to the Duchie of *Myllan*, if the Pope and Duke *Valentynois* (against whom was no little suspicion to bee the kyndlers of this commocion) became Lordes ouer *Tuskane*: They debated with him by lyuely reasons, that the Pope and the Duke were mightie in armes, hauing an armie compownded vppon excellent Capteynes and Souldiours of choyce, and that by the declaracions they made, neyther *Romania* nor *Tuskane* woulde suffice theyr infinite ambicion, aspiryng to matters more ample and immoderate: And lastly seeing they had offended the honour of the king, by inuadyng suche as were in his protection, necessetie nowe constrayned them, to thynke no lesse vppon theyr owne suertie, then to take from him the meane to bee reuenged of so great an iniurie.

The Florentyns haue recourse to the french king.

These reasons moued not a litle the Kyng, who had alreadie begunne to mislyke with the insolencie and ambicion of the Pope and his sonne: And consideryng that the warre was begunne in the kyngdome of *Naples* betweene hym and the Spanishe, and the negociacion of accorde with *Maxymilian* broken, and lastly that hee was not (for many reasons) to trust the *Venetians*, he began to doubt leaste the inuasion of *Tuskane* (supported by some secrete councell of others) turned not to his great disaduauntage: In which opinion hee was confirmed greatly by certeyne aduertisementes from *Charles D'amboyse* the Cardinalles Nephew, and Lieftenaunt to the King in all the Duchie of *Myllan*, who suspecting suche innouacions, perswaded the King to prouyde carefully for his proper daunger: And therefore with a councell resolued and direction equall to the importunitie of the buisines, determining to make marche into *Italy* with all speede his armie, and to succour readily the *Florentyns*, hee gaue charge in the meane while to the saide Lorde *Charles*, to sende foorthwith to theyr reskewes, foure hundred Launces, and dispatched an Heralde in poste to commaunde not only *Vitellozze*, *Iohn Pavvle*, *Pandolphe*, and the *Vrsins*, but also the Duke *Valentynois*, to forbeare to offende any more the *Florentyns*, wherein him selfe made great instance to the Popes Embassadour, and threatned with very sharpe words *Iulian de Medicis*, and the Agentes of *Pandolfe* and *Vitellozze* which were in his Court.

But in this tyme, the Duke *Valentynous*, who since the accident of *Aretze*, was come out of *Rome* with his armie, makyng semblance to take *Cameryn*,

Duke Valentinois takes the Duchie of Vrbyn.

whether he had sent before the Duke of *Grauino* & *Liuerot de Feruie* with part of his bandes, to make spoile and hold it beseeged, but in true meaning to surprise vnder that semblance, the Duchie of *Vrbyn:* After he had resembled his armie vppon the confines of *Perousa*, he demaunded of *Guidobaldo* Duke of *Vrbyn*, money and artillerie: Which was easily agreed to him, for that it was neither for his suertie to refuse a Prince who had his strength so neare, and also hauing a litle before compounded with the Pope touching the controuersie of a tribute, he had no occasion to feare: The Duke *Valentynois*, hauing by this meane made the other lesse sufficient for his owne defence, departing so deinly from *Nocero*, & marching with a diligence so well disposed as he would giue his men no leasure to reappose or bayte, he arryued the same day at *Cagly* a towne of the Duchie: The sodeinnes of whose comming, and against a people vnprouided, brought such a generall amaze, that the Duke & *Fraucis Maria Rouvero* prefect of *Rome* his Nephew, had skarce leasure to finde safetie in
" fleeing, Suche a passion is sodeine feare, that it makes men runne, not whether coun-
" cell directes them, but whether their fortune will leade them, not suffring them to
" consider of their perill, but makes them oftentimes to throw away their weapons
" and refuse the thing that should be their safegarde: But the Duke *Valentynois*, putting diligence to the disposicion of his fortune, obteined in very few houres, a victorie of all that state, except the rocke of *S. Leon*, and *Manuiola*, to the great displeasure and feare of *Pandolfe*, *Vitellozze*, and the *Vrsins*, who nowe began to discerne theyr proper perils, by the harmes of an other.

After the conquest of the Duchie of *Vrbyn*, the Duke *Valentynois*, who iudged all aduētures inferior to his fortune, was raised into diuers thoughts: Somtymes he determined to make an end of the enterprise of *Camerin*, and sometimes he resolued to inuade openly the *Florentyns*, In which councell he had stand setled, if the commaūdement he receiued from the french king, had not brideled his ambicion, hauing assured knowledge, that notwithstanding the Popes trauell to alter him, his maiestie had sent men at armes in fauor of the *Florentyns*, & was resolutely determined to defende them, and in that inclinacion he prepared to passe in person into *Italy:* These doubtes drawing diuers reasons, with no lesse variacion touching the end of things, so incombred his thoughtes, that he staied within *Vrbyn* to consider what he had to doe, and what would be the succesſe of things: During which time the Pope and he solicited many matters with the *Florentyns*, hoping to bring them somewhat to condiscend to their desires: And on the other side, he suffred many of his soldiors to go continually to the Camp of *Vitellozze:* Who hauing assembled an armie of eight hundred horsmen and three thousande footmen, and for the better reputacion of his doinges, calling his armie the Camp eccleſiasticall: Had, since the rendring of the Citadell of *Aretze*, occupied *Mount S. Souyn*, *Chastillon D'aretze*, and the Citie of *Cortono* with all the other townes and borowes of *Valdichiano:* Of the which not one of them taried an assalt, both for that they sawe the succours of the *Florentyns* not in readines, and also, the tyme seruing then to gather the fruites, it stood not with their habilities to lose the profit of their reuenues, alleaging that in that respect they were not rebels to the *Florentyns*, seeing *Peter de Medicis* was in the armie, for whose restoring it was saide that enterprise was made: And it is not to be doubted, that if *Vitellozze*, after the taking of *Cortono*, had sodeinly entred the countrey *Casentyn*, that it had not bene in his power to haue marched euen to the walles of *Florence*, both for that the french bandes were not yet come, and also the most parte of the *Florentyne* footemen were dispersed, for that almost the townes being lost, the occasion of seruice

uice ceaſſed, and they were returned to their houſes: But as it hapneth oftentymes that very ſmall impediments hinder thexecution of many high enterpriſes, ſo the deſire he had to winne for him ſelfe the borow of S. Sepulcher (a place neare to *Citta de Caſtello*) hindred the better councell, notwithſtanding (to couer his couetouſnes) he alleaged that it was not ſure to leaue behinde his backe any place that was enemie: Therefore he turned towardes *Anguiaro*, which place, albeit it only had this conſtancie to abide till the artilleries were planted, being too weake to reſiſt ſo ſtrōg an enemie, yelded to diſcreſſion without excepting any thing: From thence he marched to the borow S. Sepulcher, which he tooke by accord, hauing no better habilitie of reſiſtance then the reſt, and ſo drawing towardes *Caſentyn*, and aryuing at the village of *Raſsina*, he ſent to ſummon the towne of *Poppy*, of ſtrong ſcituacion, but wherein were very fewe ſouldiours: But the reputacion of the french armes ſupplied their weaknes & want of forces, for that two hundred Launces arryued alreadie neare *Florence* vnder Captein *Imbault*, & not daring for lack of footmē, to affrōt the enemie, were marched to *S. John D'arno*, with intenciō to reaſſemble in that place all the bands: Which being knowne to *Vitellozze*, & fearing leaſt his abſēce wold be incōueniēt for thē of *Aretze*, he retired with diligēce frō *Lauernia* within two miles of *Quaratta*, & from thēce drawing on to declare that he feared not the enemie, & to aſſure *Rhōdina* with other places therabouts, he incamped in a ſtrōg place on that ſide to *Rhondina* hauing left certeine bandes of footmen for the guard of *Ciuitellà* & *Gargonſe* which were the portes or gates by the which the *Florentyn* bandes might enter into the countrey: Theſe companies (being alſo aryued two hundred Launces more vnder Capteine *La Hire*) aſſembled betweene *Monteuarche* and *Laterina*, with intencion that aſſoone as they had gathered a ſtrength of three hundred footmen, to goe incamp neare *Vitellozze* vppon ſome high hil: A reſolucion againſt his ſuertie, and therefore neither hable to keepe that place, nor leauy his Camp without great daunger, he retired neare to the walles of *Aretze*: But the frenche taking the fielde with their whole army, and incamping right ouer againſt *Quaratta*, he was driuen to retire within *Aratzo*: Where albeit he had ſayde to many, that he would performe a notable defence in the ſame Citie, yet, new accidents hapning, he was conſtrained to turne to new thoughtes: For, *Iohn Pavvle Baillon* was come to *Perouſe* with his regiment, fearing by that that was done to the Duke of *vrbyn*, leaſt he ſhould fall into daunger of the lyke oppreſſion: By reaſon of which examples, and no leſſe for that which hapned in *Camaryn*, *Vitellozze*, *Pandolfe*, *Petrucci*, and the *Vrſins*, fell into great confuſion of mynde: For, in the very tyme that the Duke *Valentynois* commoned of accord with *Iules de Varana* Lorde of *Cameryn*, he ſurpriſed the Citie by ſuttle meanes, and hauing *Iules* in his power with two of his ſonnes, he cauſed them to be ſtrangled with the ſame inhumanitie which he vſed againſt others: But that which moſt amazed *Vitellozze*, was, that the french king, already come to *Aſt*, ſent *Lovvys Trymouille* into *Tuskan* with two hundred Launces, and great ſtrength of artilleries: Who marching to *Parma*, exſpected there three thouſand *Svvyſſers*, which the king ſent for the recouery of *Aretze*, at the charges of the *Florentyns*: The King being greatly kindled againſt the Pope, had an intencion to deſpoile the Duke *Valentynois* of *Romania* with other eſtates occupied by him, and for that effect, had ſent for all thoſe that either feared his power, or had bene offended by him, whom he aſſured that he would execute that intencion in perſon, and proteſted publikely with great affection, that it was an enterpriſe no leſſe full of pietie and deuocion then if the action were dreſſed againſt the *Turkes*: He laide alſo his plot at that tyme to chaſe out

of *Sienna Pandolfe Petrucci*, for that he had ſent money to *Lodovvyk Sforce* when he returned to *Myllan*, and alwayes had made open profeſſion to be imperiall: But the Pope and Duke *Valentynois* knowing that they were not hable to reſiſt ſo great a ſtorme and rage of anger of the french king, had recourſe to their ſuttleties and wel experienced craftes, with the which they forged excuſes, that the actions agaynſt *Aretze* were done by *Vitellozze* without their knowledge, and that there authoritie ſufficed not to reſtraine him, and much leſſe to keepe from ayding him, the *Vrſins*, and *I. P. Baillon*, who albeit were in his paie, yet they were ouerruled with the regard to their proper intereſts: And the better to bring the minde of the king to moderation, Duke *Valentynois* ſent to tell *Vitellozze* that if he reſtored not *Aretze* and the other places of the *Florentyns*, he would come with his whole armie, and compel him to render that, which he had vniuſtly gotten: Which ſommonce ioyned to the cõſideratiõ of the preſent eſtate of the affaires, bred no litle aſtoniſhment in the minde of *Vitellozze*, fearing leaſt (as hapneth for the moſt part) that the ſtrongeſt being reconciled, the indignation of the king would turne againſt him, which was the weaker in ſtrength, and farre inferior in all other meanes: And therefore to auoyde his perill ſo apparant, he called into *Aretze* the Capteine *Imbault*, (contrary notwithſtanding to the willes of the *Florentyns*, who deſired that the townes loſt might be redeliuered freely in the fielde) who compoũded that *Vitellozze* departing immediatly with al his cõpanies, ſhold cõſigne *Aretze* with al the other places to the frẽch Capteins to hold them in the kings name, vntil the Cardinal *Vrſin*, who went to the king, had ſpokẽ with his maieſtie: And that in the mean while, there ſhould not enter into *Aretze* other companies thẽ of the frẽch Captains with fortie horſmen: For whoſe ſuertie, and no leſſe for obſeruacion of tharticles promiſed, he ſhold giue two of his Nephewes in Oſtage to Capteine *Imbault*: Aſſoone as the accord was paſſed, hee went with all his companies and artillerie from *Aretze*, leauing to the frenche men, the whole poſſeſſion of all the other places, which forthwith were deliuered ouer to the *Florentyns* by the kings commiſſion: Whileſt the Parley of thaccord continued, Capteine *Imbault* anſwered in skorne to the complaints, which the *Florentyns* made, that he could not diſcerne wherein conſiſted that great celebracion of ſpirite and wiſedome in the *Florentyns*, ſeeing they knew not, that the ſooner to aſſure the victorie without difficultie and exſpences, and to auoide perill of other diſorders, how to deſire that *Aretze* might fall into the handes of the king, who was not bounde to beare regarde (but in ſorte as he thought good) to the promiſes made by his Capteines to *Vitellozze*: But the *Florentyns* more by their fortune then their vertue, being deliuered with great facilitie, but not without huge exſpences, of ſo terrible and vnlooked for aſſalt, began to looke to the reordeining and redreſſing of the pollicie of their common weale, by the confuſion and diſorders of which, experience had made them finde out, yea euen to theſtate of the communaltie, that they were falne into ſo great and ſundrie daungers, for that by the often chaunge of maieſtrates, and for the name of a fewe that were ſuſpected to the people, there was not one whether he were publike or a priuate perſon, in whom reſted a perpetuall care of thaffaires: But for that tyrannie was abhorred almoſt of the whole Citie, and the authoritie of perſonages moſt honeſt was ſuſpected of the multitude, and for that by the precedent of tymes paſt, they helde it not poſſible to ordeine with common deliberacion, a perfect forme of gouernment, the ignorant ſort and incapable being not hable to be conuinced with reaſons only: It was determined to introduce for the tyme, this only new thing, that the *Gonfalonnier* of Iuſtice chiefe of the dominion, and whoſe creation

Diſorder in Florence touching the gouernment.

creation (together with it) was for the time of two monethes, shoulde bee chosen hereafter for his whole lyfe: So might he keepe a continuall studie ouer the affaires publike, that through negligence they might not fall eftsoones into so great daungers: It was hoped that, with thauthoritie which the qualitie of his person woulde giue him, and for that he was to remeine perpetually in so great dignitie, he should winne suche opinion of faith and credite with the people, that with tyme he might easely reestablish the other partes of the gouernment, and withall, placing Citizens of greatest condicion in some degrees honorable, he might constitute a meane betweene him selfe and the communaltie, by the which the ignorance and libertie popular being tempered, and all suche bridled as should succeede him in the same dignitie if they would aspire or rise to high, he might leaue established a wise and honorable gouernment with many good circumstances to contein the Citie in peace: After this deliberation was well debated and resolued, there was chosen for *Gonfallonnier*, by the great councell with a concourse & consent of almost all the Citizens, *Peter Soderin*, a man for his age verie ripe in councell and experience, for his countenance, of verie great wealth and furnishments for his house, noble aboue most of the residue of Citizens, for his credite, mightie in opinion and affection with the people, and bearing a reputacion of integretie, continencie, and to haue alwayes norished great cares of the publike buisines: Lastly, he was without children, a point not of the least consideration, for that they might breede occasions to lift vp his thoughtes to ambicious purposes.

Peter Soderin chosen chiefe maiestrat during his lyfe.

But to returne now to thaffaires common and generall: Assoone as the frenche king was come to *Ast*, all the Princes and free Cities of *Italy*, according to their custome runne to him: Some in person, and some by Embassadors: Amongest whom was *Baptistin Vrsin* Cardinall who went thether against the Popes will, to iustefie his brethren and *Vitellozze* touching the action of *Aretze*, and withall to stirre vp the king against the Pope and Duke *Valentynois*, against whom, by the consideration of the vehemencie showed affore by the king, all *Italy* expected with great desire, that the french forces might be opposed: But experience declareth this to be true, that „ that which many desire, succeedeth rarely, for that theffectes of humaine actions „ depending ordinarily of fewe, and thintencions and endes of them differing from „ the meaninges and endes of many, hardly can thinges succeede otherwayes then „ according to thintencion of those that giue their first mocion: Euen so it hapned in „ this case, for that interests and endes perticular induced the king to make deliberations contrarie to the desire vniuersall: Wherin the thing that moued the king, was not so much the diligence of the Pope, who ceassed not by the negociation of men speciall, to labour to appaise him, as the suttle councell of the Cardinal *Amboyse*, norishing a perpetuall desire to enter amitie betweene the Pope and the king, induced perhaps thereunto, (besides the weale and vtilitie of his king) for his owne profite and purpose perticular: Both for that the Pope recontinued his legation ouer the realme of *Fraunce* for eightiene monethes, and also studying carefully to laye foundacions to raise him to the Popedome, he sought to be hable to obteine of him, the promocion of his parents and dependences whilest he was in the Cardinallshyp, and withall he iudged that to haue the name and reputacion to be a louer and protector of thestate ecclesiastike, was a thing that might doe much to serue to his intencion: Touching these deuises, the conditions of the tyme present were very cõuenient to draw the king to fauour his councels, for that as he was in suspicion with Themperour, who could not be appeased, so hauing of newe sent to *Trente* many

The french king in Ast.

bandes of horſmen with a certeine proporcion of footmen, he made alſo great offers to the Pope to aide him to paſſe into *Italy* to take the Crowne imperiall.

Amyd theſe doubtes, euery enterpriſe of Themprour fell into more great conſideration, for that the king knew that it ſtoode not with the liking of the *Venetians* that the Duchie of *Myllan* & realme of *Naples*, ſhould be ornaments of his Crowne: To theſe was added the controuerſie which he had with the foure Kantons *Svvyſſers*, who required him to giue vp to them the rightes he had to *Bellynzone*, and with all to redeliuer to their poſſeſſion the *Vale Voltolino*, *Schafonſe*, with other things immoderate, threatning him that his deniall to theſe demaundes would driue them to enter confederation with *Maxymilian*: Difficulties which ſeemed to the king ſo much the more great and deſperate, by howe much he was out of all hope at that tyme to accord with the king of *Spaine*: For, albeit the french king had made mocions to haue *Federyk* reſtored to the kingdome of *Naples*, for which occaſion he offred to bring him with him into *Italy*, and that the negociation ſtill continued to eſtabliſhe a truce for a tyme, euery one reteining that he poſſeſſed: Yet both in the one and other practiſe, there concurred ſo many obiections and impediments that the french king with malencolly moodes & miſcontentmēts tooke occaſion to diſmiſſe from his Court the Spaniſh Embaſſadors: The Pope ioyning him ſelf to theſe occaſions, and no leſſe he then the Duke *Valentynois* watching the aduauntages of tymes and accidents, had ſent eftſoones to his maieſtie, one *Troccio* Chamberleyne to the Pope and of his ſecret credence, promiſing to ayde him with all their power in the warre of *Naples*: In which reſpectes, he determined to recontinue in the amitie of the Pope: And therefore vppon the returne of *Troccio* to *Rome*, the Duke *Valentynois*, following the anſwere he brought, went ſecretly in poſte to finde the king arryued then at *Myllan*, of whom, contrary to the common exſpectation, and no leſſe to the diſpleaſure of euery one in perticular, he was welcommed with honors and demonſtrations farre greater then was the kinges cuſtome: The king vppon reconcilement with the Duke, holding it now no more neceſſarie to keepe his armie in *Tuskane*, ſent a countermaund to haue them come into *Lombardy*, hauing affore receiued into his protection the *Siennois*, & *Pandolfe Petrucci* with condition to paie him fortie thouſande Duckats at dayes limited: After theſe chaunges and contracts of amities, the ſtirres of *Maxymilian* began to growe colde and diſſolue, inſomuch as the kings thoughtes had now no other exerciſe, then to deuiſe vppon the things of *Naples*, which, if till then ſeemed to haue ſucceeded happely to him, he noriſhed for tyme to come hopes of greater proſperitie: For, he was no ſooner comen into *Italy*, then he diſpatched thether by ſea two thouſand *Svvyſſers*, and more then two thouſande *Gaſcoins* who, ioyning to the ſtrength of the *Viceroy* (occupying alreadie all *Capitinat* except *Manfredonia* and *S. Ange*) encamped before *Canoſa* which *Peter* of *Nauarre* kept with ſix hundred Spaniardes: Who, after he had made a valiant reſiſtance for many dayes, and receiuing direction from *Conſaluo* not to abide thextremitie of daungers for feare to loſe ſo many well trained and reſolute bodies, rendred the towne to the french, their goods & liues ſaued: By reaſon of this accident, and the Spanyardes holding now no more place neither in *Povvylla*, *Calabria*, nor *Capitinat*, except, beſides the peeces affore named, *Barletta*, *Andria*, *Galipoli*, *Tarente*, *Coſenze*, *Quierace*, *Seminare*, and a fewe others by the ſea, and being farre inferior in ſtrength and numbers: *Conſaluo* retired with tharmie to *Barletto*, without money, with skarcetie of vittels, and with no leſſe want of munitions (aduerſities intollerable to an armie) But touching the laſt want, he was ſomewhat recomforted by a ſecret

Duke Valentynois with the french king.

Conſaluo retireth to Barletto.

cret cõsent of the *Venetians*, who did not restraine him to buy at *Venice* a great quantitie of saltpeter: The french king, making this suffrance an occasion of complaint against the Senat, was answered, that it was an action without their knowledge done only by certeine marchauntes perticular and that at *Venice*, which is a Citie free, it was neuer defended to any to exercise their negociation and traffyke for marchandise. When *Canosa* was takẽ, the french Capteins (debating the present difficulties, but chiefly that for want of water the whole armie could not continue incamped about *Barlette*, an opinion meinteined against the councelles and protestations of *Monsr D'aubigny*) determined that one parte of their people, which they sayde were in number a thousande and two hundred Launces, and ten thousande footemen of all natures, should remeine still to continue a forme of a seege about the confines of *Barlette*, and the other part should be emploied to recouer the residue of the realme: A deliberation, (in the coniectures of wise men) which ioyned to the ordinary negligence of the frenche nation, brought great hurt to their enterprise: The Viceroy immediatly vppon this resolution, made him selfe Lorde of all *Povvylla*, except *Tarenta*, *Otrante*, and *Galipoly*: After which succesfe he returned to the seege of *Barlette*: *Monsr D'aubigny* at the same tyme (communicating in the fortune of the others) entring into *Calabria* with the other parte of tharmie, sacked the Citie of *Cosenze*, the Rocke remeining still in the power of the Spanishe, Who, being all drawne into one strength that were in that prouince, and ioyning the other bandes that were comen from *Cicilia*, were afterwardes broken by *M. D'aubigny* in one encounter: These prosperities, being all hapned, or vppon the point to succeede whilest the french king was in *Italy*, made him not only negligent in the continuation of necessarie prouicions, (by the benefite whereof he might easely haue chased the enemies out of the whole kingdome) but also brought him into this opinion of securitie, that he had no doubt to returne into *Fraunce*, and that so much the more, by howe much he hoped to obteine (which hope was not in vaine) a long prorogation of truce with the king of *Romains*.

Duke Valentinois in grace with the frẽch king againe.

But at his departure out of *Italy*, men beganne to discerne to their great maruell, what had bene treated vppon with the Duke *Valentynois* whom (accepting his iustification touching the action of *Aretze*) he had not only receiued againe into grace, but also in recompense of the othe and promise made by the Pope and him, to ayde his maiestie in the warre of *Naples* when need should be: He had for his part, giuen them promise to support the Duke with three hundred Launces to conquer *Bollonia* in the name of the Church, and to oppresse *Iohn Pavvle Baillon* and *Vitellozze*: Hee was drawne to beare suche immoderate fauours to the greatnes of the Pope, either for the ill aduised opinion he had to make him his whole and true friend by so great benefites, which woulde bee a meane that not one durst offer to attempt any thing against him in *Italy*: Or els for that he did not so much assure him selfe of his friendship, as he feared his ill will: To these respects were adioyned, the perticular disdaine which he bare against *Iohn Pavvle*, *Vitellozze*, and the *Vrsins*, for that they made no reckoning of thauthoritie of his commaundements to forbeare to offende the *Florentyns*: And *Vitellozze* in perticular, had refused to restore the artilleries he tooke at *Aretze*, and also to come to the kinges presence, hauing obteined safeconduit for his safetie: Besides all these, the king helde it a thing not vnprofitable to the course of his affaires, to hold Thitalian Capteins oppressed, beginning to feare least they and the *Vrsins* (In mercenorie souldiours constancie is the least vertue) might in the ende embrase the faction of the Spanishe king, and enter into his pale: The

Duke *Valentynois*, hauing leaue of the king, returned with no litle contentment into *Romania*, notwithstanding the king affore had giuen hopes to such as feared his ambition, that for the common suertie, he would take him with him into *Fraunce*: His returning touched not only the mindes of those against whom were kindled his former indignations, but also it disordered the cogitations of many others, for that the same feare occupied *Pandolfe Petrucci* and the *Vrsins*, who were conioyned almost in one selfe cause with *Vitellozze* and *Iohn Pavvle Baillon*: The Duke of *Ferrara*, by how much more he helde for suspected his infidelitie and thambition of his father, by so much lesse made he reckoning of any assurance in regarde of parentage or other cause conducible: And touching the *Florentyns*, notwithstanding they had recouered their places by the kings fauour, yet they had no lesse feare then the others (being ill prouided of men at armes) for that the king, reapposing not wholly in the Marquis of *Mantua*, for thintelligences he had with Themprour, at such tyme as he had feare of his armes, and albeit at *Myllan* he receiued him to reconcilement and grace, yet would he neuer consent that they should enterteine him as their Captein generall: Knowing with all by many signes, that the Pope and Duke *Valentynois* continued in the same will and inclination which they had against them, and specially, for that (to keepe them in perpetuall suspition) they reassembled and gathered together all the exiles of *Aretze* and the other townes: And as feare bringes into the cogitation of the minde all thinges that may either be doubted or suspected, so it increased so muche the more in these seuerall estates and men, by howe muche they considered how mightie were such enemies, in armes, in money, and in authoritie, how much in all actions they had bene supported by the fauors of fortune, and lastly, that notwithstanding the glorie, riches, and greatnes they had gotten by theyr victories, yet their ambition was neuer the more satisfied, but their desires the lesse moderate, according to the propertie of a fire, whose rage becomes more infinit by the encrease of matter wherwith it is norished and fedde: Besides, it was feared least they abusing the respect the king bare them, would rise into boldnes to attempt all thinges euen against his will, wherein both the father and the sonne, forgot not to publishe with open mouth, that it repented them too much of the great regard and doubt they had vsed touching the action of *Aretze*, being assured that the king, according to the french nature, and by the many fauours and meanes they had in his court, would yelde tolleration to the things they should doe, notwithstanding they were to his disliking: And to those that were occupied with these feares, this was one increase of calamitie, that they were not assured vnder the warrãtie of the kings protection, for that of verie late and freshe memorie, notwithstanding his word and promise of a Prince, he had suffred the Lorde *Plombyn* to be dispoiled, and muche lesse tooke to reuẽge the outrage that was don to the Duke of *Vrbyn*, whõ he had taken into his defence, with fiftie men at armes which he deliuered to his armie for his seruice in the warres against *Naples*: But thexample of *Iohn Bentyuolle*, beyng much more present, was so much more agreeable to their terrors and feares: For, notwithstanding his maiestie in the yeares before, had commaũded *Valentynois* not to molest those of *Bollonnia*, alleaging that the bondes and couenants which he had with the Pope, were not to be vnderstanded but touching the preeminence & authoritie which the Church had there at that time that the confederation was made betweene them: Yet in that verie season, *Bentyuolle* hauing recourse to his maiestie for succours, fearing the great preparations that were made against him, the king chaunged thinterpretatiõ of the words, according to the diuersitie of his endes and inten-

intentions, and making gloſes vppon the capitulations paſt rather lyke a Lawyer, then as a king: He aunſwered that the protection by the which he was bound to defende him, hindred not the Popes enterpriſe, but touching his perſon & goods perticular: For that notwithſtanding the wordes were general, yet they were expreſſed with this relation, not to preiudice the rightes of the Churche, to the which it could not bee denied that the Citie of *Bollonia* did not apperteyne: And for that alſo, in the confederation hee had made with the Pope, which was the firſt which he contracted in *Italy*, hee was bounde that what couenantes ſo euer hee ſhould make with others, they ſhould be without conſtruction of preiudice to the rightes of the Church: He was ſo impudent in this deliberation, ſeduced only by the Cardinall *Amboyſe*, contrary to all the reſidue of his councell, that hee ſent an expreſſe meſſenger to ſignifie at *Bollonia* that that Citie apperteyning to the Church he could not nor would not deſiſt from fauouring thenterpryſe of the Pope: And that in vertue of his protection, it ſhould be ſuffred to the *Bentyuolles* to remeyne at *Bollonia* as perſonnes priuate, enioying their perticular goods in libertie and peace.

Suche licence is taken by Princes oftentymes to diſpenſe with theyr promyſes, expreſſing ſuertie in theyr wordes, and keeping theyr intentions diſſembled: An order muche derogating the reputation and maieſtie of a Prince, whoſe honour and conſcience are ſo muche the more guiltie and burdened, by how much their protections are but baytes to bryng priuate men into peril, and vnder a diſguiſed aſſuraunce of theyr faythe, to betraie thinnocencie of their friendes and ſubiectes euen to the extreame daunger of their life: But this full proſperitie of *Valentynois*, was not only ſuſpected to thoſe men, but euen the *Venetians* began to enter into iealouſie ouer his ambition, ioyning to theyr indignitie this occaſion, that not many monethes affore, hee had rauiſhed the wyfe of *Iohn Baptiſta Caracciolle* the Generall of theyr footemen, as ſhee paſſed thorowe *Romania* to ſeeke her husbande: Therefore, to induce occaſion to the Kyng to proceede more moderately in his fauour, ſhowing that the reſpect that ledde them, was the amitie they bare him, and the iealouſie of his honour, they put him in remembraunce by theyr Embaſſadours with wordes worthie of the grauitie of ſuche a common weale: That hee ought to conſider howe deepely hee was charged to fauour ſo greatly *Valentynois*, and howe ill it became the noblenes of the houſe of *Fraunce* and the glorious title of Chriſtian King, to ſupport ſuche a tyrant, ſeeking the ruyne of peoples and prouinces, and thirſting ſo ſtrongly after mans bloud, that he ſtood to all the worlde an example of moſt horrible crueltie and infidelitie, vnder whoſe faith as by a publyke theefe, had bene ſlaughtered ſo many Lordes and Gentlemen: And not abſteyning from the bloud of his brethren and neareſt kynred, ſometymes by the ſworde, and ſometymes with poiſon, he had ſtretched forth his crueltie euen ouer ſuch ages & qualities of perſons, as would haue moued the moſt barbarous hartes of the Turkes to conſcience & compaſſion: To which words (thinterceſſion of the *Venetians* making him perhappes more firme in his opinion) the king aunſwered that he neither wold nor could reſtraine the Pope to diſpoſe according to his wil, of the places that apperteined to the church: In ſo much as where others abſteined in his regarde, to oppoſe againſt the armes of the Duke *Valentynois*, ſuch as were neareſt the daunger determined to prouide for them ſelues: Therefore the *Vrſins*, *Vitellozze*, *Iohn Pavvle Baillon*, & *Lyuerot de Ferme*, who albeit as ſoldiours of the Duke, had newly receiued money of him, yet they retired ſeuerally their cõpanies into places of ſuertie, with intẽtiõ to knit together for a cõmõ defẽce: To which

deuise gaue a speedie furtherance, the losse of the Castle *S. Leo*, which reuerted into the power of the Duke of *Vrbyn* by the meane of a peasant hauing the gard of a certeyne wall: After which beginning, their naturall Duke being called home by all the voyces and peoples of that estate, he recouered with a swyft fortune all the Duchie except the fortresses: And to confederate more strongly against *Valentynois*, the Cardinall *Vrsin*, *Pavvle Vrsin*, *Vitellozze*, *Iohn Pavvle Baillon*, *Lyuerot de Ferme*, *Hermes* the sonne of *Iohn Bentyuolle*, and in the name of the *Siennois*, *Anthonie de Venafre*, in whom *Pand. Petrucci* reappосed muche, drewe together and made an assemblie in the countrey of *Perousa*, where, after they had discoursed of their generall daungers, and considered what oportunitie they had by the rebellion of the state of *Vrbyn*, and lastly, the weakenes of *Valentynois* (whom they had nowe abandoned) by his want of men: They made a confederation for their common defence, agaynst *Valentynoys*, and for the succours of the Duke of *Vrbyn*, binding them selues one to an other to put into the fielde seuen hundred men at armes and nine thousande footemen, with couenaunt that *Bentyuolle* should make warre in the territorie of *Ymola*, and the others with a greater strength shoulde drawe towardes *Ryminy* and towardes *Pesero*: In this league the confederates, hauyng great care, not to incense the mynde of the Frenche Kyng, and yet hopyng that it woulde not muche displease him that *Valentynois* were vexed by the armes of others, they declared vnder an expresse article, that they both ment and woulde bee bounde to ryse readely in theyr proper persоnnes and with theyr ioynt forces, to obey any commaundement or requeste of his against all men: And for that occasion, they did not admit into that vnion, the famuly of the *Colonnoys*, notwithstandyng they were great enemyes of the Pope, who had alwayes tormented them: Besydes all these, they sought to haue the fauour of the *Venetians* and *Florentyns*, offring to *Florence* to procure restitution of *Pisa*, which they sayde was in the habilitie and deuotion of *Pand. Petrucci*, for thauthoritie he had with thinhabitants: But the *Venetians* remeyned in suspence, as awaiting what would bee first, thinclination of the Frenche Kyng: Which also the *Florentyns* did, both for the same occasion, and also holding both the one and other partie as enemie, they feared the victorie of either of them: This accident vnlooked for hapned to the Duke of *Valentynois* in a tyme, wherein he being vppon the point to vsurpe the estates of others, he thought nothing lesse then that others would make inuasions vppon him: But yeldyng nothing to the greatnes of his perill, hee lost neyther courage nor councell, and reaposing muche for him selfe in his good fortune, he looked with great industrie and wisedome into the remedies that were conuenient, as the good Phisition that once synding out the humour that offendes, doeth easely apply the medecyne that may cure: And for that hee sawe him selfe almost altogether disarmed, he sent to solicit succours of the Frenche King, declaring to him how much it imported him in all aduentures, to serue his turne rather of the Pope and him, then of his enemyes, and howe fraile was the confidence of *Vitellozze* and *Pandolfe*, who, besydes they were the chiefest councellours and inducers of the residue, had in tymes past, giuen many demonstrations of an ill mynde to his maiestie, as in ministring ayde to the Duke of *Myllan*, and interteyning intelligences with the King of *Romains*: And as he negociated in this sort with the King, so he forgat not also to make leauyes of newe companies, & to ioyne with his father in the practise of their old sutleties & ambushmēts: For the Pope for his part, somtimes excusing

The Duke of Vrbyn recouereth his estate.

Confederation against Valentynois.

Duke Valentynois demaūdeth succours of the french King.

excusing things that were too apparant,and sometymes denying such as might bee doubted,laboured with great studie,to appease the mynde of Cardinall *Vrsin* by the trauel of his brother *Iulius:* And the Duke *Valentynois* with disguised apparances and faire promises, sought to interteine and ioyntly and seuerally assure them, aswell to holde them negligent in making their prouisions, as in hope that those councelles and practises separate, would in the ende breed betweene them some suspition and disagreement, keeping alwayes this resolution, that muche lesse that he would departe from *Ymola*, affore hee were furnished with a mightie armie, seeing (of the contrarie) he was resolued to keepe it and the other places of *Romagnia*, without giuing succours to the Duchie of *Vrbyn:* In which determination he gaue direction to *Dom Hugues de Cardona*, & *Dom Michell*, (who were for him in those quarters with a hundred men at armes, two hundred light horsemen, and fyue hundred footemen) to retyre to *Riminy*,a commaundement which they refused to obey,folowing an other occasion presented to them to recouer and sacke *Pergola* and *Fossambrona*, whereunto they were induced by the Castle keepers of those places: But, as in matters of warre it is a daungerous error to transgresse direction, and hunting after fortune, to preferre a light occasion, affore a councell well debated: So it was easely discerned by effect, howe muche better it had bene to them to haue folowed the deliberation of the Duke, for that as they marched towardes *Cagly*, they encountred neare *Fassambrona Pavvle* and the Duke of *Grauina* (both of the famuly of the *Vrsins*) and reaposing muche in the vallour of their companies which were six hundred footemen of *Vitellozze* well trayned and resolute, they gaue the charge, and fynding fortune to fauour their vertue, they brake and disordered the troupes of the Duke *Valentynois*, of whom many remeyned slaine, as *Barth Caprauiquo* Capteyne of three score and ten men at armes, and many were ledde away prisoners, as *Dom Hugues de Cardona*, both men of chiefe place about *Valentynois: Dom Michell* fledde to *Fano*, but by the commaundement of *Valentynois*, hee retyred eftsoones to *Pesero*, leauing *Fano* as a place most faithfull in the power of the people, for that his strength was not sufficient to minister defense to both the places: In the selfe same seasons, the regimentes of the *Bollonnoys* which were incamped in the borow of *S. Peter*, made incursions to *Doccio* neare to *Ymola*, and truely the affaires of *Valentynois* had bene brought into harde straites and perilles, if the vertue and expedition of the confederates, had bene equall to the oportunities that were offred: But whilest they stoode in exspectation one of an other, eyther for that the regimentes of men agreed vppon at the dyot, were not yet readie, or els that the practises of accorde helde them in suspence: Thoccasion, which at the beginnyng shoane with a fauourable lyght towardes them, was vanyshed and turned into a cloude: For that the Frenche King had giuen direction to *Monsr Chaumont*, to sende foure hundred Launces to the Duke *Valentynois*, and to aduaunce besides, all his other meanes to readresse and reduce his affaires to reputation: Which being knowne to the confederates,and they not a little confused and amazed with it, euery one beganne to looke to his proper buysines: In which respect the Cardinall *Vrsin* continued the practises he had begunne with the Pope, and *Anthony de Venafra*, (sent by *Pand. Petrucci*) went to *Ymola* to solicit with *Valentynois*: With whom lykewise treated *Iohn Bentyuolle*, hauing at the same tyme sent an Embassadour to the Pope, and made to bee restored the things that were robbed at *Doccio:* These practises were norished with a wonderfull art by the Duke *Valentynois*, who, iudging that *Pavvle Vrsin* would be a good meane to dispose the residue, he made as

though he reappoſed great confidence in him, in which affection, he ſent for him to come to *Ymola*, and for his ſuertie, the Cardinall *Borgia* went to the landes of the *Vrſins*: The Duke *Valentynois* vſed very gracious wordes of Court to *Pavvle*, wherin, to giue a better ſhadow to the treaſon he intended, he complained not ſo much of him and the reſidue, (who hauing ſerued him long with ſo great fidelitie, were of late eſtranged from him for ſome vain ſuſpitions) as of his owne indiſcreſſion, being him ſelfe the very occaſion of their iuſt iealouſies, and the only inſtrument of that diſtruſt that hath bene noriſhed betweene them: But he hoped that this cõtencion and alienation of affection, growing by no other occaſion, would turne it ſelfe into an other habyt, and in place of grudge and ill will, would breede betwene them and
" him, a perpetual & diſſoluble friendſhip, ſince amongſt vertuous men recõcilement
" hath this propertie, to knit with greater ſuertie of faith & conſtancie, the hartes that
" haue liued in ſeparatiõ: For him ſelf, as he referred them to cõſider how farre it was from their power to oppreſſe him, ſeeing the french king was ſo well determined to ſupport his greatnes: So, on thother ſide being made wiſer by the experiẽce of harms paſt, he cõfeſſed franckly that all his felicities & reputaciõ proceeded of their councelles & vertue: And therfore deſiring much to return to that auncient communiõ of faith which had bene ſo familiar betweene them, he was readie for his parte, not only to aſſure them in what ſort they would, but alſo to make them Iudges (ſo that there were regard had to his dignitie) of the quarels that were betweene him & the *Bullonnois*: To theſe wordes appertteining generally to them all, he added perticular demonſtrations of the great confidence he had in *Pavvle*, whom he filled ſo full of hopes and peculiar promiſes, that his art and ſuttletie carying ſhowes of innocencie and true meaning, he betraied the ſimplicitie of *Pavvle*, who beleeued that wordes ſo vehemently pronounced, could not draw with them intentions diſſembled: A thing eaſie to the Duke by the propertie of his nature, and no leſſe familiar, by the quicknes and cuſtome of his wit, but moſt readie by the forwardnes of his paſſion, which nouriſhed nothing with more ſweete delight, then the deuiſe that might betray the lyues of them to whom hee offred his faith: But whileſt theſe thinges were in ſolicitation, the people of *Cameryn* called home againe, *Iohn Maria de Varaua* ſonne of the late Lorde of *Camerin* who was in *Quilea*: And *Vitellozze*, with the great complaint of *Valentynois* and *Pavvle Vrſin*, tooke the Rocke of *Foſſambrona*: In ſo muche as the Caſtle of *Vrbyn* being lykewiſe loſte with the fortreſſes of *Cagly* and *Agobia*, there remained no more to him in that ſtate, but Sainct *Agatha*, hauyng alſo loſte all the countrey of *Fano*: And yet notwithſtandyng, *Pavvle* continuing the practyſe begunne, after he had gone many times from *Ymola* to *Bollonia*, to eſtabliſhe ſome forme to the affaires of the *Bentyuolies* who were his parentes (for his daughter was maried to *Hermes* the ſonne of *Iohn*) he cõtracted with *Valentynois* in this ſort: But with this relation, that the contract ſhold bee approued by the Cardinall *Vrſin*, by whoſe aduiſe all the reſidue were gouerned: That all olde hates and grudges ſhoulde bee defaced, together with the memorie of all iniuries paſte: That the auncient payes ſhoulde bee confirmed to the confederates, with further obligation to goe as ſouldiours to Duke *Valentynois* to the recouering of the Duchie of *Vrbyn*, and other eſtates which were rebelled: But, for their ſuertie they ſhoulde not bee bounde to ſerue in perſon, otherwayes then one at a tyme, nor the Cardinall *Vrſin* to remeyne in the Court of *Rome*: That touchyng the matters of *Bollonia*, there ſhoulde bee made a compromiſe in the perſonnes of the Duke, Cardinall *Vrſin*, and *Pandolfe Petruc-*

Capitulation betweene the Vrſins and D. Valent.

ci:

ci: With this conclusion, *Pavvle Vrsin* (assuring him selfe euery day more and more of the good intencion of *Valentynois*) went to finde the residue, to induce them to ratifie tharticles: But *Bentyuole*, holding it neither honorable, assured, nor reasonable, that tharbitration of his affaires should bee passed ouer to an other, sent the Pronotarie his sonne to *Ymola*, and receiuing ostages from *Valentynois*, he made an accord with him and the Pope, whereunto they condiscended so muche the more easely, by how much they considered that the french king, comming better to consider either what an infamie it would be to him, or how much it would import him that the Citie of *Bolonia* were in their deuotion, wold alter his first deliberation, and not suffer them to obteine it: These were the conditions of thaccord: That there should bee a perpetuall confederation betweene the Duke *Valentynois* on the one parte, and the *Bentyuoles* with the communaltie of *Bollonia*, on the other parte: That the Duke should haue of the *Bollonoys*, appointment of an hundred men at armes for eight yeares, which should bee conuerted into the paye of twelue thousand duckats by yeare: That the *Bollonois* should be bound to serue him with a hundred men at armes, and a hundred Crosbowshot on horsebacke, only for the yeare to come: That the french king and the *Florentyns*, should promise obseruation for both the one and other parties: That for the better assurance of the peace, the Bishops sister of *Luna* (who was Nephew to the Pope) should bee maried to the sonne of *Annyball Bentyuole*.

But for all these, *Valentynois* ceassed not to solicit the comming of the frenche bandes, and the three thousand *Svvyßers* which he had taken into his paye, vnder shadow that he would employ them, not for the confederates, but for the recouery of the Duchie of *Vrbyn* and *Cameryn*, for that the cõfederats were alreadie at a point to ratifie the accorde past: The Cardinall *Vrsin* being then in *Sienna*, was ouerruled by the persuasions of *Pavvle*, muche helping the reasons and authoritie of *P. Petrucci:* And after long contradiction consented also *Vitellozze*, and *Ioh. P. Baillon*, who (notwithstanding) held the faith of *Valentynois* much suspected: After the ratification of these men, the Pope hauing lykewise ratified: The Duke of *Vrbyn*, notwithstanding thimportunities of his people (promising to die at his feete) not to goe from thence: Yet, hauing more feare of his enemies, then confidence in their popular voices, he returned to *Venice*, and gaue place to the furie of thenemies, hauing first dismantled all the fortresses of that state, except *Leox Maiuola:* The people (*Antho. Sansouyn* who was afterwardes Cardinall, going thether with commissiõ and power from *Valentynois* to pardon them) agreed to return vnder his obedience: The Citie of *Cameryn* did the like, for that their Lord was fled to *Naples*, his feares being no lesse then his astonishments, for that *Vitellozze* and the others, hauing sent for their bands which were in the countrey of *Fano*, prepared to go against him as soldiours to *Valentynois:* In which times as the Pope made the Camp march to *Palombaro*, which the *Sauelles* had recouered together with *Senzana* and other places apperteining to them, and that by thoccasiõ of tharmies leauied by the cõfederats: So, Duke *Valentynois*, who had no greater desires thẽ to execute his most secret thoghts, wẽt frõ *Ymola* to *Cesena*, where he was no sooner arriued, then the frenchmẽ at armes who were come thether a litle before, and eftsoones rappealed by *Monsr Chaumont*, departed from thence with the same speede they came: Not by commission from the king, but (as was supposed) for a perticular indignation hapned betweene him & *Valentynois*, or perhaps at his request, to thende he might be lesse fearful to those, whom he desired greatly to assure: At *Cesena*, hee looked to readresse his bandes,

which were ſtronger then the reaport that went of them, for that expreſly he had made verie fewe great leauies of men, but well paide, and interteined continually many launce Knightes and perticular Gentlemen: A ſtrength though not mightie in numbers, yet well aſſured by the vertue of the perſons, who are ſo much the more worthie then men mercenarie, for that the one goe armed with honour and reputation, and the other haue no regard but to their paie: The one forward for his credit ſake, the other ſubiect alwayes to compulſion: The one following ſeruice with a voluble libertie of mynde, where the other hauing a courage no leſſe vile and abiect, then his intentions are corrupt, foloweth warres for rauyne and ſpoile, the baſeſt reſpect that can bee in the minde of a ſoldiour: At the ſame tyme *Vitellozze* and the *Vrſins*, being ſent by his direction to encamp affore *Sini Galle*, tooke the towne and Caſtle, from whence the widow of the prefect being ſiſter to the Duke of *Vrbyn*, fled when ſhe was left abandoned and deſolate, notwithſtanding her litle ſonne was vnder the protection of the frenche king, who excuſed him ſelfe for that ſhe was a competitor to the league made at *Maiſons*: After the taking of *Sini Galle*, *Valentynous* went to *Fano*, where after he had ſtaied certeine dayes, to reaſſemble all his companies together, he aduertiſed *Vitellozze* and the *Vrſins*, that the day folowing, he wold come to lodge at *Sini Galle*, and that in that regard they ſhould beſtow the ſoldiours that were with them within the towne, abrode in the plaines: Which was executed according to his direction, the footemen being lodged in the Subburbes of the towne, and the men at armes diſperſed ſeuerally in the countrey: The ſame day that the Duke appointed to bee at *Sini Galle*, there went to meete him *Pavvle Vrſin*, the Duke of *Grauina*, *Vitellozze*, and *Lyuerot de Ferme*, who, being receiued by him with great honor and many graces of Court, accompanied him to the gate of the towne, affore the which all the bandes of *Valentynois* were beſtowed in order: A maner of dealing which albeit they could not but ſuſpect, ſpecially to behold a ſtrength greater then they looked for: Yet, offring to take their leaue to withdrawe to theyr lodgings which were without the towne, they were deſired to enter with him into the towne, ſeeming to haue need to communicate with them in ſome priuate matter: They were driuen to yelde to that willingly, which they were not hable to refuſe by any reſiſtance: And as in matters of perill, the minde hath a certeine ſence and coniecture of the ill that is to happen: So the tokens that appeared made them deuine rightly of the miſchiefe that was prepared, and yet as men without remedie in their fortunes, they folowed him by whom they ſawe their ruine intended: Whē he was come to his lodging, he withdrewe them with him alone into a chamber a parte, where, after he had left them vnder cooller to goe ſhift his apparell, he ſent men armed into the chamber to apprehende them all priſoners, and at the ſame inſtant appointed other companies to ſtrip their ſoldiours: The day following being the laſt of December, to thende that that yeare might determine with this tragedie, he reteined the other priſoners, & made to be ſtrangled in a chamber, *Vitellozze* and *Lyuerot de Ferme*, whereof the one had no power to eſcape the deſtinie of his houſe, to dye by violent death, as did all his other brethren after they had wonne great experience and reputation in armes, the miſchiefe hapning to one after an other according to the ſucceſſion and meaſure of their ages: But touching *Lyuerot* no man could deny, that he had not an end worthie of his wickednes, being but iuſt and reaſonable that he ſhould dye by treaſon, who a little before had killed by treaſon (to make him ſelfe great in the Citie of *Ferma*), his owne Vncle, together with many of the principall Citizens, whom he had inuited to come banquet with him.

Vitellozze & the Vrſins made priſoners by treaſon.

1502 *Vitellozze & Li. de Ferme Strangled.*

That

That yeare brought foorth no other thing worthie of memorie, saving that *Lodovvyk* and *Federyk* Counts of *Mirandola*, who were of the famulie of the *Piques*, being chased affore by *Iohn Francisquo* their brother: And pretending (notwithstanding his prerogatiue of yeares and age) that they had the same rightes that he had, expulsed him by force by the helpes of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and *Iohn Iacques Tryvulce* father in lawe to *Lodovvyk*: A matter not so much worthie of memorie for it selfe in perticular, as for that in tymes after, the quarrels of his brethren ingendred effectes of some consequence.

The yeare folowing was farre more full of thinges notable and accidents daungerous, then any of the former yeares: To the which the disloyaltie and impietie of the supposed Prince of Christian religion, gaue an vnhappie beginning, not knowing what was to happen that yeare aswell to his person as to his affaires: For the Duke *Valentynois* hauing aduertised his father (according to a priuate resolution betweene them) howe well his ambushes had succeeded with him at *Sini Galle*: The Pope for his parte, holding secret aswell the conspiracie, as the aduertisement, called to the Pallaice of *Vatican* vnder cooller of speciall occasions, the Cardinall *Vrsin*, who, trusting in the suertie of the accorde, and no lesse in the faith of him, who all the world knew neuer to keepe faith with any man, but muche more driuen by his destinie, then by reason, was a litle affore gone to *Rome*: He was no sooner entred the Pallaice then he was made prisoner, feeling in his owne person, the very calamitie which his brother and friendes suffred: At the same tyme were also taken in their houses, *Re. Vrsin* Archbishop of *Florence*, the Pronetorie *Vrsin*, the Abbot *Aluyano*, and *Iacques de Sainte Croix* a Romaine Gentleman, one of the principallest of that faction: And after they were ledde to the Castle *S. Ange*, the Pope sent his sonne the Prince of *Squillace* to take possession of the landes of *Pavvle* and the others, and with him went the Pronotery, and *Iacques de S. Croix* to make deliuery of them, who afterwardes were returned vnder the same guarde that kept them before: The Pope vaunting with a Spanishe suttletie at the traine which his sonne had made, skoffed and sayde, that *Pavvle Vrsin* and the others being the first that had falsefied theyr faith to him (for that they were bounde to goe to him but one at once, and came notwithstanding altogether) it was no lesse lawfull to him to breake his promise with them: A maner of dealing very slaunderous to the reuerence of his profession, but not vnaccustomed to those that haue sit in his place, with whom nothing hath bene more familiar then conspiracies, nor any thing lesse esteemed then to protect innocencie, hauing their hartes as full of crueltie, as their mouthes were ful of blasphemie: It had bene a cryme sufficient against his habit and conscience, to prostitute his faith against the ruine of men, and not with a minde preiudiciall, to vaunt of the offence, seeing by the scripture, the sinne is so muche the more accursed, by how much it is agrauated with glorie and vaunting: The Cardinall remeyned prisoner about twentie dayes, the Pope alleaging that he had imprisoned a Cardinall so auncient in place, in age, and in authoritie, for many reasons: But he did not expresse them, condemning him-selfe by his proper silence, or at least fearing his infamie would be the greater, if his reasons were discloſed: But at length the bruite bearing that the Cardinall was sicke, he died in the Pallaice, of poison as is assuredly beleeued: And the Pope, to take away thopinion, (but not thimputatiõ of thact) albeit it was his custome not to care for infamies, caused the dead bodie to bee caried to his graue in the broad daye and all bare, accompanied with the kindred of his house, and all the other Cardinals: The other prisoners were deliuered a litle af-

1503

Cardinall Vrsin made prisoner.

The death of Card. Vrsin.

ter, vppon ſuertie to bee eſtſoones repreſented when they were called.

The Duke *Valentynois*, ſeeking to ioyne recompenſe to his wickednes, departed immediatly from *Sini Galle*, and addreſſed him ſelfe to the towne of *Caſtello*, where finding that ſuch as yet remeyned of the famuly of *Vitelly*, had abandoned the Citie, he continued his way to *Perouſa*, from whence *Iohn Pavvle* fledde, who was competitor in the miſerable deſtinies of the others, his puniſhmēt being greater, though the tyme and maner were ſlower, being by ſuſpicion, made wyſer then the reſidue touching his going to *Sini Galle*: The Duke left both the one and other Cities vnder the name of the Church, hauing reeſtabliſhed within *Perouſa*, *Charles Baillon*, the *Oddies*, and all the other enemies of *Iohn Pavvle*: And as it is one chiefe vertue in men of enterpriſe to embraſe occaſions, ſo, he forgat not to apply to his fortune, thoportunitie and fauour of the tyme, by the benefit whereof, his ambition made him aſſaie to make him ſelfe Lorde ouer *Sienna*, being folowed with certeine exiles of the ſame Citie: And drawing with the whole armie (wherin were newly arryued the aydes promiſed by *Bentyuolle*) towardes the borow of *Pieua*, where knowing that the Cardinall *Vrſin* was priſoner, he made ſtrangle the Duke of *Grauina* and *Pavvle Vrſin*, and ſent Embaſſadors to *Sienna* to warne them of the towne to chaſe out *Pandolfe Petrucci*, as his enemie in perticular, and the common troubler of the tranquilletie of *Tuskan*: He ioyned to the meſſage this condition and promiſe, that aſſoone as they had expulſed him, he would eſtſoones returne to *Rome* with his armie, forbearing to doe any other oppreſſion to their frontyers: And on the other ſide, the Pope and hee, burning in one bloudie deſire, that as *Pandolfe* had bene a companion to the others in lyfe and actions, ſo alſo he might communicate with their laſt extreame fortune and death: They ſtudied to loll him a ſleepe with the ſame charme wherewith they had inchaunted the others to their deſtruction, writing to him billettes and letters full of office and humanitie, and ſoliciting him by meſſengers expreſſe, promiſing no leſſe aſſurance of faith, good meaning and affection: But the ſuſpicion that occupied the people of *Sienna*, that the Dukes intencion was to vſurpe that Citie, made his enterpriſe againſt *Pandolfe* more harde, for that albeit many of the Citizens were oftentimes ill contented with the gouernment of *Pandolfe*, yet, they helde it better to temporiſe vnder the tyrannie of one Citizen, then to fall into the ſeruitude of a ſtraunger: In ſo muche that as at the beginning, he could obteine no anſwer by the which might bee hoped the expulſion of *Pandolfe*: So for all that, continuing vnder the ſame ſemblance, that he deſired no other thing, he wonne daily on them, hauing paſſed *Pienſa Chiuſa*, with other places neare to *Sienna*, which yelded to him by compoſicion: By which aduauntages, wonne vppon them as it were by ſtealth and ſutletie, the feares increaſed ſo in *Sienna*, that not only the people, but alſo ſome euen of the chiefeſt, began to murmure that it was not reaſonable, that to ſupport one Citizen, the whole Citie ſhould ſuffer ſo great a daunger: Which made *Pandolfe* to determine to doe that with the good lyking and fauour of euerie one, which he feared to be conſtrained to doe in the ende with the vniuerſall hatred of the Citie, and his owne daunger: And therfore by his conſent it was ſignified to *Valentynois*, in the publyke name of the Citie, that they were content to gratifie his demaundes, ſo that he would retyre with his armie from their frontyers: This reſolution was accepted (notwithſtanding the Pope and he were fixed vppon an enterpriſe of greater importance) for that they knewe how harde a matter it woulde bee to take *Syenna*, both for the greatnes and ſtrong ſeate of the towne, and alſo for the vertue of *Iohn Pavvle Baillon* commaunding within it, who

Pawle Vrſin ſtrangled.

with

with the ſouldiours and naturall people of the place, would ioyne in one ſtrength to reſiſt him, if they were once aſſured that his intencions were contrary to the publication of his promiſes: To this were added the feares of the Pope, who helde it neceſſarie, that for his proper ſuertie, his ſonne ſhould retyre his armie to *Rome*, where he was iealous of ſome conſpiracie, for that *Iulio* and others of the *Vrſins* with many horſmen were withdrawne into *Petillano* and *Fabio*, and *Organtyn Vrſin* into *Ceruetro*: *Mutio Colonno* alſo newly come from the realme of *Naples*, was entred *Palombaro* to ſuccour the *Sauelleis*, who were newly entred into alliance with the *Vrſins*, and had intelligence with them: But that which tooke from the one and the other, the hope to occupie *Sienna*, was, that it was now manifeſtly perceiued, that the enterpriſe was directly diſpleaſing to the french king: For albeit he could haue wiſhed (and it was for his good pollecie) that *Vitellozze* and the other confederates ſhould bee kept vnder, yet he ſawe that their whole ruine ioyned to the conqueſt of ſo great eſtates, made the Pope and *Valentynois* too mightie: And withall the Citie of *Sienna*, together with the lyfe and whole eſtate of *Pandolfe*, being vnder his protection, and no member of the Church, but an appurtenance of the Empire, he thought he might with good equitie and reaſon, oppoſe him ſelfe againſt the conqueſt: A conſideration neceſſary to the vertue of the french king, hauing by the mouth and word of a Prince, aſſured the protection of the Citie: But farre more agreeable to the pollicie of his affaires, which could not without perill, ſuffer ſuch an aſpiring ambition in the Pope and his ſonne: He began to ſee that the mynde which he ment ſhould clymbe no higher then his ſhoulders, had intentions to aſpire aboue the Crowne of his head, and therefore he helde it a leſſe tranſgreſſion of honour and promiſe to reſtraine his ſupportation from one whom his authoritie and countenance only had aduaunced, then to leaue to perill, ſuch as reappoſed altogether in his faith, honor, and reputation of his promiſes: The Pope and his ſonne had hope that the remouing of *Pandolfe* would cauſe ſome confuſion in the gouernment of that Citie, and that by that meane, tyme would breede occaſion to giue ſome cooller to their enterpriſe: But *Pandolfe* ſeeing more into their ſuttleties, then hable to turne away his owne calamities, departed ſo out of *Sienna*, as he left the ſame garde and the ſame authoritie to his friendes and dependantes, in ſo muche as it ſeemed that nothing was chaunged of the gouernment, and leſſe exſpectation of their enterpriſe by his expulſion: *Valentynois* (according to the direction of the Pope) tooke his way to *Rome* to make deſtructiō of the *Vrſins*, who, with the *Sauellyes*, had wonne the bridge *Lamentano*, and runne ouer the whole countrey: But they ſtaied from further action, by tharriuall of the Duke *Valentynois*, who expreſſed his firſt power and malice vpon the eſtates of *Iohn Iordan*, without any regarde that he was not declared againſt him, that he had the order of *S. Michael*, that he was in the protection of the french king, and at that tyme in the kingdome of *Naples* in his ſeruice: Which oppreſſion vniuſt and vnreaſonable, the Pope ſeeking to abuſe the king with his iuſtifications, alleaged that he was not moued by any deſire to diſpoile him of his eſtates, but only for that he could not accompt him his aſſured neighbour ſo neare, the great quarels and offences continuing betweene him and the famuly of the *Vrſins*, and that therefore in recompenſe and conſideration of his harmes, he was content to giue him the principallitie of *Squillace* with other landes of the ſame vallue and reuenue: But the french king, not taking theſe reaſons for paiment, reteined a ſpecial memorie of that inuaſion, not for that the regarde to his protection preuailed more with him then of cuſtome, but becauſe his affaires in the kingdom of *Naples* not drawing

the ſame fortune and ſucceſſe they had wont to doe, he began to holde for ſuſpected, the pride and inſolencie of the Pope and his ſonne, ioyning to this coniecture the remembrance of their oppreſſions in the yeare paſt, both how they had aſſailed *Tuskane*, and afterwardes aſſaied to inuade *Sienna*, notwithſtanding he had promiſed to protect it: Wherein conſidering that by howe much they had alreadie obteined of him, and for tyme to come ſhould obteine: By ſo much more, was their ambicion growne greate, and hereafter their pride would bee redoubled, hee ſent to commaund *Valentynois* with a ſharpe meſſage to forbeare to moleſt the ſtate of *Iohn Iordan*, who was come to *Bracchiano* by wayes vnknowne, and not without his perill: Beſides this, he conſidering how neceſſary it were to be aſſured that there ſhold ryſe no commotion in *Tuskane*, ſpecially for that he vnderſtood that in *Sienna* there was ſome beginning of ciuill diſcordes: He ioyned him ſelfe to the councell of the *Florentyns*, to ſolicit that *Pandolfe Petrucci* (who was retyred to *Piſa*,) might returne eftſoones to *Sienna*: That betweene the *Florentyns*, *Siennois*, and *Bolonies* might be contracted an vnitie for their common defence, rendring *Mont Pulcian* to the *Florentyns*, to take away all occaſion of diſſention: And laſtly that euery one of them according to his power ſhould make prouiſion of men at armes for their common defence, the better to cut off from the Pope and his ſonne, all meanes to ſtretch further their iuriſdiction into *Tuskane*.

In this meane while the Duke *Valentynois*, with one parte of his armie, tooke *Viconaro* wherein were ſix hundred men for *Iohn Iordan*: But hauing receiued commaundement from the french king, he left (to the great diſpleaſing of the Pope and him) thenterpriſe of *Bracciano*, and went to incamp affore *Ceri*, where, with *Iohn Vrſin* Lorde of the place, were *Raufe* his ſonne, with *Iulio* and *Frauncis* of the ſame famuly: And to ioyne to the actions of the ſonne, the authoritie of the father, the Pope proceeded at the ſame tyme by way iudicial againſt all the houſe of *Vrſins* except *Iohn Iordan*, and the *Count Petillano*, againſt whom the *Venetians* would not endure any ſuch vniuſt violence. *Cery* is a towne very auncient and no leſſe notable for the ſtrong ſcituation, for that it is ſeated vppon a litle Rocke hewed out of one ſtone only, whether the auncient *Romaines* in their perils againſt the frenchmen, ſent all their virgins veſtalles, and the moſt ſecret & celebrate Images of their goddes with many other thinges ſacred and religious, as into a place of ſpeciall ſuertie: And for the ſame reaſon in the tymes folowing, it was free from violation in the rage of the *Barbarians*, at ſuch tyme as by the declination of the *Romain* Empire, they hauockt all *Italy* with wonderfull furies: By meane whereof, aſwell by his naturall ſtrength, as for that it was manned with companies reſolute, the enterpriſe ſeemed harde to *Valentynois*, who, to aduaunce his vertue aboue their ſtrength and power, forgat no diligence nor induſtrie to win it, vſing, beſides the ordinary engines of warre, certeine inſtrumentes of wood to ſurmount the height of the walles: But whileſt hee was buiſie in that action, *Frauncis Nardy* (ſent to *Sienna* by the french king), publiſhed his maieſties intention that *Pandolfe* ſhould eftſoones returne, hauing receiued his promiſe before to continue in his deuotion, and for his ſuertie, to ſend his eldeſt ſonne into *Fraunce*: To paie to him that which was due of the reſidue of the fortie thouſande Duckats which had bene accorded, and to reſtore *Mont Pulcian* to the *Florentyns*: A reſolucion plauſible to them of *Sienña*, who, becauſe there ſhould be no impediment to the comming of *Pandolfe*, ioyned to the reputation of the kinges name, the open fauours of the *Florentyns*, and the diſpoſicion of thoſe in the towne that were his friendes, who drawing into armes and ſtrength the night before hee

ſhould

ſhould come, held ſuppreſſed or at leaſt kept in a compelled quietnes all ſuch as ſupported the contrary opinion: This hapned to the great diſpleaſure of the Pope, whoſe affaires in other places runne in a happie courſe, for that *Palombaro* with other peeces of the *Sauelleis*, were rendred to him: As alſo thoſe that were within *Cery*, ſuffring many and continuall afflictions of warre, after the fury of ſundry aſſaltes, offred reſtitution, with couenant that the Pope ſhould paie a certeine proporcion of money to *Iohn* who was Lorde of the place, and to leaue in libertie, ſuertie, and ſafetie of lyfe, all the reſidue within *Petillane*, which was ſincerely obſerued contrary to the cuſtome of the Pope, and exſpectation of euery one.

Fortune hath a free will to come and go when ſhe liſt, not regarding times, perſons or cauſes, but making her pretogatiue abſolute, ſhe takes authoritie to make her will a lawe ouer the Princes of the earth: And as in no humaine thing, ſhe is either certeine or reſolute, ſo chiefly in the action of warre ſhe ſhoweth moſt mutabilitie and variation, not giuing ſucceſſe to ſuch as deſerue beſt, but to thoſe that ſhe fauoureth moſt, her iuſtice not regarding the vertues and merites of men, but guiding thinges to their ſucceſſe according to thinclination of her fauor & lyking: For, thaffairs of the frēchmē which folowed the ſeruice of *Naples*, proceeded not in ſuch ful felicitie, being incōbred with many difficulties euē frō the beginning of the yere: For, the *Cōūt de Millete* being incāped at *Villeneufue* with the regiments of the Princes of *Falerno* & *Biſignian*: Dō *Hugues de Cardona*, paſſing frō *Meſsina* into *Calabria*, with eight hūdred footmē Spaniſh, an hundred horſmē, with eight hūdred other footmē aſwell *Calabrians* as *Sicilians*, marched towardes *Villeneufue* to reskue it: Which aſſoone as the *Count Millete* vnderſtoode, he leauied his ſeege from before *Villeneufue*, and went to meete him: The Spanyardes drewe all along a plaine ſtraite and narrow betweene the mounteine and a ryuer, where was not much water, but is ioyned to the way with a litle riſing: And the frenche men who were the greater number, marched right to them beneath the ryuer, deſiring to drawe them into a large place: But ſeeing how they marched cloſe & in firme order, and fearing that if they cut not of their way, they would get in ſafetie into *Villeneufue*, they paſſed ouer to the other ſyde of the ryuer to charge them: In which encounter they were broken the vallour of the Spaniſh footemen no leſſe then the aduauntage of the place, helping indifferently to the victorie: Soone after, arriued by ſea out of *Spaine* at *Meſsina*, two hundred men at armes, two hundred horſmen mounted vppon Iennettes, and two thouſand footemen, all ledde by *Manuel de Benauide*, with whom came into *Italy* at that tyme, *Anthony de Leua*, who, of a meane ſoldiour, riſing by all degrees of warre, to the ſtate of a Capteine Generall, made his vertue notable in *Italy* by the reputation of many goodly victories: Theſe companies paſſed from *Meſsina* to *Regge* in *Calabria*, which the Spaniſh had taken before, (*Monſr D'aubigny* being then in the other parte of *Calabria*) and from thence incamped at *Loſarna* within fiue miles of *Calimere*: Into which place *Abricourt* was entred two dayes before, with thirtie Laūces, and the *Count de Millete* with a thouſand footemen, and preſenting them ſelues the morning folowing before the walles of the towne, wherein were no gates but barres only, they forced it at the ſeconde aſſalt, the vertue and reſolution of the defendantes, being leſſe then the fortune & felicitie of the aſſailantes: Capteine *Eſprit* remeined dead, & *Abricourt* made priſoner: But the *Count de Millete* in fleeing to the Rocke, founde ſafetie of life and honour, (the victors retiring forthwith to *Villeneufue* for feare of *Monſr D'aubigny*, who came on marching with three hundred Launces, three thouſand footemen ſtraungers, and two thouſand of the countrey: After

Anthony de Leua.

which accident, *Monsr D'aubigny* encamping at *Pollistrina* within two miles of them, and their perill increasing by necessitie of vittels, they discamped secretly to goe to *Quiercy*: And albeit they made thoportunitie of the night proper for their safetie, yet their fortune vanquishing all cloakes of shadowe and darknes, they were chased by bandes of *Monsr D'aubigny* vntill the rising of a crabbed mounteine, where they lost threescore men at armes and many footemen: And of the french (opinion and rashnes carying them beyond discression and experience) was slaine Captein *Gruyny*, whom they esteemed much, leading the regiment that was to *Count Caiezze* who dyed by naturall death a litle affore the taking of *Capua*: At the same time came out of *Spaine* into *Cicilie* these new bandes, two hundred men at armes, two hundred light horsemen, and two thousande footemen gouerned by Capteine *Porto Carrera*, who dying at *Regge* as he passed with his regiment, the charge remeined to *Ferrand D'audriado* his Lieftenant: For the arriuall of these supplies, the Spanyardes (lately retired to *Quiercy*) tooke new courage and comfort, & returned to *Villeneufue*, where they fortified in that part of the towne which they held ioyning to the Castle, which was the entrey of a valley whereunto is conioyned the residue of the towne: A fortification not in vaine, for the feare they had of *Monsr D'aubigny*, who being comen from *Polestrina* with a diligence farre aboue their exspectatiō, was incamped in that parte which was not holden by the Spanish, euery one planting barres and fortificatiōs requisit for their proper safetie: But as in *Monsieur D'aubigny* no vertue was more familiar then circumspection which he vsed alwayes to resist sodain perils, so assone as he vnderstood that the Spanish regimēts that were discēded to *Regge*, drew neare to make one strēgth with the other bāds, he altered purpose with the necessity of the occasiō, & retiring to *Losarno*, the enemies folowing the cōmoditie of vittels, put thē selues altogether within *Semynaro*: Whilest things wēt in this course in *Calabria*, the Viceroy for the frēch returning towards *Barletto*, encamped at *Matero*, & disperssing his bāds in seueral places thereabouts, he laye to giue impedimēts that no vittell nor succours shold enter, hoping that what by the plague, whose fury begā to breed fear, and skarcetie of vittels which was vniuersall in *Barletto*, the Spanish could not by any reason or possibilitie remeine there long, & much lesse reskue them selues within *Trany*, where raged the same difficulties: Neuertheles amid so many incommodities and daungers their resolution and constancie was wonderfull, confirmed also by the vertue and diligence of *Consaluo*, who sometimes giuing them hopes of a readie arriuall of two thousand *Almaine* footemen which he had sent *Octauian Colonno* to leauie, and sometimes promising present succours by other meanes, & lastly causing a bruite to bee published that he would goe to *Tarento* by sea: He interteined them in their courage and vertue, but much more with his owne example suffring in his person all their perplexeties and trauels, ioyned to the want of vittelles, and miserable skarcetie of all thinges necessarie: Occasion doeth muche to induce the mindes of souldiours, but example is it that confirmeth their vertue, making them
" oftentimes resolute aboue their naturall inclination.

" The warre suffring this alteration, and being falne as you see into this estate of
" fortune and chaunge, those that till that daie had bene inferiours, and as it were kept
" suppressed, began now by the negligent and insolent dealing of the french to make
" their light shine and become superiours: For, the men of *Castellanetto* (a place neare
" to *Barletto*) dispairing, for the oppressions and wronges which fiftie men at armes
" of the French and garrisoned there, did them, drewe into armes by common assent,

and

and ſtripped them: And not many dayes after, *Conſaluo* being aduertiſed by eſpy-all that *Monſr de la Paliſſa* remeyning with a hundred Launces and three hundred footemen in the towne of *Rubos* twelue myles from *Barletto*, ſtoode negligently vpon his guarde, marched one night to *Rubos*, and drawing with him with a wonderfull diligence and facilitie of the way beyng playne and harde certeyne peeces of great artillerie: Hee aſſalted the towne with ſuche a furie, that the Frenche (to whom all other daungers had bene more tollerable) beyng ſo muche more confuſed in theyr perill, by howe muche the aſſalt was ſodeyne, made a certeine weake reſiſtance, and in the end rendred the place, *Paliſſa* with the reſidue remeyning priſoners: The ſame daie *Conſaluo* returned to *Barletto*, without daunger to receyue in retyring any domage of *Monſr de Nemours*, who a litle before was come to *Canoſa*: His ſafetie happlie was by this occaſion, that the French companies being diſpoſed into ſeuerall places to keepe *Barletto* beſeeged on many ſides, could not bee reaſſembled in ſufficient tyme, beſides that fiftie French Launces ſent to make praie of certeyne money caryed from *Trany* to *Barletto*, were ouerthrowne by ſuch as *Conſaluo* had ſent for the ſuertie of the treaſure: To theſe alſo myght bee adioyned an other accident which diminiſhed greatly the vallour of the frenche men, and which was the proper worke and effect of vallour, and not to bee attributed to the iniquitie of fortune: For, a Trumpet going to *Barletto* to ſolicit the raunſom of certeyne ſouldiours taken priſoners at *Rubos*, certeyne ſpeeches were vttered againſt the Frenche, by ſome of Thitalian men at armes, which beyng caryed by the Trumpet to the Frenche Camp, and aunſwere eftſoones returned to Thitalians, bredde ſuche enuie and inflamation of courage in both partes, that to iuſtefie the honour of their ſeuerall nations they agreed, that thirteene men at armes of the Frenche, and thirteene Italians ſhould fight in combatt to thuttrance within liſtes vntill the one were maiſters ouer the other: The place of the combatt to bee aſſigned in a Champion betweene *Barletto*, *Andria*, and *Quadrato*, where they ſhoulde bee accompanied with an equall number of aſſiſtantes to bee Iudges of their vallour: Neuertheles (to aſſure all ambuskados or ſuttle traines of conſpiracie) the Capteynes with the greateſt parte of both the armies, accompanied their Champions to the myd way, comfortyng them, that for that they were choſen out of the whole armie, they would with manifeſt action and courage make good thexſpectation that was on them, the ſame beyng ſuche, that in their handes and vallour was reappoſed by common conſent the honour of ſo noble nations: The Viceroy of the Frenche declared to his, that their aduerſaries were the ſelfe ſame Italians, who hauyng no courage to abyde the Frenche men had alwayes made them waie without expreſſing any tryall or experience of theyr vertue, euen ſince they had runne from the *Alpes* to the extreame bondes and limits of *Italy*: That they were not now puſhed forwarde eyther with a newe nature or newe reſolution of minde: But beyng marcenorie to the Spanyardes and ſubiect to theyr commaundementes, they had no libertie to reſiſt the will of thoſe men, whoſe cuſtome being to fight not with vertue but with ambuſhes, made them ſelues beholders and idle lookers on the daungers of others: And that therefore aſſoone as Thitalians were entred into the liſtes, & ſhould ſee before them the armes & furie of ſuche as had alwayes ouercome them, they would either returne to their accuſtomed feares, or at leaſt, if any ſeruile reſpect to the Spanyſh would puſhe them to the feight, that compulſion no leſſe then theyr naturall feares woulde make them an eaſie praye, the

Monſr de la Paliſſa made Pr.

A combat of xiij. frenchmen againſt xiij. Italians.

foundation layde vppon the vaine bragges and braueries of the Spaniſhe being a Target too ſlender to beare the blowes of the puiſſant Frenchmen: On the other ſide, *Conſaluo* prepared the myndes of his Champions with perſuaſions agreeable to the nature of the action they had in hande: Hee reduced to theyr remembraunce the auncient honours of that nation, and the reputation and glorie of their armes, with the which they had earſt tamed the whole worlde: That it was nowe in the power of a fewe, to declare that they were not inferiour to the vertue of their elders: And though *Italy* whoſe vallour had vanquiſhed the moſt regions of the worlde, had bene of late yeares ouerunne by forreine armies, that it was by no other occaſion, then the indiſcreſſion of Princes, whoſe ambicion accompanied with ciuill diſcords had called in ſtraunge armies to roote out and ruinate one an other: That the french had neuer obteined victory in *Italy* by their own ſtrength or vertue, but by the aide & miniſtration of the armes of Thitaliãs, who had ſuffred them to paſſe ſo farre into the bowels of their countrey, not by the terror or agillitie of their armes, but by the fury of their artilleries, which were fearfull ſo long as they were newe and vnaccuſtomed: That they were now to fight with the force and vertue of their proper perſonnes, and that not only in the preſence of ſo great a nobilitie of their owne ſyde, but alſo in the ſpectacle and eye of the principall nations of Chriſtendome, who, aſwell of thone parte as of thother, had an honourable deſire of their victorie: That they had to remember that they were rayſed by the moſt famous Capteynes of *Italy*, and as by them they had had continual nouriſhment & trayning in armes, ſo for theyr ſeueral parts, they had in many perillous actions giuen an honorable experiẽce of their vertue: And that therfore eyther the honor to readdreſſe the name of *Italy* with that glorie wherin it had ben not only in yeares of their elders, but alſo in the ages & tymes of them ſelues, was by deſtinie appoynted to them: Or els (ſo great an honour not beyng wonne by theyr hands) there can bee no other exſpectation of the floriſhyng region of *Italy*, then to remeyne diſhonoured and in perpetuall ſeruitude and ſlaunder by the puſillanimitie of her proper children: With theſe perſuaſions ioyned to the comfortes of other Capteynes and ſouldiours perticular of both tharmies, the parties appointed for the combat, were ledde into the fielde: Where both partes deſirous by their proper vertue to bryng glorie to their nation, aſſoone as thaſſiſtantes were placed according to thorder of the fielde, and that the ſigne was giuen, they run furiouſly with their Launces: At which encounter, no aduauntage inclining to either parte, they ſhowed the ſame emulation of mynde in the action of their other weapons: Wherein as euerie one of the Champions ſhowed by his reſolucion and agillitie with what deſire of glorie he ſought to conquer his aduerſarie: So it was ſecretly confeſſed by all thoſe that were lookers on, that out of all the armies on both factions, coulde not bee choſen bodyes more woorthie to performe a proofe ſo honourable and glorious: But as in this heate of fightyng, they had ſpent a good ſpace of tyme, wherein the grounde was couered with tronchons and peeces of their armours, and ſomewhat dyed with the bloud that dropped from all partes, without that the aduauntage or better of the fight could bee iudged: And as they were beholden with a wonderfull ſilence by ſuche as were preſent, and almoſt in no leſſe trauell and paſſion of mynde, then if they had bene the immediate parties to the perill: It hapned that one of the Italians was ſtryken from his horſe by a Frenche man, who as hee furiouſlie purſued his fortune

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to dispatch him, an other *Italian* carefull of the daunger of his companion, killed with a wonderfull blowe the Frenchman: The *Italians* had boare speares, with the which they made slaughter of many of the frenche horses, by meane whereof the Champions of *Fraunce*, beginning to decline, could no longer cloke their weaknes, but their vertue yelding to the fortune of their aduersaries, they became prisoners to Thitalians: Who returning with victorie to *Consaluo* & their other companies, were receiued with those honours that apperteined to their merits: And being cõgratulated as men whose vallours had restored *Italy* to her former glory & honor, they entred *Barletto* in triumph, their prisoners ledde affore them, the ayre sounding with Drommes and Trumpettes, the artillerie shooting of, the people crying with praises of their vertue, and all other showes and actions vsed that might set foorth the reputation of their victorie: It is incredible howe muche the fortune of this combat diminished the courage of the french armie, and lifted vp the Spanyardes into fame and presuming, euerie one construing this experience of a fewe, to a prophecie of the absolute issue of the whole warre.

Discending of the Swissers into the Duchie of Millã

About this time the french king was molested in *Lombardie* by the *Svvyzzers*, the matter being begun not by the whole nation, but by those three *Cantons* which had occupied *Belynzone*: Who seeking to induce him to cõsent that that place might remeine to them in proper, assailed *Luzarno* and *Murato*, which being a wall of great length vppon the lake *Maior* neare to *Luzarno*, giues impediment to discende from the mountaines to the plaine, by no other way then through a gate which only is in that wall: And albeit they coulde not carie it in the beginning for the defence which the Frenche Garrison made, (*Monsr de Chaumont* lying at *Vareso* and *Galero* with eight hundred Launces, hoping well also of the habilitie and defence of the place): Yet the number of the *Svvyzzers* encreasing afterwardes, and succoured also by the *Grisons*, after they had giuen many assaltes in vaine, diuers regimentes of them clyming a great mountaine which commaunded the wall, they compelled suche as kept the gate to abandon it: And taking afterwardes the borowe of *Luzarno*, but not the Castle, their strength increased dayly for that the other nine *Cantons*, notwithstanding in the beginning they offred men to the king for thalliance they had with him, beganne afterwardes to giue succours to the three other *Cantons*, alleaging that for the respect of fidelitie and societie, they ought not to faile to minister to the necessitie of their companions, being thereunto bounde by their auncient leagues, which were to bee preferred affore all the obligations they had with others. Whilest they had an armie of fiftiene thousande about the Castle, the Frenche not hable to reskewe it for the straightnes of the passages, and good garde that was made, they made pillage of the countrey there about: And making all thinges lawfull to their furie, because the Castle keeper of *Musocquo* (a place apperteyning to *Iohn Iacques Tryvulce*) refused to lende them artillerie to batter the Castle of *Luzarno*, they sacked the towne of *Musocquo*, forbearing to vexe the Castle for that it was inexpugnable.

On the other side the Frenchmen, whom this emotion did not a little import, assembling all their strength which they had in *Lombardy*, and hauing obteyned succours of *Bolongnia*, of *Ferrara*, and of *Mantua*, require the *Venetians* to furnishe that proporcion of men which they were bounde vnto for the defence of the state of *Myllan*: The companies were promised according to the Kinges desire, but there was vsed so little expedition in the leauying of them,

and so great intermission to sende them, as they serued to litle purpose: *Monsr de Chaumont* who had bestowed good strength and garrison in the Castels that were in the mounteynes, kept his regimentes in the playne, hopyng that the *Svvyzzers*, hauyng neyther horse nor artilleries, durst not discende into places discouered, but in the ende woulde bee made wearie for the difficultie of vittelles, and for that they were without money and lesse hope to doe any thing that was of importaunce: In which estate the *Svvyzzers* hauyng remeyned many dayes, and the want of vittelles increasing (for the Frenche with their Nauie had suncke many Barkes which brought vittelles to the *Svvyzzers* Campp, and restrained the course of many other by the lake) the souldiours beganne to nourishe faction amongst them selues, for that thenterprise apperteined not but to the *Cantons* which possest *Velinzon*, and the Capteynes being corrupted by the French moneyes, they were content in the ende to retyre them selues, restoring (except *Musocquo* as not apperteyning to the King) all the places which they had taken in that expedition, obteyning promyse of the King not to molest them of *Belinzon* vntill a certeyne tyme: The Frenche were so farre estraunged from any ill will to the *Svvyzzers*, that they were not ashamed not only in that tyme, when they had warre with the Kyng of *Spaine*, and that they feared the Kyng of *Romains*, and had the *Venetians* for suspected, but also in all other seasons, to buy the friendship of that nation, induing them with yearely pensions both publyke and priuate, and to make contractes with them vnder vnworthie conditions: In this action perhappes the Frenche were moued, both by the small assurance they had in the footemen of their owne nation, and also for that as men of warre, they knewe that that Prince makes warre to his great disaduauntage, that vexeth a people that hath nothing to lose.

Phillip Archduke of Austrich in Fraunce.

The King deliuered thus from the emotions and warres of the *Svvyzzers*, had no lesse hope in the same season to see some issue of his warres in the kingdome of *Naples*: For that after many meanes and practises of peace without any profit, *Phillip* Archduke of *Austrich* and Prince of *Flaunders*, determined to make his voyage from *Spaine* to *Flaunders* by land, notwithstanding the contrarie desires of his father and mother in law, of whom he obteined free power and commission to contract a peace with the french king which he had long solicited whilest he was in *Spaine*: But they sent him accompanied with two Embassadors with whom he was to communicat in all actiõs, & without whose coũcel he would not treat or cõclude any thing: It is incredible with what magnificence & honour he was receiued by the kings assignment through all the realme of *Fraunce*, not only that the king desired to make him fauorable in the practise of the peace, but also to deserue to make a perpetuall friende of that young Prince who was to become myghtie and great, being the nexte successour to Thempire *Romain*, and immediate inheritour to the kingdomes of *Spaine* with all their dependances: All suche as had grace or authoritie about him were honoured with the same liberties, and receyued presentes of great price and riches: To these demonstrations was aunswerable the magnanimitie and royall behauiour of *Phillip*: For that as the Frenche Kyng, besides his worde and fayth giuen for his sure passing through *Fraunce*, had sent into *Flaunders* many of the nobles of his realme for the safetie of *Phillip*: So *Phillip*, assoone as hee was entred *Fraunce*, to declare that hee reappose wholly in the kings faith, gaue order that the Ostages should be redeliuered: These so great tokens and apparances of amitie, were not vnaccompanied (as muche as

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was in them) with lesse effectes: For assembling at *Bloys*, after they had spent certeine dayes in discourse and disputation of thinges, they concluded a peace in this sort: That the kingdom of *Naples* should be possessed according to the first diuision: But that there should bee left in deputation to *Phillip*, the prouinces for the which they first fell to difference and armes: That from the present, *Charles* his sonne and Madame *Clavvda* the Kinges daughter (betweene whom shoulde bee a confirmation of that mariage which had bene affore solicited) should bee intituled kings of *Naples*, and Dukes of *Povvilla* and *Calabria*: That that parte which apperteined to the King of *Spaine* shoulde bee from thenceforward gouerned by Tharchduke, and the particion discending to the french king, to be ordred by the proper deputies of his maiestie: But that the one and other parte shoulde bee holden vnder the name of the two children, to whom, at the tyme of consummation of mariage, the King shoulde giue his parte for the dowrie of his daughter: This peace was solemnly published in the great Church of *Bloys* and ratified by othes of the King, and of *Phillip* as procurer of the Kyng and Queene of *Spaine* his parentes in lawe: A peace truely of ryght great consequence, if it had brought an effect equall to thintention: For, not onlye armes surceassed betweene so myghtie Kynges, but also peace woulde haue followed betweene the Kyng of *Romains* and the Frenche Kyng: Which woulde not only haue bredde newe enterprises against the *Venetians*, but also the Pope being suspected to them both, and in ill opinion with the vniuersall sortes of men, woulde not haue bene without his feares of councelles and other actions which myght haue brought diminution to his authoritie and greatnes: But the King and Tharchduke sending with expedition to publish the peace in the realme of *Naples*, with direction to the Capteynes and commaunders of men, to forbeare to molest one an other attending the ratification of the Spanishe king, and in the meane while their possession of thinges to continue: The ruler for the French offred to obey to his king: But the Spanyard (either for the hope he had of the victorie, or for that he would not bee contented with the only authoritie of *Phillip*) answered that he could not discontinue the warre vnles he had receiued expresse commaundement from his king: For the continuation whereof, he was so much the more encouraged, by how much the French king, gouerned by his hopes both in the practise & cõclusion of peace, esteeming for certein that which was yet vncerteine, had not only dallied in all other prouisions of warre, but also had foreslowed the leauying of those regiments (that is three thousand footmen & three hũdred launces) which should haue bene embarked at *Genes* to be led to that enterprise vnder *Monsr de Persy*: And of the contrary were aryued at *Barletto* the two thousand *Almain* footemen, which being leauied with the fauour of the king of *Romains*, & embarqued at *Trieste*, were passed in suertie by the golphe of *Venice* not without the great complaint of the French king: In which respect, the Duke of *Nemours*, not hable to assure a surceassing of armes, and lesse likely to refurnish his power being made weake by the oppressions he had receiued before: Yet, because he would occupie his whole strength, if either occasion or necessitie compelled him to fight with his enemies, he sent for all the French bandes that had bene dispersed into diuers places, together with all the aides of the Barons of the realme, except those Lordes and regiments which made warre vnder *Monsr D'aubigny* in *Calabria*: But in assembling them he founde a fortune contrarie to his exspectation: For, the Duke of *Atry*, and *Loys D'ars*, one of those French Capteines which had their companies bestowed vppon the landes of *Ottranto*, determining to marche together to

Peace betweene the K. of Sp. & Fr.

ioyne with the Viceroy, for that they were aduertiſed that *Peter* of *Nauarre* with many Spaniſh footmen, was in place apt to diſtreſſe them if they went ſeparate & deuided: It hapned that *Levvys D'ars* taking his oportunitie to paſſe ſuerly, departed, without being carefull of the daunger of the Duke *Atry*, who left alone, marched alſo with his companies hauing eſpiall that *Peter de Nauarre* was gone to *Matero* to ioyne with *Conſaluo*: But the councels of men were not ſufficient to reſiſt fortune, for that the men of *Rutyliano* (a towne in the countrey of *Bary*) who in the ſame dayes were reuolted againſt the Frenchemen, callyng vppon the ſuccours of *Peter de Nauarre*, who in theyr regarde altered his way from *Matero* towardes *Rutyliano*, and encountred the Duke of *Atry*, to whom the ſodeines of his peril brought him into many doubtfull cogitations what to doe: But, as neceſſitie of daunger makes men reſolute, ſo, in the ende, ſeeing no ſuertie in his retraite, hee gaue his whole diſpoſition to the battell: And as when men are driuen to fight, their conſtructions and iudgementes doe often varie, ſometimes beguiling them ſelues with an ouerwening in their owne ſtrength, and ſometimes beleeuing leſſe of their enemie then his eſtate and power requires: So the Duke reappoſing much in the ſeruice of his horſmen, (though his footemen were inferiour in numbers to the Spaniſh) whom he vainely ſuppoſed to bee ouer wearied by the trauell they had made that night, vndertooke the battell, wherein euerie one expreſſing his vallour on both ſides, his people at laſt were broken, his Vncle beyng ſlaine, & him ſelfe taken priſoner: And as it ſeldō hapneth that one fortune goeth without an other, nor no aduerſitie vnaccompanied with an other calamitie, ſo foure French Gallies vnder the gouerning of *Preian* knight of the *Rhodes*, appeared in the hauē of *Otrāto* vnder licēce of the *Venetian* maieſtrate, promiſing to defend them from thinuaſions of the Spaniſh Nauie, which vnder the Capteine *Villemarino* waſted in creekes therabouts: But after *Preian* was entred a litle further in the hauē, his forces litle, & his fortune farre inferior to his enemies, he began to feare to be enuironed: And therefore to preuent that his domage and harmes ſhould not turne to the profite of his enemies, after he had deliuered the galiots and ſuncke his Gallies, he ſought his ſafetie by lande with his people, leauing his honour in ſuſpition by the greatnes of his daunger.

The ouerthrow of the Duke of Atry.

The French King gaue commaundement to his Capteines to ſtand only vppon their gardes, and not to ſeeke their enemies, aſſuring them that with ſpeede they ſhould either receiue the confirmation of the peace, or a competent proporcion of ſuccours: But the armies being ſo mightie and ſo neare one an other, it was very harde to bridle the furie of the Frenchmen, or to bring them to this pacience to drawe the warre longer: It ſeemed rather that deſteny began to aduaunce, & would no more deferre the whole and abſolute decyding of thoſe affaires whoſe beginning hapned in *Calabria*: For after the Spanyardes were ioyned in one ſtrength at *Semynaro*, *Monſr D'aubigny* hauing aſſembled all his companies and the power of the Barons that held the French faction, beſtowed his footmen within the towne of *Gioia* three miles from *Seminaro*, and ſent his horſmen to *Loſarno* three miles from *Gioia*: And fortefying him ſelfe with foure peeces of artillerie vppon the ſhoare of the ryuer, being the ſituation of *Gioia*, he ſtoode readie prepared to oppoſe againſt his enemies if they made enterpriſe to paſſe the riuer: But the intencions of the Spaniſh were other thē he ſuppoſed, for the daie they determined to paſſe, they cauſed their Vauntgard to march directly to the riuer, where *Manuell de Benauide* (who had the leading of them) being vppon the ſhoare, beganne to parley with *Monſr D'aubigny*, who had ledde all his armie to the banke contrarie or oppoſite: At the ſame inſtant,

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the rearegarde of the Spaniſh being folowed with the battell, tooke an other way to paſſe the riuer a mile and an halfe aboue *Gioia*: Which being diſcerned of *Monſr D'aubigny*, he went in great haſt without artillerie to affront them affore they had all paſſed: But they were more happie in celeritie then *Monſr D'aubigny*, for that affore his comming they were all paſſed ouer, and raunged (albeit without artillerie) in firme and ſet battell: And with that aduauntage marched foorth againſt the french men, who, by reaſon of their haſt, either keeping no order at all, or at leaſt by their ſmall numbers, not able to reſiſt ſo great a ſtrength, were there broken before the Vauntgard of the Spaniſh could paſſe the riuer: In which conflict *Ambricourt* was made priſoner with certeine other french Capteines, and the Duke of *Somne* with many Barons of the kingdom: And albeit *Monſr D'aubigny* tooke the rocke of *Angitole* for his ſafetie, yet hauing no meane to iſſue out, his perill compelled him to yelde him ſelfe priſoner, being ouerthrowne and taken euen in the ſelfe ſame places, where not many yeares before, he had with great glorie triumphed ouer King *Ferdinand* and *Conſaluo*, ſo inconſtant are the proſperities of fortune, and the doings of men ſo ſubiect to alteration and chaunge: In this conflict perhaps nothing was more hurtfull to *Monſr D'aubigny* (of a franke and noble ſpirit, and one of the moſt reſolute Capteines that the French King ledde into *Italy*) then that his own too forward and violent inclination caried him too farre into the hope of the victorie: A matter which likewiſe was hurtfull to the Viceroy in *Povvilla*, ioyning the reapport of thaccident hapned in *Calabria*: For *Conſaluo* not hearing of the victorie of his people, and not able by thimportunitie of hunger and plague to remeine longer in *Barletto*, marched out of it, and leauing a very weake Garriſon, he tooke his waie to *Ciriguole*, a towne ten miles from thence, & almoſt in a triangle betweene *Canoſa* (where the Viceroy was) and *Barletto*: The Viceroy (when daungers appeare wiſe men fall into councell) debated with his Capteines, whether were better to follow or flee thoccaſion of the battell: Wherein many of his Capteines reaſoned, that, in regarde the Spanyardes were increaſed in numbers, and his bandes falne into great weakenes and diſorders, it was againſt pollicie to commit any thing to hazarde: But to retyre into *Melfe* or ſome other ſtrong towne wel prouided of thinges neceſſary, and there to exſpect either a new ſuccour out of *Fraunce*, or els the confirmation of the peace: A manner to temporiſe (which he was alſo bound to vſe by commaundement) which he had newly receiued from the King: A contrarie opiniõ was holden by other Capteines, to whom it ſeemed a thing daungerous to tarie till the armie alreadie victorious ouer *Calabria*, ſhould ioyne with *Conſaluo*, or at leaſt ſhould execute any enterpriſe of importance finding no man to reſiſt him: They brought in thexample of *Monſr Montpenſier*, chuſing rather to retyre into townes then to fight: That the memories of times paſt admoniſhed them howe farre they might hope for the long & vncerteine ſuccours of *Fraunce*: That their Camp was nothing inferior either in force or vertue to tharmie of thenemie, and that the diſorders that had hapned by negligence, ought not to be compared to thexperience which wold be ſhowed in plaine field with weapons and vallours of men; and not with ſleightes or ſutleties: That it was a more ſure and honourable way, to make at the leaſt with hope, an equall experience and triall of fortune, then eſchuing the battell, and conſuming them ſelues by degrees of temporiſing, to giue their enemies the victorie without bloud and without daunger: That touching the late meſſage of the king, it was to bee conſtrued rather as an aduertiſement, then in nature of a commaundement, in which degree, if *Monſr D'aubigny* had taken it, he had done well: But now

Monſr D'aubigny ouerthrowne and taken priſoner.

the ſtate of the warre being chaunged by ſuch a diſorder, it was neceſſarie likewyſe that their deliberations ſhould alter: This laſt opinion preuailed, and therefore hauing aduertiſement by their eſpials that the Spaniſh bandes either all or parte were iſſued out of *Barletto*: *Monſr de Nemours* in like ſort tooke his way towardes *Ciriguole*, a way verie inconuenient both for the one and other armie, for that the countrey was barreine of freſh waters, the ſommer and hoate ſeaſon being of greater rage for drought, then was wont to be in the beginning of May: The diſpoſition of the time brought many afflictions both to the one and other armie, for that the very day of remouing, many ſoldiours died of drought by the waies: And the diſcommodities of the waies by the which they paſſed, gaue no leſſe impediment to their marching, the French not knowing whether the whole or parte of the Spaniſhe armie were in the field, for that both *Fabricius Colonne* with his light horſmen, tooke away the certeine knowledge, and alſo the Launces of the men at armes holden vpright, and the ſtalkes of fennels growing high in that countrey, dimmed their ſight that they could not well diſcerne: The Spanyardes were the firſt that arriued at *Ciriguole* which the Frenchmen kept, and incamping betweene two vines, they enlarged (by thaduiſe of *Proſper Colonno*) a ditch or trench which was at the entrey of their Camp: Whileſt they were dreſſing their lodgings or Camp, the diligence of the french in marching had brought them to the place, but by the cõdition of the time drawing near night, they ſtoode doubtfull whether they ſhould ſo ſodeinly accept the battell or deferre it till the day folowing: *Yues D'alegre* and the Prince of *Melfe*, perſwaded that the fight might bee put ouer till the next day, a reſpit conuenient for the refreſhing of their owne men, and to no leſſe purpoſe to diſtreſſe the Spanyardes, who, they hoped, would bee conſtrained by neceſſitie of vittels, to remoue their Camp: To this reaſon was ioyned alſo a conſideration of warre, howe muche it would bee to their diſaduauntage, to ſet vppon them in their lodgings, ſpecially being ignorant of the diſpoſition of the place: But as euery calamitie is ledde to his effect by his proper meane, and mortall men in many thinges, are made thinſtruments of their owne harmes: So *Monſr de Nemours* caried more by his raſhe inclination, then by the ſafe councell of others, the Spanyardes were charged with great furie aſwell by the French as *Svvyzzers*: And the fyre hauing taken the powder of the Spanyardes either by chaunce or by other meane, *Conſaluo* vſing thoccaſion of that accident, cryed with a courage well reſolued, the victorie is ours, God declares it by manifeſt tokens, ſpecially when we ſee we haue now no more neceſſitie of the ſeruice of artillerie: There be ſundrie opinions of the ſtate of this battell: The Frenche publiſhe that in the firſt encounter they brake the Spaniſh footemen, and offring to the artillerie, they had wonne it, and ſet the powder on fyre only by the darkenes of the night, their men at armes, by negligence & misknowledge, had charged their owne footemen, by which diſorder, the Spanyardes reaſſembled: But others reaſon, that for the difficultie to paſſe the ditche, the French men beginning to intricate and intangle them ſelues, fell to fleeing, no leſſe by their proper diſorder, then by the vertue of their enemies, being moſt of all amazed: For the death of *Monſr de Nemours*, who entring with the firſt into the furie of the fight, and as he was in the action of a noble Capteine to encourage his men to winne the trenche, was ſtriken dead with a boollet: There bee others, who diſcourſing more particularly, ſaie that *Monſr de Nemours*, diſpairing to be hable to paſſe the ditch, & labouring to turne his ſtrength towardes the flanke of the Camp to aduenture to enter on that ſide, cried that they ſhould giue backe: Which voice, to thoſe that knew not thoccaſion, gaue a ſigne

The ouerthrow and death of Mõſr de Nemours.

to

to flee, which ioyned to the chaunce of his death in the firſt ſquadron hapning alſo at the ſame tyme, cauſed all the armie to turne their backes and enter into a manifeſt fleeing: Some acquite the Viceroy for taking the battell againſt the councel of others, and do laye the blame vppon *Yues D'alegre*, who, contrary to thintention and deſire of the Viceroy to fight that daie, reprehending his fearefulnes, induced him to doe that whereunto he bare no diſpoſition: The battell was of very ſmall continuance, and albeit the Spaniſh paſſing ouer the ditch followed the chaſe of their enemies, yet as euen in calamities fortune is not without her fauours, ſo by the oportunitie of the night couering all thinges with darknes, there were fewe that fell into the perils that they feared moſt, I meane that were either taken or ſlaine, ſpecially of the horſmen, of whom *Monſr Chandion* was one: The reſidue with loſſe of their cariage and artillerie, ſaued them ſelues by fleeing: The Capteines aſwell as the ſoldiours being diſperſed into many ſeparate places, not as their vertue wold, but whether their feare and fortune ledde them: This victorie hapned the eight daie after the ouerthrow of *Monſr D'aubigny*, being both on Friday, a day which the Spanyardes haue obſerued to bee happie vnto them: The French, after the feare of the chaſe was paſſed, reaſſembled againe aſwell as the violence of the tyme & their fortune would ſuffer, and as men whoſe greater perils were yet to come, debated many deuiſes: Sometymes they thought beſt to ioyne with the reſidue of the armie in ſome place conuenient, to take from the victors all meanes to goe to *Naples*, & eftſoones they iudged it moſt conuenient for their ſafetie, to ſticke to the defence of *Naples*: And yet, as it hapneth that to men in aduerſitie their feares growe dayly greater, and to ſuch as bee vanquiſhed is left nothing but conſideration of difficulties: So neither one of theſe deuiſes was ſuffred to bee put in execution: For that neither had they any election of places for their ſafe abiding, neither was their poſſibilitie to defende *Naples* for the skarcetie of vittelles: For the prouiſion and furniſhing whereof, the French had ſent affore to *Rome* to buy a great quantitie of corne, which they could not tranſport, either for the impediments that they of *Rome* gaue, ſeeking to haue their towne ſtande in good prouiſion, or rather by the ſecret perſuaſion of the Pope, which was not the leaſt credible.

The conſideration of theſe difficulties made *Alegre* the Prince of *Salerne*, & many other Barons to retyre betweene *Caietto* and *Tracetto*, where they reaſſembled vnder their names, the moſt parte of the reſidue of the armie: But *Conſaluo* to whoſe vertue this one thing was peculiar and proper, to know howe to follow his fortune aſwell as he was skilfull to get the victorie, after this good ſucceſſe, tooke his waie with the armie towardes the towne of *Naples*, and as he paſſed by *Melfe*, he made offer to the Prince to leaue him poſſeſſed of his whole eſtate, ſo that hee would remeine at the deuotion of the Spanyardes: But he rather chuſing to go his way with his wyfe and children, went to ioyne with *Leuvys D'ars* lying at *Venouſa*: By whoſe departure *Conſaluo* taking *Melfe*, folowed his way directly to *Naples*, at whoſe comming thoſe Garriſons of the French which were in the towne, retired into the new Caſtle, and the *Napolitans* depriued of all hope but ſuch as is left to men abandoned, receiued *Conſaluo* the xiiij. daie of May, *Capua* and *Auerſa* doing the lyke in the ſame tyme.

Conſaluo in Naples.

The ende of the fift booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE SYXT BOOKE.

THE French King makes his preparation to passe into Italy : Pope Alexander the sixt is empoisoned : His successour Pope Pius the third dieth within xxvi. daies : Iulius the seconde is created Pope: The Duke Valentynois is apprehended prisoner : The Frenchmen are ouerthrowne at Garillan : The Florentyns faile to take the Citie of Pisa : Peace is established betweene the French King and the King of Spanyardes.

THE SYXT BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

"THAT man erreth lesse who promiseth to him self a chaūge of thaffaires of this world, then he that persuadeth that they are alwaies firme and stable: And albeit the man wise and resolute, is seldom displeased with things which ought to bee borne, for that what so euer might happen to an other, hee neuer complaineth if it chaunce to him: Yet, (so is the state of man intangled with infirmities) there hapneth no mutation which in some sort shaketh not the resolution and constancie of the minde : An example verified in the person of the french king : Who, assoone as he harde the newes of so great a losse, and in a time wherein he had more exspectation of peace, then of warre: Entred into no litle alteration, concurring in that aduersitie, not only the depriuation of a kingdom so mightie and florishing, with the desolation and ruine of his armies compounded of his chiefest nobilities and men of race and vertue: But also he considered the perill wherein stood all the residue of that which he helde in *Italy*, which as he had alreadie made the rewardes of his glorie and victories, so he reserued to adioyne them (as perpetuall monuments) to the reputation of his Empire and greatnes: But the humor which most fedde this passion, proceeded chiefly of impacience against his fortune, esteeming his dishonour so much the greater, by howe much he was vanquished by the king of Spanyardes, whose power he iudged to bee farre inferiour to his, an errour familiar with Princes to esteeme lesse of their enemie then he is, and more of their owne forces then they are in deede: And as in these cases the despite of the iniurie doth much to enforce a desire of reuenge, so the king debating deepely the estate and nature of the wrong, which was, to be beguiled vnder hope & promise of peace, determined to runne vnto the remedie which commonly those men vse that holde them selues iniuried: That is, with all his forces and meanes to assaie to recouer the honour and kingdom he hath lost, and with armes to restore the reputation

putation that had bene ſtolne from him by deceite, holding it no iniuſtice to bee reuenged of him that did the firſt wrong: But affore he entred into the action of any enterpriſe, hee complained greeuouſly to Tharchduke not yet departed from *Bloys*, recommending to him the infamie of infidelitie, and howe much it imported him to redreſſe thabuſe, if he had any vertue to preſerue his faith and his honour: By which inſtigation, the Archduke (whoſe innocencie held him ſufficiently acquited) ſolicited greatly his father in lawe, to redreſſe the abuſe, complaining in vehement tearmes that thinges were ſo handled to his great ſlaunder, and that in the ſight and knowledge of all the worlde: It hath bene a cuſtome with the Princes of the world to enterteine one an other with vaine hopes and artificiall practiſes, eſteeming more thoccaſions which the tyme offreth, then the faith and promiſes which them ſelues doe make: For, the kinges of *Spaine*, with many excuſes, deferred to ſend the ratification of peace affore the victorie, alleaging ſometymes, that hauing a cuſtome to make their diſpatches ioyntly, they could neuer bee both together in one place as was neceſſarie: And ſometimes that they were ſo peſtred with the multitude of affaires, that all oportunities to that expedition, were preiudiciall: In which excuſes may bee manifeſtly diſcerned the ill diſpoſicion they had to embrace the peace, either for that their ſonne in lawe had exceeded their commiſſions, or els for that after he was departed out of *Spaine*, they were entred into a better hope of the iſſue & ſucceſſe of the warre: Or at leaſt for that it ſeemed ſtraunge to them, that he had appropriated to him ſelfe their parte of the realme, hauing no aſſurance (by the minoritie of the children) that the mariage of his ſonne ſhould take effect: And yet as they alwaies expreſſed inclinations to peace, and gaue continuall hopes to ratifie it: So, by deferring, they wonne aſmuch tyme as they could, to thend to take aduice according to the euent of thinges: And obſeruing ſtill the ſame ſleight to temporize and interteine, after they vnderſtood by true aduertiſement that their armie remeined victorious, albeit they were reſolued to holde no reckoning of the peace that was made, yet did they deferre to declare their intenciō to Tharchduke, to thende, that keeping by that meanes the french king in ſuſpence, he might haue the leſſe oportunitie to prepare for the reskuing of *Caietta* & the other places which yet remeined: At length, conſtrained by the importunities of their ſonne in lawe (who was determined that otherwaies he would not departe from *Bloys*) they ſent thether newe Embaſſadours, by whom was declared, after diſputation of certeine dayes, that it was not thintencion of their kings to ratifie that peace which had bene made in that ſort, which neither in matter, meaning, nor circumſtance, it caried either honour or ſuertie for them: And entring into controuerſie with Tharchduke, they tolde him, that it brought no litle maruell and diſcontentment to his father in lawe, that in the conditions of the peace, he had tranſgreſſed their will, and that albeit in regarde of his honour his commiſſion was free and large, yet hee ought to communicate with thinſtructions that were giuen him, which were limited & ſubiect to rule: Tharchduke anſwered that his inſtructions were no leſſe free and vniuerſall then his commiſſion, and that at his departure, his parentes in lawe aſſured him that they deſired the peace chiefly by his meanes, and did ſweare vppon the holy Goſpel and image of Ieſus Chriſt to obſerue what ſo euer he ſhould determyne: And yet for his owne parte, hee was contented to trauell in it as in the perſon of a man regulated, and forbearing to vſe the amplitude and authoritie of his commiſſion, he alwaies communicated with the two perſonages which they had ſent with him: Theſe newe Embaſſadours working all by art, propounded newe meanes of

accorde, diſcloſing as it were that their kinges had deſire to render the realme to king *Federyke*: But thoſe deuiſes being diſcerned not only to bee vaine, but alſo full of skorne and deceipt, for that they tended to eſtraunge from the frenche king the ſpirite of Tharchduke, who looked to haue that kingdome for his ſonne: The king in publike audience anſwered them, that he would in no ſort treat or negociat with them, if firſt they ratified not the peace that was made, and declared that the diſorders hapned by it did much diſcontent them: He tolde them that it ſeemed to him a matter not only marueilous, but alſo deteſtable and abhominable, that thoſe kings who gloried ſo muche to haue gotten the title of *Catholyques*, would holde ſo baſe reckoning of their proper honour, their faith giuen, their othe ſworne, and of the religion they profeſſe, bearing no reſpect to the Archduke, a Prince ſo great, ſo noble, ſo vertuous, and their ſonne and heire: With this anſwer commaunding them the ſame day to departe his Court, he turned immediatly all his wittes to the preparations of the warre, wherein taking occaſion vppon the greatnes of the wrongs that had bene done, hee determined to aduaunce farre greater prouiſions both by land and ſea, then had bene done in any tymes affore by any of the kings of *Fraunce*:

« So importunate is the paſſion of reuenge in the mindes of mortall men, who not-
« withſtanding finde oftentimes more ſecuritie to diſſemble iniuries then to reuenge
« them.

In ſo much as he determined to ſende two mightie armies to the realme of *Naples*, the one by ſea and the other by land: And leaſt in the meane while *Caietto* and the Caſtles of *Naples* were loſt, he prepared to ſuccour them with diligence by ſea, aſwell with new ſupplies of men of warre, as with all other neceſſarie thinges: And to giue impediment that there went no ſuccours out of *Spaine* (which had bene the cauſe of all the diſorders) he reſolued to inuade the kingdom of *Spaine* with two armies by lande, addreſſing one to the countrey of *Roſsillion* which adioyneth to the ſea *Mediterraney*, and the other to *Fontearaby* with the other places aſſiſting vppon the *Occean* ſea: And alſo at the ſame time, to aſſaile with an armie by ſea, the coaſtes of *Catelognia* and *Valencia*.

The Caſtles of Naples taken by the Spaniſhe.

But whileſt the French were diligent in preparing for theſe expedicions, *Conſaluo* deuiſing how he might haue the Caſtles of *Naples*, planted his artillerie againſt new Caſtle at the foote of the hill Saint *Martyn*: From thence on a place ſomewhat raiſed, he beat the wall of the Citadell, whoſe ſituation being towards the ſayd mounteine, was made ſtrong with auncient walles, their foundations being almoſt vnder the earth: At the ſame tyme alſo *Peter* of *Nauarro* caſt a myne to ouerthrowe the walles of the Citadell, battring alſo the new Caſtle walles, and the Towre of *S. Vincent* which *Conſaluo* had wonne a fewe daies before: Newcaſtle had a forme & building after an other faſhion then it is at this day, for that now the Citadell being taken away, there beginneth a newe circuit of walles, where were the walles of the ſame, and that ſtretcheth along the place of the Caſtle vntil the ſea: This circuit begun by *Federyke* & by him raiſed euen to the waſt, being made of verie ſtrong matter of walling, & wel foũded, is very hard to be vndermined, for that it is ſubiect to coũtermynes on all ſides, and alſo the water runneth almoſt vppõ the vppermoſt part of the ground: *Conſaluo* had a determinatiõ, that aſſoone as he had taken the Citadell, and comming neare the valte of the Caſtle wal, he would deſtroy it with new mines: But either by the naturall raſhnes, or by the ill fortune of the french men, a greater occaſion was offred to him, the aduerſities of the French making all thinges happie to their enemies: For, after *Peter* of *Nauarro* had put fyre to the myne which he had perfected,

perfected, the furie of the powder blewe open the wall of the Citadell, and at the same instant the Spanish bandes of footemen standing readie arenged in battell exspecting thoperation of the fyerworke, made entryes on many sides, partly by those places of the wall that were broken, and partly vsing the seruice of eskaling ladders, they commaunded the wall in sundrie other places not hurt by the myne, their fortune making those things easie, which by experience & reason seemed not without manifest peril: On the other side, the french, issuing out of the Castle of intenciō not to suffer them to remeine within the Citadel, charged them, but with a succesſe farre inferior to their vertue, for that being immediatly ouerlaied with multitudes of the Spanish, as they retyred towardes the Rampier, the Spanyards entred pellmell with them, and running with the same fortune euen vp to the way that goeth to the gate, they so redoubled the feares of the Frēch mē alredy appalled by the dispaire of their own estate, that standing in condition vtterly abandoned, in lesse then half an houre they rendred the Castle with their goods & liues to discressiō, the *Count* of *Montoire* remeining prisoner with many other Lordes: This cōqueſt was so much the more agreeable to the Spanyards, & lesse for the purpose of the frēch, by how much there arriued from *Genes* the daie folowing, for their succours, an armie by sea of six great ships, with many smaller vessels fraighted with vittels, weapō, & munitiōs, & a regiment of two thousand footmen: At the discouery of this Nauy, the Spanish army at sea riding then in the port of *Naples*, retired into *Yschia*, whether the French Nauie pursued them vnderstāding the new Castle was lost: But the Spanish Nauie hauing sunke before them certeine Barkes, to thend they were not compelled to fight, after they had bestowed certeine bollnes of shot one against an other more for pleasure then preiudice, they brake of, the one going to *Caietta*, and the other being reassured by the departure of the enemie, retyred to the mole of *Naples*: Fortune doing more for their safetie then their owne vertue.

The newv Castle of Naples assalted.

After the taking of new Castle, *Consaluo* fell to deuise by what meanes he might haue the residue of the realme, and therfore without tarying for tharmy that was in *Calabria* (which laie there to conquer the vale of *Ariana* to take away all impedimēts to passe further) he sent *Prosper Colonne* into *Abruzza*: And leauing *Peter* of *Nauarro* affore the Egg Castle, he marched with the residue of tharmie towardes *Caietta*, in the taking wherof he supposed did consist the summe of the warre, for that both the hopes and the dispaires of the French men depended wholly vppon the defence or losse of that Citie, strong by the oportunitie of the sea, and by the conueniencie and greatnes of his port, verie fitte to receiue the armies that should be sent from *Genes* to *Prouance*: Touching the French men, they did not only hold *Caietta*, but also, besides the places thereaboutes which were in their power, they commaunded in *Abruzza*, *Aquilea*, the rocke of *Euandra*, with many other places: Besides, the Lord *Levvys D'ars*, hauing reassembled many trowpes of horsmen and footemē, & being fortefied with the Prince of *Melfa* within *Venousa*, did great harmes to the countrie thereabout: Lastly, *Ronssano*, *Matalona*, with many other strong peeces apperteining to the Barons of the faction of *Aniovv*, helde out constantly at the deuocion of the french king, their vallour notwithstanding being insufficiēt to resist their aduersities.

In this meane while *Peter* of *Nauarro* made certein cloase or couered Barks, with the which approching in more suertie the walles of the Egg Castle, he cast a mine on that side which prospects *Pizifalcona*, without the knowledge or priuitie of thē within, & assone as he had intāgled it with the fire, he blew into the aire in great fury one part of the wall together with the bodyes of men that stoode vppon it: With the

which, both for the action terrible, and the newnes of the deuiſe, ſtraunge, the Caſtle was immediatly taken to the ſpeciall reputation of *Peter* of *Nauaro*, and generall wonder of all men, for that as newe inuentions to reuerſſe a ſtrong place are moſt fearfull, hauing as yet no deuiſe to encounter them, ſo it was incredible to what eſtate of opinion this new experience brought *Peter* of *Nauarro*, againſt whoſe mines " they thought that neither walles, fortreſſes, nor other working, could make reſiſtãce, " ſo readely is the nature of man raiſed into wonder when his mynd comprehẽds not " the reaſon of the things which the eye beholdeth performed in action: And ſure in thoſe daies it was a thing of great horrour that with the force of Canon pouder put into a Caue, or rather powred in the myne, men ſhould throwe downe to the earth, places & walles of greateſt ſtrength & moſt ſuttle foundatiõ: The firſt that vſed this experience of vndermining of walles in *Italy*, were the *Genovvaies*, amõgſt whõ according to the teſtimony of ſome, *Peter* of *Nauarre* exerciſed the art of warre in the perſon of a meane ſoldiour on foote: It was in the yeare. 1487. whẽ they laie incamped affore the rocke of *Serazenella* holdẽ then by the *Florentyns*, where, with a mine caſt in this maner, they opened a parte of the wall, miſſing notwithſtanding the taking of the rocke, for that the myne (by ſome errour or imperfection) had not pearced ſo deepe vnder the rocke, as was needefull, the ſame being thoccaſion that at that tyme the example of ſuch an experience was not folowed.

Conſaluo, drawing neare to *Caietto*, *Monſr D alegro*, who had diſtributed foure hundred Launces and foure thouſand footmen of thoſe which remeined of the fortune of the battell, betweene *Caietta*, *Fondi*, *Itrio*, *Tracetto*, and the rocke *Guillaumo*, retyred them all eftſoones within *Caietta*, wherein entred with him the Princes of *Salerne* & *Biſignan* the Duke of *Tracetto* with many other Barons of the realme ioyned affore with him: After the retraite of theſe companies *Conſaluo* entred vppon thoſe places which they had left abandoned, and alſo vppon the rocke of *S. Germain*, encamping afterwardes in the Subburbes of *Caietta*: And after he had planted his artillerie, he battred with an incredible furie that ſide towards the hauen, & the mounteine commonly called *Mount Roland*: A hill conioyned and hath commaundement ouer the Citie, and the which, the French men had then fortefied with Rampiers and Baſtillions of earth, being afterwards by him incloſed with wall: He aſſaied in vaine to enter with two aſſalts (but not ordered) and forbearing at laſt to giue the aſſalt general and diſpoſed that daie which he had determined to giue it, he ſaw it would be harde to haue it, aſwel for the numbers & vallours of thoſe within, as alſo when he cõſidered, that though his army ſhould enter by ſtrength into the mountein, yet he ſhould be but brought into greater peril, ſtanding open to the ſhot of thartillerie planted in the monaſtery & other high places vppõ the mounteine: He forbare not for all this to plaie with his artillerie & to moleſt the towne, which likewiſe was inuironed and beſeged on that ſide to the ſea, lying affore the hauẽ the xviij. Spaniſh Gallies which *Dom Raymon de Cardona* gouerned: But whileſt *Cõſaluo* was buiſie in theſe actiõs, there aryued for the French, a Nauie of ſix groſſe Carracks *Genovvaies*, ſix other ſhips, & ſeuen Gallies with good ſuccours of vittels & footmen. Their commaunder was the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, whõ by the death of *Monſr de Nemours*, the king had ſẽt thether for their newe *Viceroy*, the fortune of the warres notwithſtanding, nothing altring though the perſon of the General was chaunged: The king deſiring greatly to keepe *Caietta*, refurniſhed them eftſoones within fewe daies, what vppon thoſe veſſels and what vppon others, with a thouſand footemen of *Corſegna* and three thouſand *Gaſcoins*: In ſo muche as by the comming of this newe Nauie, the Spaniſh Fleete was

conſtrained

constrained to retyre to *Naples*, and *Consaluo* dispairing to do any more good there, retyred his regiments within the moale of *Caietta*, and within *Castellona*, whereby he kept *Caietta* beseeged with a seege (as it were) more large, after he had lost many of his people, partly by skirmishing, and some in retyring, amongst whom *Dom Hugues de Cardona* was slaine by a shot from the towne: But at the same tyme, all his other affaires of the kingdome trained a succesſe more happie, for that *Prosper Colonne* had newely taken the rocke of *Euandro* and *Aquileu*, and reduced all the other peeces of *Abruzza* to the Spanish deuotion, almost all *Calabria* yelding the lyke obedience by the contract which the *Count Capaccio* had lastly made with them: And there remeined no other place free from their iurisdiction, but *Rossano* and Saint *Seuerin* where the Prince of *Rossano* was beseeged, nothing resisting the felicitie of those men, whom fortune went about to make victors.

The Florentyns in the countrey of Pisa.

Whilest these alterations trauelled the kingdome of *Naples*, the other regions of *Italy* were not altogether voide of suspicions and troubles: For, the *Florentyns*, affore the fortune of the French beganne so headlong to decline in the kingdome of *Naples*, fearing indifferently the ambuscados of the Pope, & the ambition of the Duke *Valentynois*, forgat not to leauie prouisiõs of warre equal to the greatnes of the perill that threatned, holding it easie to suffer a mischief, whẽ they are sure of the remedie: They enterteyned into theyr paie for the leadyng of theyr armie (and yet without title of generall) the Baily of *Caen*, with fiftie Frenche Launces: A Capteyne for his owne perticular well recommended for the seruice of warre, and for the respect of the *Florentyns* verie conuenient, for that being the kinges subiect, & had brought his charge of fiftie Launces by the kinges consent, they had opinion that those of whom they earst doubted would now be better aduised what they would doe, the king expressing vnder that degree of fauour a disposition to be readie to their aide in all necessities: Assoone as hee was come to their armie, they reassembled all their troupes, & for the seconde tyme, cut of the corne of the *Pisans*, but not through the whole countrey, for that to enter the vale of *Sercle* was not without daunger, hauing his situation betwene the mounteins & the waters, & in the myd way betweene *Lucqua* & *Pisa*: Immediatly after they had giuẽ this spoile to their corne, the Camp marched to *Vicopisan* which was takẽ without difficultie, for that an hundred frẽch footmẽ being within it, the Baily of *Caẽ* threatning to punish thẽ as enemies to the king, & somtimes promising thẽ of liberalitie a moneths paie, they exchaũged their faith with feare & hope of profit, & issued out of the town, the same being thoccasiõ that *Vicopisan* was rendred to discressiõ: *Verucola* also wherin was but a slender guard, was forthwith enuironed, to thend no succors should enter into it: And thartillery being afterwardes trayled thether not without great difficulties, for that the mounteines thereaboutes, offred many troublesome impedimentes, those that were within, fearing more the thunder of the Cannõ, thẽ trusting to their proper vertue or fortune, yelded, their goods and lyues saued: The situation of *Verucola* being a litle fortresse raised vppon a hygh mounteyne during the warres in the countrey of *Pisa*, is of great importance: For that being within fiue miles of *Pisa*, it hath not only a naturall aptnes to distresse the countrey thereabout yea euen to the gates of the Citie, but also by his prospect he discouereth all the bandes and trowpes that come out of *Pisa* whether they bee on foote or horsemen: *Pavvle Vitelli* and many other experienced Capteyns made many tryals in vaine to carie it since the warre begun: And now the cõfidẽce that the *Pisans* had, that *Vicopisan* would be defended, without taking the which, the *Florẽtyns* could not encamp before *Verucola*, was the cause that

they had not made ſufficient prouiſion, wherein they helped forwarde the fortune of their enemies more by their proper negligence then by thothers vertue, opinion beguiling them againſt reaſon or experience: Greatly did amaze the *Piſans* the loſſe of *Verucola*, in whom notwithſtanding, neither the regarde of the harmes they had receiued, nor the conſideration of their other calamities, being miſerable by want of money and vittels, coulde worke no inclination to returne to the obedience of the *Florentyns*, languiſhing (by one common infirmitie) in diſpaire to obteine pardō for the conſcience of the great tranſgreſſions they had don: Which diſpoſition it was needful that ſuch as in the gouernment bare greateſt authoritie, ſhould enterteyne with a ſpeciall diligence, for that thoſe of the plaine countrey (without whom they were not able to cōtinue defence) bare no ſmall ſuſpection to run with the ſtreame, and to varie in minde as their common fortune declined: And therefore nouriſhing them with diuers hopes, together with thoſe eſtates of the common people that liued more by the benefites of peace, then troubles of warre, they publiſhed amongſt them ſundrie rumors vnder thauthoritie of fained letters, amuſing them with diuers inuentions: And confounding things falſe with thoſe that were true, if any accident hapned in *Italy*, they tooke thoportunitie & made it ſerue for their purpoſe, cōmunicating with the people that ſomtimes one Prince, ſomtimes an other, were readie to come to ſuccor thē: They made perſuaſiōs according to the propertie of the time, vſing their tonges in ſtead of force, to ſtaie thoſe men vpon whō depēded their owne ſafetie: But in al theſe extremities they were not without ſome aide & ſuccors of the *Genovvaies* & *Lucquois* auncient enemies of the *Florentyns*, & likewiſe of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, bearing litle remēbrance of the benefits receiued: And (which was of greateſt importāce) they were alſo noriſhed in ſecret with certein ſuccors, but with far greater hopes, by the Duke *Valētynois*: Ambition hath infinit operatiōs, & in this abuſeth
" thimaginatiōs of men, that it makes thē ſeeme able to hold thoſe things which they
" can not gripe, & raiſeth their mynds to cōceiue matters aboue their power or poſſi-
" bilitie: For the Duke, in whō had long raged a deſire to make him ſelf Lord of that citie, & in other times had abſteined for feare of the kings diſpleaſure, tooke now thaduaūtage of the time, & preſuming much by the infelicitie of the frēch in the realme of *Naples*, he ioyned to him the cōſent of his father, & treated with the *Piſan* Embaſſadours whom they had ſent to *Rome* for that purpoſe, to accept the iuriſdiction aſpiring by that meane to occupie all *Tuskane*: A deuiſe which albeit brought the *Florentyns* and *Siennois* into no ſmall ſuſpicion of him, yet thuniuerſall benefit being hindred by their perticularities, there was no proceeding to that vnitie which the french king propoūded betweene the *Florentyns*, the *Bollonois*, & the *Siennois*, for that they of *Florence* refuſed to accept it if they were not repoſſeſſed of *Mont Pulcian* as had bene ſolicited & promiſed from the beginning: And *Pandolfe* who bare a minde eſtraunged from it (albeit he made other ſhowe) alleaged that to reſtore it, would ſo ſtirre vp the hate of the people of *Sienna* againſt him, that he ſhould be conſtrained yet once againe to forſake the towne, and therefore he ſaide it was better (for the common benefite) to deferre it as yet, till time brought about a better occaſion, thē in reſtoring it preſently to further the Duke *Valentynois* with meanes to occupie *Sienna*: By theſe meanes, denying nothing he kept things in longnes and delaies ſeeking to leaue the *Florentyns* contented with hopes in ſtead of effects: Which excuſes by thē reiected were accepted & beleeued in the Court of *Fraunce*, by the meane of *Frauncis de Naruy* reſident at *Sienna* by the kings commaundement.

But it was not thintention of the Pope and *Valentynois* to put theſe enterpriſes

prises to executiō, otherwayes then the proceeding of tharmie which the king prepared, gaue them courage, and induced them by occasions to sticke more to the one king then to the other: Whereuppon in that tyme they stoode in suspencion & variation of thoughtes, deferring asmuche as they could the declaration of their intencion, which bare no fauour or inclination to the Frenche King further then there was feare to constraine them, for that thexperience of thinges passed in *Bologna* and *Tuskane*, tooke away all hope to attempt greater matters with his fauour: And for that reason, as they had begunne affore the victorie of the Spanyards to become more and more seperate from him in will: So after the victorie, rising in impudencie and weening, they respected no more (as they were wont to doe) neither his will nor his authoritie, his aduersities disclosing their corruptions, which in his prosperities he rather suspected then discerned: And albeit, immediatly after the ouerthrowes of the Frenche, they gaue assurance to embrace the kinges quarrels, making demonstration to enterteine men to send to the realme of *Naples*: Yet, what by the ambition of new conquests, and greedie eyes they cast vppon the riches of *Tuskane*, the king requiring that they would declare them selues openly for him, the Pope aunswered in suche miserie and doubt, that by howe much lesse they were innocent in wordes or meaning, by so muche more it was reasonable in the king to suspect them: Their simulation and dissimulation being so notable, that it was a prouerbe ordinarie in *Rome*, that the Pope neuer did that which he saide, and the Duke seldome spake that which hee ment: Besides the contention wherein they were with *Iohn Iordan* was not yet determined: For, albeit *Valentynois* fearing the kinges displeasure, abstained to molest him vppon his maiesties commaundement: Yet the Pope declaring howe muche that greeued him, ceassed not to solicit the king to suffer him either by armes to reconquer the estates of *Iohn Iordan*, or els by some other degree of compulsion to see that he had recompense for them: Giuing to vnderstande that that which moued him was not ambition, but a iust feare of his neighbourhead, proceeding vppon this suspition, that finding amongst the papers of Cardinall *Vrsin* a blanke signed with the proper hande of *Iohn Iordan*, it was an argumēt, that in those things which were negociated at *Maisons*, he had one self will and intelligēce against him with the *Vrsins*: In which thing the king more regarding profit thē honestie, had proceeded diuersly according to the diuersitie of times, sometimes expressing fauour to *Iohn Iordan* as before, and sometimes inclining to satisfie the Pope in some degree: And for that cause *Iohn Iordan* refusing to depose *Braccia-no* into the hands of the French Embassador resident at *Rome*, the king required that they should reappose vppō him the resolution of the differēce vnder cōdition, that *Iohn Iordan* should be cōueied into *Fraūce* within two moneths, & that things should remeine in that estate vntil he had determined: Wherunto as *Iohn Iordan* consented by necessitie, hoping through his owne merits & thexspectatiō he had of his father and him, to be fully deliuered from such vexations: So also in the Pope appeared no resistāce, more for feare then otherwise, for that the french king required such a matter in a time whē Tharchduke cōtracted the peace in the name of the kings of *Spain*: But the condition of things being chaunged by the victorie of thē Spanyardes, and seeing with all that the french king had neede of him, he demaunded all the states of *Iohn Iordan*, offring the recompence that should be declared by the king, who for the same occasiō induced *Iohn Iordan* to consent therunto, & to promise to deliuer in his sonne for the assurance of that which should bee determined: A matter which the king did greatly against his wil, for that he had no intentiō to deliuer vp those estates

A prouerbe vppon the Popes dissembling.

to the Pope, if at the same instant, he ioyned not with him openly in the warre of *Naples*, holding it as reasonable for him as for the Pope, to take the aduantage of things, and to serue his turne of controuersies: But they of *Petillano* where the sonne of *Iohn Iordan* was, refusing to deliuer him to the kinges Embassadour who was gone to *Port Hercules* to receiue him, *Iohn Iordan* him selfe being then returned, went to Thembassadour, and to fulfill the promise of his faith, offred him his proper person, which Thembassadour accepted with litle reputation, and with lesse discression bestowed him in a ship, but assoone as the king knewe it, he caused him to bee set at libertie, esteeming it an iniurie dishonorable to doe iustice vppon him for the disobedience of others.

The Fr. king prepares mightely against the K. of Spaine.

In this meane while, there was vsed a generall diligence to leauie the preparations which the french king ment to emploie both on thisside & beyond the mounts: For, the Lorde *D'albert* and the Mareshall of *Gie*, were gone into *Guien* with foure hundred Launces, and fiue thousande footemen aswell *Svvyzzers* as *Gascoins*, to make warre on the part of *Fontarabye*: And to stirre vp the Countie of *Rossillion*, the Mareshall of *Rieux* was sent into *Languedocke* with eight hundred Launces and eight thousande footemen, parte *Svvyzzers* and parte French: And at the same time the Nauie by sea hoysed sayle to endomage the coastes of *Catelogna* and the realme of *Valence*: Besides, the king had dispatched for *Italy* with title of Capteine generall ouer his armie, the Lorde *Trymouille* (to whom was transferred by vniuersall opinion the whole merit and reputation for matters of warre, within the realme of *Fraunce*) and sent with the same expedition, the Baily of *Dyon* to dispatche eight thousande *Svvyzzers*, the men at armes also and the footmen making hast to marche notwithstanding the armie was not so strong as was determined in the beginning: Perhaps the king would haue it so, not for dishabilitie, or for that he would spare, but for that he desired that they might make the more expedition into the kingdome of *Naples*, & partly becawse *Monsr D'alegro* aduertising the king of the state of thaffaires there, assured him that the remeynder of the armie was stronger then it was in deede, both for that the townes and Barons remeined firme in his deuocion, and also he had demaunded succours of all those in *Italy* which fauoured his faction: By which meane and industrie, the *Florentyns* had graunted him the Baily of *Caen* with the fiftie Laūces paied of their owne money, and an hundred and fiftie other men at armes: The Duke of *Ferrara* also and the *Bollonoys*, with the Marquis of *Mantua* (who for that the king sent to him, went to him in person) did furnishe him euery one in perticular with an hundred men at armes, and they of *Sienna* with an other hundred: Which bandes, ioyned to the eight hundred Launces & fiue thousand *Gascoins* which *Trymouille* brought into *Italy*, and to the eight thousand *Svvyzzers* which were exspected, reckoning also those that remeined within *Caietta*, made vp the number of a thousand eight hundred Launces French and Italian, & more then eightiene thousande footemen: Besides these preparations for the warre by lande, the armie by sea was departed, a Nauie strong and glorious: In so muche as all men confessed that there was no memorie that any Frenche king had euer made so huge and mightie preparations (making distinction of the forces both by sea and by land, gathered aswell on thisside as beyond the mountes): But it was not thought good for the kings suertie, to suffer his armie to passe by *Rome*, if first his maiestie were not well assured of the Pope and Duke *Valentynois*, for that he had iust occasion to doubt of them for many reasons and many demonstrations, but specially by the testimonie of certeine letters from *Valentynois* to *Consaluo* newly surcepted, wherein was debated betweene them

them that if *Conſaluo* tooke *Caietto* (in which caſe he ſhould ſtande well aſſured of all the matters of the kingdome) he ſhould paſſe further with his armie, and *Valentynois* ſhould take vppon him the iuriſdiction of *Piſa*, and ſo they both to ioyne in one ſtrength to aſſaile *Tuskan*: In which reſpect, the king, his armie being alreadie paſſed into *Lumbardy*, was very importunate that they ſhould at laſt, declare their vttermoſt intencion, holding it better to know them as they were, then to doubt them to bee more or leſſe then he ſhould finde them: And for their partes, albeit they liſtned to both partes, and treated with euerie one, yet, iudging that the tyme was conuenient to make traffike of the trauelles of an other, their deſires caried them moſt to ioyne with the Spanyſhe: But they were reſtrained againe with the conſideration of this manifeſt daunger, leaſt the frenche armie woulde begyn to inuade their eſtates, in which caſe they ſhould feele domage and diſpleaſure, where they hoped to reape rewardes and greatnes: In this eſtate of doubt and inceriteintie of inclination, they ſuffred both partes to leauie apparantly bandes of footemen within *Rome*, deferring as much as they could to declare them ſelues: But being at laſt in tearmes reſolute vrged by the king, they offred that the Duke ſhould be ioyned to his armie with fiue hundred men at armes and two thouſand footemen, the king conſenting not only to the occupying of the lands of *Iohn Iordan*, but alſo to the conquering of *Sienna*: And yet when they were vppon the point of concluſion, they varied, introducing newe difficulties, as men, who (according to their cuſtome) to be at libertie to take councell of the euent of things, had no deſire to declare them ſelues according to good meaning: And therefore there was propounded an other nature of practiſe, by the which the Pope ſeeming not to declare for any of the parties, but to remeine in the perſon of a common father, conſented to giue paſſage to the french armie through the dominions of the Church, with promiſe not to moleſt neither the *Florentyns*, the *Siennois*, nor the *Bollonois* during the warres in the realme of *Naples*: Which conditions had at length bene accepted by the king, to thende to giue expedition of paſſage to his armie to *Naples*, albeit he knew they were neither honorable for him ſelf, nor ſure for ſuche as depended on him in *Italy*, ſeeing he had no aſſurance that the Pope and *Valentynois* would not declare againſt him, if any misfortune hapned to him in the realme: Beſides there was this daunger leaſt aſſoone as his armie was out of the territories of *Rome*, they would not riſe contrary to their faith, to aſſaile *Tuskan*, which for the diſagreement of the people, and the numbers of men which hee had drained out of it, was become weake and almoſt diſarmed, being a thing not vnlikely that he would either ſet vppon that enterpriſe or ſome other, ſeeing they had ſo long tyme exſpected occaſions, thinking to draw out of them a wonderful profit.

But as the cogitations of men are vaine, and their thoughtes full of deceipt: So, when they ſtoode in the higheſt eſtate of their hopes, beholde the Pope who went to ſupper in a Vineyarde neare the *Vatican* to reioyce in the delight and pleaſure of the freſhe ayre, is ſodeinly caried for dead to the Biſhoppes Pallaice, his ſonne alſo communicating in the ſame accident but with better fortune: For the daie folowing which was the eightiene day of Auguſt, the dead corps of the Pope (according to cuſtome) was borne into the Church of *S. Peter*, blacke, ſwolne, and moſt diffourmed, moſt manifeſt ſignes of poiſon: But *Valentynous* what by the vigour & ſtrength of his youth, and readie helpe of ſtrong medecines and contrepoiſons, had his lyfe ſaued, remeining notwithſtanding oppreſſed with a long and greeuous ſicknes: It was aſſuredly beleeued that thaccident proceeded of poiſon, the diſcourſe whereof according to common reapport was in this ſort: The Duke *Valentynois*, who was to

Pope Alex. the. 6. dead.

bee preſent at that ſupper, had determined to poiſon *Adrian* Cardinall of *Cornette*, reſeruing that tyme and place to execute his bloudie reſolution: For it is moſt certeine that in his father and him were naturall cuſtomes to vſe poiſon, not only to be reuenged of their enemies, or to bee aſſured of ſuſpitions, but alſo vppon a wicked couetouſnes to diſpoile rich men of their goods, whether they were Cardinalles or Courtiers, although they had neuer done them wrong, as hapned to the Cardinall Saint *Ange* who was verie riche: This maner of rage they would vſe alſo agaynſt their greateſt friendes and familiars, and ſuche as had bene their moſt faithfull ſeruantes, ſuch as were the Cardinalles of *Capua* and *Modeno*: A recompenſe vnwoorthie the merits of good men, and not diſagreeable to the diſpoſition of ſuch a father and ſonne, wherof the one made all things lawfull by vile diſpenſation, and with the other nothing was diſhoneſt wherin was oportunitie to his purpoſes: The Duke *Valentynois* ſent before certeine Flagons with wine infected with poiſon, which he gaue to a ſeruant that knew nothing of the matter, commaunding that no perſon ſhoulde touche them: A commaundement preiudiciall to his maiſter, as the ignorance of the ſeruant was thinſtrument in the euill that hapned both to the father and ſonne: " Such is the ſuffrance of God, who in the execution of his iudgementes, raiſeth one " murderer to kill an other, & breaketh the brandes of the fyre vppon the head of him " that firſt kindled it: For, the Pope comming by aduenture ſomewhat before ſupper, and ouercome with the drought & immoderate heat of the tyme, called for drinke: And becauſe his owne prouiſion was not yet brought from the Pallaice, he that had the infected wine in charge, thinking it to bee recommended to his keeping for a wine moſt excellent, gaue the Pope to drinke of the ſame wine which *Valentynois* had ſent: Who arriuing whileſt his father was drinking drunke alſo of the ſame wine, being but iuſt that they both ſhould taſte of the ſame cup which they had brued for the deſtruction of others: All the towne of *Rome* runne with great gladnes to Saint *Peters* about the dead bodie of the Pope, their eyes not being ſatisfied to ſee dead and deſtroied a Serpent, who with his immoderate ambition and poiſoned infidelitie, together with all the horrible examples of crueltie, luxurie, and monſtruous couetouſnes, ſelling without diſtinction both holie thinges and prophane thinges, had infected the whole world: And yet was accompanied with a moſt rare and almoſt perpetuall proſperitie euen from his young age to the ende of his lyfe, deſiring alwayes great things, and obteining moſt often that he deſired: An example of much importance to confound the arrogancie of thoſe men who preſuming to know and ſee perfectly with humain eyes the depth of Gods iudgements, do aſſure, that what hapneth either good or ill to mortall men, proceedeth either of their merites or faltes: As though we ſawe not daily many good men vniuſtly tormented, and many wicked perſons aboue their deſeruings liue in eaſe & honour: Wherein who makes an other interpretation, derogates the iuſtice and power of God, the greatnes of which being not to bee conteined within any ſcriptes or tearmes preſent, knoweth howe well and largely to diſcerne in an other tyme and place, the iuſt from the vniuſt and that with rewardes and eternall puniſhments.

The Duke *Valentynois* no leſſe ſorowfull for the death of his father, then languiſhing in his owne infirmitie, retyred all his bandes of men of warre about him, lying ſicke in the Pallaice: And hauing alwayes thought, partly by the feare of his armes, & partly through the fauour of the Spaniſh Cardinals which were eleuē, to create a Pope at his pleaſure after the death of his father: He founde nowe impediments aboue his exſpectation, ſpecially in the matter of the election, & all his other

plottes

plottes and deuiſes to ſuffer imperfection and errour by reaſon of his diſeaſe which was verie daungerous: In which reſpect he complained greeuouſly, for that hauing oftentimes foreſeene all the accidents that might happen to him by the death of his father, and withall caſt all the remedies that the witte of man might comprehende, yet he could neuer imagine that at the ſame time he ſhould be reſtrained with a ſickneſs ſo daungerous: And therefore finding it neceſſarie to frame his councelles, not to the plottes he had layde before, but to the neceſſitie preſent: He ſawe he was not hable in one tyme to ſuſteine the hatred of the *Colonnois* and *Vrſins*, and fearing leaſt they ſhould ioyne in conſpiracie againſt him, he reſolued to reappoſe rather in thoſe whom he had offended only in their goods, then to truſt to the behauiour of ſuch as he had greeued both in their goods and perſons: And in that minde he procured readie reconcilement with the *Colonnois* and ſuch of the *Vale* as folowed that faction, he inuited them to returne eftſoones to their eſtates, and made reſtitution of the Caſtles which *Alexander* with great expenſes had fortefied and enlarged, the alteration and feare of the tyme compelling him to doe more then any regarde to honour, equitie, conſcience, or religion: All which notwithſtanding, ſufficed not neither for his ſuertie, nor to keepe the towne of *Rome* in peace, wherein all thinges were full of ſuſpicions and tumultes, for that both *Proſper Colonno* was entred and all that faction had taken armes: And alſo *Fabio Vrſin* comming euen to the houſes of the famylie of *Mont Iordan*, had with a great multitude of his partakers ſet a fire certeine marchands ſhoppes and the houſes of many Spaniſh Courtiers, a nation generally enuyed by the memorie of thinſolencies which they had done during the Popedom of *Alexander*: Beſides, *Fabio* thirſting after the bloud of *Valentynois*, made great leauies of forreine ſouldiours, and ſolicited *Bartlemevv Aluiano* being then in the paie of the *Venetians*, to ioyne with him and his houſe in the reuenge of ſo many wrongs as he had don them, thinking it but iuſt to raiſe violence againſt him, whoſe furie had not ſpared to perſecute them and their friendes with all ſortes of oppreſſion and ruines: The ſubburbes and meadowes ſo ſwarmed with the men of warre of *Valentynois*, that the Cardinals ſeeing no reaſon of ſuertie to aſſemble at the Biſhops Pallaice, drewe together at the couent of the Church of *Minerua*, at which place (contrary to the auncient cuſtome) they began, but farre later thē they were wont, to doe the funerall of *Alexander*: The trouble and mutinie of the tyme preſent not only deferring the celebration of the obſequies, but alſo ſomewhat derogating the ceremonie, detecting in thoſe laſt actions the abhominable and infamous lyfe of him in whoſe regard they were done: It was much feared leaſt *Conſaluo* would come to *Rome*, ſpecially for that *Proſper Colonno* had left at *Marina*, a certeine number of Spaniſh ſoldiours, and for the reconciliation of *Valentynois* with the *Colonnois*, it was beleeued that he had an intention to folow the Spaniſh faction: But greater were the feares of the comming of the french armie, which had marched ſlowly till that day, for that in the publike councelles of the *Svvyzzers* (being not a litle amazed for the ill fortune of the French in the realme of *Naples*) it was doubted affore the contract, that the king could not make leauie of their men, and all the Capteynes and footemen choſen together had refuſed for the ſame occaſion, the ſame being the cauſe that they were not ſo readie, and that they made long aboade by the wayes: But in reſpect of the Popes death, the armie which was gouerned by the Marquis of *Mantua* with title of the kings Lieftenant, and by the Baily of *Caen*, & *Monſr de Sandricourt*, in whom except the name, remeyned as much power as in the General, for that *Trimouille* remeined ſicke at *Parma*: Was come without tarying for the *Svvyz-*

zers, to the territories of *Sienna*, with intencion to goe to *Rome* according to the direction of the king, who also had commaunded the Nauie which was at *Caietta* to make saile to *Ostia*, to giue impediment to *Consaluo* for going to *Rome* with his armie to compel the Cardinals to chuse a Pope at his deuotiō: Notwithstanding the frēch armie remeined certeyne dayes betweene *Boncouent* and *Viterbe*, for that the marchands making difficultie for the trobled tyme that was at *Rome* to accept the billes of exchaunge that were sent out of *Fraunce*, the *Svvyzzers* now comē into the coūtrey of *Sienna*, refused to march further if they were not paied: In this tyme the tumultes were no lesse in the territorie of *Rome*, with many other places through the estate of the Church and the landes of *Valentynois*, for that the *Vrsins* and all the Romish Barons restored them selues to their estates: The familie of *Vitelli* were returned to *Citta de Castello*, & *Iohn Pavvle Baillon* vnder hope of a certeine intelligence, had assailed *Perousa*: In which action albeit he was put to the chase by his enemies and constrained to go his way, yet being refurnished with new bands and open succours of the *Florentyns*, he entred the towne in a braue and resolute assalt not without the slaughter of his enemies and some losse of his owne companie: The towne of *Plombyn* also tooke armes, which albeit they of *Sienna* laboured to vsurp and occupie, yet the auncient Lorde returned thether by the fauour of the *Florentyns*: The Duke of *Vrbyn*, the Lordes of *Pesere*, of *Camerin*, and *Sini Gale*, did the lyke in theyr estates: Only *Romagnia* (notwithstanding they were not without suspicion of the *Venetians* who leauyed great bandes of men at *Rauenna*) remeyned quiet and inclined to the deuotion of *Valentynois*, knowing by experience howe much it was more tollerable and better for the weale of the countrey to serue one only and mightie Lord, then to haue in euerie towne Lords perticular, who neither for their weaknes could defende them, nor for their pouertie, were able to doe them good, but rather when they founde their reuenues insufficient to enterteine them, they would be constrained to oppresse them: They considered also that, for the authoritie and greatnes of the *Valentynous*, and for the good iustice he ministred amongst them, their countrey was not vexed with so many mutinies and tumults of factions as it was wont to bee, bringing ordinarie slaughters to their friendes and cohabitants: Besides, they drew into cōsideration the benefites that he had done for many, together with the great friendshippes he had gotten, by enterteining and giuing paie to suche as had bene trained in armes, by distributing offices to men able and sufficient, and also by soliciting his father on the behalfe of Prelates and Church men touching the collation of benefices and spirituall dignities: Out of these respectes they tooke occasion of firmnes, that neither the examples of others that reuolted, nor the memorie of their auncient Lordes, could not estraunge them from *Valentynois*: Who albeit he stood oppressed with many difficulties, & lesse exspectation of habilitie in a state so pluckt and broken, yet was he laboured vnto both by the French and Spanish, & with many offers and promises importunatly solicited to bee on their side: For that besides the oportunitie of his forces and men of warre, they hoped by this meane to winne the voyces of the Spanish Cardinals in the election to bee made: But the Duke looking wisely into the state of his affaires, tooke councel of the inclination of the time, and refused to follow the fancies of men: And albeit for the reconcilement that was made with the *Colonnois*, it was beleeued that he would be declared for the Spanish, yet being induced to that reconcilement only by feare least they would ioyne with the *Vrsins*, he declared now that he would doe nothing contrarie to his fidelitie to the French, whom he determined to folow, for that, both within the towne of *Rome*

Duke Valentynois for the French king.

which

which the kings armie did nowe approach, and alſo in his other eſtates, they might doe him more good and harme then the Spaniſhe: In ſo muche as the firſt daie of September he made a conuention with the Cardinall *S. Seuerin* and *Monſr de Trans* the kings Embaſſadour, by the which he promiſed to aide him with his ſoldiours in thenterpriſe of *Naples*, and in all other expeditions againſt all perſons except the Church: And on the other parte, the kinges Agentes bounde the king to the protection aſwell of his perſon, as of all the eſtates he poſſeſſed, and to concurre alſo in the recouerie of thoſe which hee had loſt: Beſides theſe, the Duke gaue hopes to drawe the moſt parte of the Spaniſh Cardinals to giue their voyce to the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, who puffed vp with a proude hope to obteine the Popedome with authoritie, with money, & with the armies of his king, went immediatly out of *Fraũce* after the Popes death to *Rome*, carying with him the Cardinall of *Aragon* & the Cardinall *Aſcanius*: Him he had deliuered two yeares before out of the Towre of *Bourges*, and giuen him honourable countenance in the Court, hoping that if the Pope ſhould dye, his auncient reputation might doe much to further his ambicion, together with the many friendes & fauourers which he had in the Court of *Rome*: Foundations verie weake to beare ſo high and waightie a purpoſe, for that neither *Valentynois* could wholy diſpoſe the Spaniſh Cardinals more inclined (according to the cuſtome of men) to their proper profite, then to reacknowledge the good turnes that his father and he had done to them, and withall, many amongſt them, hauing regarde not to offende the mynde of their king, would not haue bene ſo farre ouerſeene, as to chuſe for Pope, a French Cardinall: Neither yet *Aſcanius*, if he had had any power or place in thelection, would haue conſented to lift to the ſupreme ſeat the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, for that it was to the perpetuall embaſing and cutting of of all the hopes that yet remeined aſwell to him as to thoſe of his houſe.

Cardinall of Amboiſe aſpireth to the Popedome.

They deferred yet thelection of the new Pope: Not only for that it was later then was wont, ere they beganne to celebrate the obſequies of the dead, till the ending of which (enduring for the moſt part nine dayes) the Cardinals haue no cuſtome to enter into the conclaue or houſe of election: But alſo, the better to cut of occaſions and daungers of a ſciſme in ſo great a confuſion of affaires, and important diuiſion of Princes, the Cardinalles that were preſent had agreed to giue aduertiſement to thoſe that were abſent to make their repaire: And when they were come, the Colledge neuertheleſſe was holden in ſuſpence ſuſpecting that thelection woulde not be free, aſwell for the bandes of *Valentynois*, as for that the French armie which at laſt was drawne betweene *Nepi* and the Ile with intention to come to *Rome*, refuſed to paſſe the ryuer of *Tyber*, if affore hande there were not choſen a newe Pope: They feared that either the contrary parte would ouerrule the Colledge in thelection, or els ſuche was the deuiſe of Cardinall *Amboyſe*, no leſſe for the ſuertie of his perſon, then hoping to bee the better fauoured: Theſe thinges, after many contencions (the Colledge refuſing otherwayes to enter into the conclaue) were at laſt reſolued and tooke forme, for that the Cardinall of *Amboyſe* gaue his faith to the whole Court of Cardinals, that the French armie ſhould not paſſe *Nepi* & the Yle, the *Valentynois* conſenting to goe to *Nepi* and afterwards to *Ciuita Caſtellano*, hauing ſent to the French Camp two hundred men at armes and three hundred light horſmen vnder the leading of *Lodouvyk de la Mirandola* and *Alexander de Tryvulce*: But the Colledge erected many bandes of footemen for the garde of *Rome*, and gaue power to three Prelates whom they had appointed for the garde of the Conclaue, to open it if they diſcerned ſedition or tumult, to thend that all the Cardinals being

in libertie to go whither they will, euery one might be out of hope to force them. At laſt the Cardinals entred the Conclaue, beeing xxxviij. in number, where the diſagreement which in other times was wont to kepe things in delay, was the cauſe nowe that they entred roundly into thaction, and created in fewe daies a new Pope: And albeit in thelection they had muche to do to agree vppon the perſon, aſwell for their generall couetouſneſſe, as for the contention betweene the Cardinals depending of the French king, and the Spaniſhe Cardinals embracing the faction of the king of Spayne. And albeit they were no leſſe amaſed with the preſent daunger wherein they ſtoode, all things in *Rome* beeing full of ſuſpition and tumult, then with the conſideration of thaccidents which in a time ſo troubled might happen by the vacation of the Sea: yet at laſt, euen by the conſent of the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, in whom fayled euery day all hope to be elected, they created for Pope *Fraun-cis Piccolomini* Cardinall of *Sienna*, in whome was no expectation of long life, both for his extreme age, and preſent ſickneſſe: A Cardinall ſure of vnſpotted reapport, and for his other conditions, not vnworthy that degree, who, to renewe the memorie of *Pius ſecundus* his vncle, tooke vpon him the name of *Pius* the thirde.

Frauncis Piccolomini made pope.

Aſſoone as the Pope was created, the Frenche armie had no further occaſion to abide there, and falling ſpeedily into the way that had bene agreed vppon before, they paſſed ſodenly the riuer of *Tyber:* but neither for the creation of the Pope, nor for the diſcamping of the armie, the tumultes at *Rome* did not appeaſe, for that becauſe there was expectation for the comming of *Aluiano* and *Iohn Paule Bayllon*, who conſpiring together, made leauies of men in *Peruſa*. *Valentynous* continuing as yet ſicke, and fearing their comming, was returned to *Rome* with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, the like numbers of light horſemen, and eyght hundred footemen, hauing obteined ſafconduit of the Pope, who hoped that he might the eaſelyer put ende to thoſe things by ſome compoſition. But the *Valentynois* beeing within one towne and walles, with the *Vrſins*, who luſted in a iuſt thirſt after his bloud, the *Vrſins*, by the oportunitie of newe bandes ariuing, notwithſtanding they demaunded of the Pope and College of Cardinals a ſhort and readie iuſtice, determined to be reuenged vpon him with armes, aſſoone as *Iohn Paule Baillon* and *Aluiano* were ariued: by reaſon of theſe conſpiring intentions, there was alſo ſome controuerſie betweene the towne and them of the ſuburbes where *Valentynois* was lodged: a contention which troubled not onely the people of *Rome*, and the court, but alſo was ſuppoſed to bring great preiudice to thaffayres of the Frenche, for that the *Vrſins*, aſſoone as they were once diſpatched of the quarrell agaynſt *Valentynois*, preparing to go to the pay eyther of the Frenche or Spaniſhe king, and iudging that their ſtrength was of no little importaunce to the victorie, they were ſought to by both partes with ample conditions. But bearing a naturall diſpoſition to the parte of the Frenche, the Cardinall of *Amboyſe* enterteyned in the kings name *Iulio Vrſin*, who contracted for all thoſe of his familie, except *Aluiano*, for whom was reſerued place, with honorable conditions: but his comming reuerſed all: for, albeit in the beginning be was almoſt agreed with the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, yet, couetouſneſſe ouercomming his inclination, and beeing in one moment reſtrayned with the Spaniſh Embaſſadour, he entred paye with the king of Spayne with fyue hundred men at armes, and prouiſion of lx. thouſande duckets yerely, aſſuring him ſelfe of all thoſe of his familie, except *Iohn Iordan:* to which deliberation he was chiefly induced (as he frankly confeſſed) by deſpite that the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, burning more and more in ambition to be Pope, fauoured *Valentynois*, hoping by his meane

The Vrſins agaynſt Valentynois.

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to obteine the moſt parte of the voyces of the Spaniſh Cardinals: notwithſtanding that the Cardinall clearing him ſelfe of the fault by tranſferring it to an other, gaue out that he was perſuaded that the *Venetians* were authors of it, who, for the deſire they had that the French king ſhould not obteine the realme of *Naples*, had not only conſented that he ſhould leaue their paye, promiſing to reſerue for him the ſame place: but alſo to thende the firſt paymentes ſhould be more ready, they had lent to the Spaniſh Embaſſadours fifteene thouſand duckets: A matter, which though it be not in euery part certeine, yet it can not be denied that the *Venetian* Embaſſador did not manifeſtly intrude himſelfe into that practiſe. Some were of opinion that the conditions & large offers of the Spaniards, were the cauſe, for that they bound themſelues to diſtribute eſtates in the kingdome aſwel to him as to all thoſe of his familie, and to indue his brother with reuenues eccleſiaſticall: And laſtly (which he eſtemed much) to ayde him when the warre was finiſhed, with two thouſande Spaniſh footmen, in thenterpriſe which he determined agaynſt the *Florentins* in the fauour of *Peter de Medicis*. It was beleued that *Iohn Paule Bayllon* comen now to *Rome* with *Aluiano*, and who folowing his example treated at one time with the French and with the Spaniſh, would alſo accompany him in the ſame deliberation: but the Cardinall *d'Amboyſe*, not a little amaſed that *Thurſins* had left the king, (a dealing whiche made doubtfull the hopes of the Frenche beeing afore almoſte certayne,) intertеyned him immediatly into the kings ſeruice with an hundred and fiftie men at armes: he almoſt accorded whatſoeuer the other demaunded, but al vnder the name of the *Florentins*, for that *Iohn Paule* would it ſo, to thende to be more aſſured of his paies, which were to be rebated of the ſummes they ought to the king by vertue of their conuentions, he beeing more curious to prouide for the ſuretie of his paie, then carefull to keepe his fidelitie with the king for the ſeruice that was required: for, being returned to *Perouſa* to put his people in order, and receiuing xiiij. thouſand duckets, he was cõtented to gouerne himſelf more according to the ſucceſſe of the time & cõmon euent of things, and by his paſſions & perticuler intereſts, thẽ according to the reputation & faith of ſouldiours. In which reſpects deferring with many excuſes to go to the French armie, he would not depart frõ *Perouſa*: A matter which the cardinal *Amboyſe* ſuppoſed to procede vpõ this, that *Iohn Paule* imitating the incõſtancy of the captains of *Italie* of that time, had frõ the houre he was interteined, made promiſe to *Barthelmevv Aluiano* & the Spaniards to do ſo, as holding that moſt reſonable & indifferent for him to do, wherin was moſt ſurety for his pay & ſafety, A maner of dealing familiar with mẽ that be mercenarie, but far frõ thoſe that hold deare eyther honor or reputation. Aſſone as the *Vrſins* were entred into the pay of the Spaniſhe, peace proceded betwene thẽ & the *Colonnois*, reſolued & ſet down at the ſame inſtãt in the lodging of the Spaniſh embaſſadour: to whõ & to the *Venetian* agent they referred the reſolutiõ of al their differẽces. The agremẽt of thoſe houſes brought no litle feare to *Valẽtynois*, for that being determined to leaue *Rome*, & preparing to go to *Bracciana*, *Iohn Iordan* hauing giuẽ his fayth to the Cardinall of *Amboyſe* to leade him thither in ſuretie: *Iohn Paule* & the *Vrſins* were determined to aſſaile him, who hauing no meane to enter into the ſuburbs by the gate of the caſtle S. *Angeo*, they iſſued out of *Rome*, & fetching a lõg circuit to come to the gate *Torrono*, they found it ſhut, and burnt it, finding nothing to reſiſt the fury of their reuenge prouoked by ſo iuſt occaſions. Aſſone as they were entred the gate, they begon to skirmiſh with certein horſmen of *Valentynois*, to whoſe ſuccors albeit many of the french ſouldiers did run who were not yet departed out of *Rome*: yet what by the increaſing of the numbers of his

enemies,& their rage redubling,& his own people(whoſe ſtrength was much diminiſhed afore) making ſignes to abandon him,the neceſſitie of his peril conſtrayned him together with the prince of *Squillace* & certayne Spaniſh Cardinals,to ſeke his ſafetie within the pallace of *Vatican*, frō whēce he retyred with a fearefull ſpede into the caſtle *S. Angeo*,hauing by the Popes conſent, receiued fayth of the captayne of the caſtell(who was the ſame that had that charge in the dayes of the dead Pope)to ſuffer him to go out when he would:al his people fled whither their feare or fortune would leade them.In this garboyle the baylife of *Caen* was lightly hurt,and the Cardinall of *Amboyſe* had no little feare: but the matter of quarrell being taken away by this accident,the tumults alſo were immediatly appeaſed within the towne of *Rome*. In ſo much as they began all in peace to prepare for the election of a newe Pope,for that *Pius*, not beguiling the hopes which the Cardinals conceyued of him at the time of his creation,the xxvj. day after his election, paſſed into a better life.

Valentynois diſtreſſed by the Vrſins.

Pope Pius the thirde dieth.

After the death of *Pius*,the Cardinalles deferring for certayne dayes to enter the Conclaue: (for, they thought good that *Thurſins* afore ſhould iſſue out of *Rome*, where they yet remayned to refurniſh the numbers which they ſhould leade to the Spaniſh armie) reſolued vpon the election out of the Conclaue. And the Cardinall *S. Petri Ad vincla* mighty in frends,reputatiō,& riches,had drawn to him the voices of ſo many Cardinals,that entring the conclaue,he was with an example all new & without ſhutting the conclaue,elected Pope the ſame night,(thoſe that were of the contrary opinion not daring to oppoſe againſt him.)He,either hauing regard to his firſt name of *Iulio*, or (as coniectures were made) to ſignifie the greatnes of his conceptions,or laſtly bicauſe he would not giue place to *Alexander*,no not in the excellencie of name,tooke vpon him the name of *Iulio*,the ſecond of that name. Amongſt all the Popes that had paſſed,it was wondred that by ſo great conſent,they had created for Pope,a Cardinall who was knowen to be of a diſpoſition rigorous & terrible, and in whom was no expectation of reſt and trāquilitie, hauing conſumed his youth in continuall trauels, offended many by neceſſitie, & exerciſed hatreds agaynſt many great perſonages, a man to whoſe wit nothing was more familiar, then thinuention of trouble,faction,and conſpiracie. But on the other ſide,the cauſes of his election to that degree, appeared clearly, and ſurmounted all other difficulties: for, he had bene of long time a Cardinall of great power and might,and with his magnificence,wherin he had always exceeded the reſidue,and with the greatnes of his ſpirit by the which he did great things,he had not only made himſelfe mightie in opinion and frendes,but by times & degrees had erected high his authoritie in the Court of *Rome*, bearing the name, title, and dignitie of the principall defender of the eccleſiaſtike libertie: But that which ſerued moſt in his aduauncement, was the promiſes immoderate and infinite whiche he made to the Cardinals,Princes,and Barons, and to all others whom he might make profitable to him in that action. Beſides he had the meane to diſtribute money,benefices, and ſpirituall dignities, aſwell ſuch as were his owne,as thoſe that were the rightes of others,for that ſuche was the bruite and renowne of his liberalitie, that many made willing offers to him to diſpoſe as he beſt liked of their treaſures, their names, their offices, and benefices. They conſidered not that his promiſes were farre to great then that beeing Pope, he was eyther hable or ought to obſerue, for that he had of ſo long continuaunce enioyed the name of iuſt and vpright, that Pope *Alexander* him ſelfe his greateſt enemie,ſpeaking ill on him,in al other things could not but cōfeſſe him to be true of his word: A praiſe which he made no care to defile & ſtaine,to thende to become Pope;

Cardinall S. Petri Ad vincla made Pope.

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knowing that no man more easily beguileth an other, then he that hath the custome and name neuer to deceiue any. The Cardinall of *Amboyse* cõsented to this election for that dispayring to obteine the Popedome for himselfe, he hoped, that in the new Pope would be recontinued in time to come those degrees and properties of amitie which he had alwayes borne to the king his maister: vsing this wisdome to seeme to beare that with liking and contentment, which he could not hinder by any deuise or power. The Cardinall *Askanius* gaue also his franke consent, beeing reconciled to him before, and treading vnder feete the memorie of all auncient contentions that had bene betweene them, at suche time as afore the Popedome of *Alexander*, they folowed the court of *Rome* in the persons of Cardinals: for, hauing better experience of his disposition then the Cardinall of *Amboyse*, thought, that beeing ascended to the Popedome, he should haue the same vnquietnes, or rather greater, then he had had in a meaner fortune, together with such cõceptions as might be able to opẽ to him a way to recouer the duchie of *Millan*. In like sort the Spanish Cardinals yelded their consent, notwithstanding in the beginning they shewed no inclination. But seing there was such a concurrance of others, and fearing not to be sufficient enough to let his election, they iudged it more conuenient for their suretie, to holde him appeased in consenting, then to stir him to anger in refusing, somewhat affying themselues in the great promises he made to them, and for the rest, induced by the persuacions and requests of *Valentynois*, whose condition stoode so enuironed with calamities, that he was constrayned to folow euery daungerous counsel. He was also no lesse abused then the others with the hopes that he gaue him: for that he promised him to make a mariage betweene his daughter & his nephew *Frauncis Maria de la Rouere* prefect of *Rome*, to confirme him captaine of the armies of the Churche. And which was of greatest importance, to ioyne to his ayde in the recouery of the townes of *Romania*. All which, except the Castels, were almost withdrawne from his obedience. The affayres of which prouince, full of innouations and chaunges, troubled with diuers thoughtes the spirite of the Pope, both for that he knewe he was not able at that time to bring it to his deuotion, and also he endured with murmure and grudge, that in it should be raysed the greatnes of the *Venetians*, enuy bearing this nature, not to make men so muche to complayne of their proper wantes, as to greeue in the wealth and well doing of others.

When it was vnderstande in *Romania* that *Valentynois* was fledde into the Castel *S. Angeo*, and the regiments of men that were about him dispersed and passed into their seuerall calamities, the Cities whiche had expected him before in great constancie, hauing now their hopes turned into feares, applied to the time, and began to take newe parties: suche for the most part is the wauering condition of communalties and multitudes, not measuring things by iustice and equitie of reason, but eyther by opinion, which cõmonly is partiall, or by cõmon report, which for the most part is ful of incerteinties & errors. *Cesena* returned to the auncient deuotion of the Church: *Ymola* (the capteine of the castel beeing killed by meane of certayne the principall Citizens) stoode in doubt, one parte desiring to reuert to the Churche, and an other part to be reconciled to the *Riareis* their first Lordes: The Citie of *Furly* possessed by the *Ordelaffy* long tyme before it came to the *Riares* by the permission of Pope *Sixtus*, had reappealed *Anthonie* a remeynder of the same familie: who firste prouing to enter with the fauour of the *Venetians*, but afterwardes fearing that vnder hys name, they woulde reteyne the iurisdiction to them selues, had recourse to the *Florentynes*, and by their meanes was

reinuested in his patrimonie : *Iohn Sforce* returned to *Pesero*, and to *Rimini Pandolfe Malateste*, the one and other beeing called by the people. But *Denys* of *Nalda*, an auncient souldiour to *Valentynois*, at the requeſt of the Caſtlekeeper of *Rimini*, went to their ſuccours: by whoſe helpe, in good time, *Pandolffe* beeing put to the chaſe, the Citie returned eftſones to the obedience of *Valentynois*. *Faenza* only perſeuered longeſt in his deuotion, but in the ende falling into a depriuation of hope for his returne, caſting their eyes vppon certayne remaynders of the familie of *Manfreda*, their auncient Lordes, they called home *Aſtor*, a young Gentleman of the ſame houſe, but a baſtarde, none remeyning of the race legitimate. But the *Venetians* aſpiring to the iuriſdiction of all *Romania*, immediatly after the death of Pope *Alexander*, had ſent to *Rauenna* many bandes of ſouldiours, with whome, as they made a charge one night vppon the ſodayne, and with great furie, vppon the Citie of *Ceſena*, ſo the people of the place ſtanding valiauntly to their defence, by their vertue vanquiſhed the conſpiracies of their enemies, the *Venetians* which went thither without artillerie, hoping more to ſurpriſe it then to force it, retyring to the countrey of *Rauenna:* where they conſidered diligently all things that might geue them any occaſion to make them ſelues great in that Prouince, whiche immediatly was preſented to them by the diſcordes that were betweene *Denys* of *Nalde* and the *Fauentyns*: for, it beeing ſomewhat intollerable to *Denys*, that the *Fauentyns* ſhoulde eftſones returne vnder the gouernment of the houſe of *Manfreda*, agaynſt whom he was drawne into rebellion at ſuch time as *Valentynois* aſſayled that citie: he called in the *Venetians*, and put into their hands the Caſtels of the vale of *Lamona* which he had in keeping. And the better to further their practiſes, the *Venetians* a litle after put a bande of three hundred footemen within the Caſtle of *Faenza*, being brought in by the caſtlekeper, whom they had ſeduced by their corruptions. They occupied in like ſort, & in the ſame time, the borough of *Forlimpople*, with many other boroughs of *Romania*, and ſent one part of their men of warre to take the citie of *Faua*, but the people held out conſtantly for the Church, holding it more honorable to abide perill, then corrupt their alleageance. They were alſo brought into *Rimini* by the conſent of the people, couenanting aforehand with *Pandolffe Malateſte* to giue him in recompẽce the towne of *Citadella* in the territories of *Padua*, and a yerely pention, with a perpetuall eſtate of a company of men at armes. They returned afterwards in great diligence to beſiege *Faenza*, for that the townesmen nothing amaſed with the loſſe of the caſtel for thincõmoditie of his ſeate & ſeparation frõ the citie by a depe trench, made valiant reſiſtance, both for the affectiõ they bare to the familie of *Manfredi*, and alſo for a grudge they had that thinhabitãts of the vale of *Lamona*, had promiſed to ſtrãgers the imperie of *Faenza:* they eſtemed litle their proper aduerſities, ſo that they might obſerue the full office of fidelitie to the familie of *Manfredi* their true & auncient Lord: But of themſelues being vnable to make defence ſufficient, for that *Chriſtopher Moare* cõmander of the *Venetians* had approched his artillerie to their towne, & occupied al the places of importãce in the countrey, they prayed ſuccours of the new Pope *Iulio*, to whom ſuch a maner of audacitie was not a little diſagreable. But beeing newely aſcended to that ſupreme ſeate without force, without money, and without hope to be ayded by eyther of the kings of *Fraunce* or *Spayne*, for that both they were traueled with thoughtes of farre greater importance, & alſo that he denied to be cõfederat with eyther of thẽ: he was without meane of comfort in this calamitie, but through thauthoritie of the name pontifical. And to proue what reuerence the *Venetians* bare to it, together with what

regarde

regarde they remembred the amities which long time before he had borne to that commonweale: he sent to *Venice* the Bishop of *Tyuoli*, to complayne that *Faenza* beeing a citie immediatly apperteining to the Church, they would not forbeare to do so great a doshonour to a Pope, who afore he was raysed to that soueraigne creation, as he honoured their commonweale with a speciall affection, so now standing in a greater fortune, they might hope for right ample fruits of his friendship so auntiently borne. It may be there wanted not in the Senat those sortes of men whiche aforetime had dissuaded not to entangle their estate with the matters of *Pysa*, & that they should not receiue in pawne the portes of the realme of *Naples*, nor make partition with the French king of the Duchie of *Myllan*: it may be that in the wisedomes of these men appeared the consideration of euils that might happen, and howe, by making them selues dayly more and more suspected and hated, they might in this action adde to other hatreds the ill will of the Pope. But ambicious counsels hauing ben fauoured with so happie succesſe, and therefore all their sailes being hoysed in a winde so happie of fortune, the opinions of those that persuaded the contratie were not heard. And therefore (almost with a generall consent) it was aunswered to the Popes Embassadour: that the state of *Venice* had alwayes greatly desired that the Cardinall *S. Petri ad vincla* should come to be Pope, and as he had now obteined it, not by corruption, but by his proper vertue and merites, so they hoped that the same inclination which in his meaner fortune induced him to embrace and loue them, would still go on working with confirmation of offices & amities, as for their partes, he should not doubt, that they would not followe him with better respectes being Pope, then they had done whileſt he was in the state and person of a Cardinall: But as touching the poynt of imputation, they knew not wherein they had offended his dignitie, embrasing thoccasion which was offred to them to haue *Faenza*: for that that Citie was not onely not possessed by the Churche, but also the Churche made a willing depriuation of all her rightes, in transferring so amply and in playne Consistorie the iurisdiction to the Duke *Valentynois*: That he would remember that afore that graunt, the Popes (within no memorie of man) had euer possessed *Faenza*, but from time to time had geuen it to newe Vicares, without acknowledging other superioritie then the tribute, which they offered to pay readily when it should be required. That the *Fauentins* had no desire to be the subiects of the Church, but abhorring such nomination, they had reuerenced the name of the Duke *Valentynois*, with all those offices & obseruances that were in them: And that now hauing no more hope in him, they were runne headlong to call in the bastards of the house of *Manfreda*: Lastly, they besought him, that being in the authoritie of Pope, he would hold them in the same estate of friendship, which he thought them worthy of, when he had but the person of a Cardinall, not suffering light occasions to remoue that gruae and setled liking which he had so long time had of thē, more by his proper inclination, then by any their deseruings. After the Pope was certified of the will of the *Venetians*, he had sent into *Romania* the Duke *Valentynois*, whom he had embraced with many demonstrations of honour assoone as he was Pope, and in token of amitie lodged him in the pallace Pontificall: saying that he feared, least his going, in the beginning agreable enough to the people, should not be then very hatefull, seeing they were already al drawne into rebellion against him. Touching the condition of the *Fauentins*, there was no more remeining to thē, but to haue recourse to the *Florētins*, who discōtēted that a citie of so nere neighborhed should fal into the power of the *Venetians*, had sent to their succors in the beginning

The Pope cōplaineth to the Venetians.

The Venetiās answvere to the newve Pope.

200. footmen, enterteining them with hopes ſtill to refurniſh them to thend to hold them in courage till the Pope were at oportunitie to ſuccour them: But ſeeing by many apparances that the Pope had no diſpoſition to take armes, and that thauthoritie of the Frenche king (warning the *Venetians* in the beginning not to moleſt the eſtates of the Duke *Valentynois*) was not ſufficient to withdrawe them: And laſtely, eſteeming it no pollicie to enter alone into a warre with ſo mightie enemies, they forbare to releeue them with any further ſupply. By which alteration the *Fauentyns* beeing cut off from all hopes, and the *Venetian* armie (incamping at the Churche of the Obſeruauntes) hauing begonne to play with their artillerie agaynſt the walls of their Citie, beeing vnhappie alſo in this, that their intelligences were diſcouered, and certayne of them taken who had conſpired to put the *Venetians* into the towne: they yeelded vp their Citie into their hands, the *Venetians* agreeing to giue to *Aſtor* a certayne pention (albeit but little) for the releefe of his life. After the taking of *Faenza*, the *Venetians* might with the ſame facilitie and fortune haue commaũded *Ymola* & *Furly*: but not to aggrauate the indignation of the Pope, who murmured not a litle, they ſent their mẽ into garriſon, determining for that time to paſſe no further, hauing occupied in *Romania*, beſides *Faenza* and *Rimini* with their countries, *Monteſiora*, *Saint Archangeo Verrucque*, *Gaterre*, *Sauignano*, & *Meldole* the haurẽ of the countrey of *Ceſena*, and in the territorie of *Ymola*, *Toſlignana*, *Solaruola*, and *Montbataile*. *Valentynois* held only in *Romania* the Caſtels of *Furly*, of *Ceſena*, of *Forlimpople*, and of *Bertinoire*. All which (albeit he had great deſire to go into *Romania*, to thend they were not vſurped by the *Venetians*) he had eaſily conſented to put into the Popes keeping, with bonde to receiue them of him agayne at ſuche time as they ſhould be aſſured, had it not bene that the Pope (his auncient integritie beeing not yet ouercome with deſire to beare rule) refuſed the offer, ſaying he would not willingly accept occaſions that might any way allure him to corrupt his fayth. At laſte to oppoſe in ſome ſort agaynſt the proceedings of the *Venetians*, with whom he was not a little diſcontented for the daunger of the eſtate eccleſiaſticke, hauing alſo a deſire that *Valentynois* ſhould depart from *Rome*, he accorded with *Valentynois* that he ſhould go to *Spetia* by ſea, and from thence by lande to *Ferrara*, and ſo to *Ymola*, where ſhould be reſtored to him an hundred men at armes, and fiftie light horſmen which yet followed his enſignes, (interpoſing in this conuention not only the name of the Pope, but alſo the name of the college of Cardinals.) With this reſolutiõ *Valentynois* beeing gone to *Oſtia* to be embarked, the Pope was ſodenly repented that he had not accepted the Caſtels, and hauing nowe a ſpeciall deſire to haue them (not reſpecting the meanes) and to keepe them to him ſelfe: he ſent after the Cardinals of *Volterre* and *Surrente* to perſuade him, that to preuent that thoſe places ſhould not fall into the hands of the *Venetians* he would be content to deliuer them vp into the Popes keeping, vnder the ſame promiſe that had bene treated vpon at *Rome*: So ſoone do mens minds alter, when ambition hath once poſſeſt the ſpirites, and made way to greedie deſire, which in matters of profite holdes nothing reſpected: *Valentynois* taking aduauntage of the Popes incertentie, denied nowe to doe that which earſt he was well contented, and the Pope riſing with the occaſion into indignitie, cauſed him to be areſted in the gallies wherein he was embarked, and in decent ſort to be led to *Magliana*, from whence (all the Court and communaltie of *Rome* reioycing for thapprehenſion of his perſon) he was led to the *Vatican*, and honoured, but not without eſpeciall and good gardes: the reaſon was, that the Pope fearing leaſt the Caſtle kepers diſpairing of his ſafetie, would not ſell the Caſtells to

Faenza taken by the Venetians.

Duke Valentynois areſted by the Pope.

the

the *Venetians*, sought to make him tractable by easie meanes, and so to haue them by his consent and will. Thus the power of Duke *Valentynois* rising (as it were) sodenly to his soueraigntie and height, tooke ende with a ruine more sodeine: and as the meanes by the which he aspired to his greatnes had more resemblance with crueltie and deceites, then that the armes and power of the Church did aduaunce him: So, by a due sentence of iustice he experienced in him selfe parte of the artes and trumperies wherewith his father and he had vexed many seuerall personages: he was like to the tree that groweth till he come to his height, and then is plucked vp from the roote in a moment. The heauie stone commonly ouerwhelmeth himselfe with his owne weight: who doth couet the fruite, and not considereth the height of the tree whereon it groweth, let him take heede, that whilest he laboreth to climbe to the toppe, he fall not with the bowes which he doth embrace: It is harde for men ambitious to holde fast their fortune, for she is slipper and can not be kept agaynst her will: and therefore to men that studie to followe the streame, it is good to put a bridle to their felicitie, so shall they the better gouerne it: it is an office in wise men to consider alwaies their owne estate, where the vayne ambitious man liueth for the most part in the remembraunce of those things which make him to forget him selfe. The souldiours and folowers of the Duke had almost no better fortune, who beeing drawne into the countrey of *Perousa*, with hope to obteine safeconduit of the *Florentins* and others, (beeing chased by the regiments of *Vitelli*) they were constrayned for their safetie to retyre vpon the landes of the *Florentins*: where, beeing dispersed betweene *Chastilion* and *Cortona*, and reduced to foure hundred horsemen, with a very slender strength of footemen, they were stripped by the appoyntment of the *Florentins*, and *Dom Michaell* their leader taken prisoner: him they deliuered afterwards to the Pope, who demaunded him with an importunitie well expressing the hates he bare to all the olde seruauntes of the late Pope *Alexander*. And albeit this man had bene a faythfull minister and executor of all the wickednes of *Valentynois*, yet after the Pope had spent some conference with him, he turned his crueltie into compassion, following his naturall inclination, which was to be easie to pardon those vpon whom he had power to execute his anger. About this time the Cardinall *d'Amboyse* departed from *Rome* to returne into *Fraunce*, hauing obteyned of the Pope, more for feare then for good will, a confirmation of the legation of that realme. But the Cardinall *Askanius* folowed him not, notwithstanding at his comming out of *Fraunce* he promised the king by othe that he woulde returne: of which othe he had procured secret absolution of the Pope afore, not remembring that amongst men there can be no greater bond than an othe, and who loaseth his fayth hath no more to lose, seeing we acknowledge religion to consist in fayth it selfe. But the example of the Cardinall *Askanius* skorning at the credulitie of the Cardinall *Amboyse*, coulde not make the French Cardinall better aduised in the action with *Pandolfe Petrucci*, who receyuing the Cardinall at *Sienna* with many honours, and making insinuation into his good fauours with deepe suttleties and counsels full of art, promising to cause *Montpulcian* to be rendred to the *Florentins*, ouercame him so muche, that at his returne into *Fraunce* he assured the king that he had not found in *Italy* a man of better spirit, and wrought that his Maiestie gaue sufferaunce to his sonne to returne to *Sienna*, remayning at that time in the Court of *Fraunce* for thassuraunce of his fathers promises. These were the mutations that hapned in *Italy* by the death of the Pope.

But in these times, thenterprises begonne with greater hopes on thother side the

Exploytes of the Frenche armies beyonde the Mounts.

Mountes by the French king, were brought into many difficulties: for tharmie ſent vpon the frontier of *Gaſcoigne*, no leſſe for want of money then lacke of good gouernment in thoſe that had the charge, was broken with a ſpeede quicker then they could marche thither. The Galleis alſo which had runne all along the Spaniſh ſeas, were retyred to the port of *Marſeilles:* and the armie leauied for *Parpignian*, of the which the king promiſed muche beeing well furniſhed of all things neceſſarie, was incamped before *Saulſes*, which is a ſtrong place neare to *Narbona*, ſtanding at the foote of the hilles *Pirennei* in the countrey of *Roſſillion*. But beeing well defended, it made a wonderfull reſiſtaunce: and albeit it was furiouſly aſſaulted by the Frenchmen, vſing both the ſeruice of artilleries, and the arte of vnderminings, yet the vertue of the defendaunts kept it from ſpoyle and ruine. There aſſembled an armie of all the Spaniſhe Realmes at *Parpignian*, which the king did honor with the preſence of his perſon to thende to ſuccour it. And beeing ioyned to this armie (by reaſon the French were diſcamped) the regiments that had bene ſent to defende the frontiers of *Fontarabie*, and all theſe forces beeing drawen into one ſtrength, and marching to geue battayle to the Frenche armie: the Captaynes ſeeing no reaſon to contende agaynſt fortune, retyred with the Campe towards *Narbona*, after they had lyen afore *Saulſes* about fortie dayes. The Spaniards loaſing no benefite of the time and occaſion, made incurſions vpon the territories of the French king, where hauing taken certayne places of meane importance (the French making no reſiſtance for that they were withdrawne into *Narbona*) they eftſones returned vpon their owne frontiers by the commaundement of their king, who, hauing obteyned the true ende of him that is aſſayled, enterteyned but with ill will the warre on thother ſide the Mountes, ſeeing albeit his Realmes and Prouinces were ſufficient mightie to defende him from the French king, yet he helde them farre to weake to offende him. A conſideration of great importance to him that entreth into a warre, to foreſee with a better counſell howe he may defende him ſelfe then offende his enemie.

A truce betweene the kinges of Spayne and Fraunce.

A litle after (by the interpoſing of king *Federik*) they made a truce for fiue monthes, comprehending onely thoſe things that concerned thaffayres on the other ſide the Mountes: for that the Spaniſh king aſſuring *Federyk* that he would conſent that the Realme of *Naples* ſhould be reſtored to him, and *Federik* expecting no leſſe of the French king, the rather at the contẽplation of the Queene inclined to compaſſion, had introduced betweene them the practiſes of peace. In whiche negociation the Spaniſh Embaſſadours (the warre continuing ſtil in *Italie*) went into *Fraunce*, where they gouerned their doings with ſuche art, that *Federyk* vaynely perſuaded him ſelfe that the difficultie of his reſtitution, which the Barons of the faction of *Aniovv* impugned vehemently, would be principally on the French kings ſide.

Thus all the warres betweene both the kings beeing reduced only into the kingdome of *Naples*, the eyes and thoughtes of all men were turned thither: for that the French men hauing paſſed from *Rome* by the landes of *Valmontano* and the *Colonnoys*, (where they found an eaſie conſent to refreſhe them with vittayles) marched by the feeldes of the Churche towardes *S. Germain*, a place where *Conſaluo* (leauing garriſon in the Caſtell of *Secqua* and *Montcaſsin*) was incamped, not with intention to hazarde fortune, but to be an impediment that they paſſed no further, which by the ſtrength and opportunitie of the place, he hoped to do eaſily. The Frenche men being ariued at *Pontecorue*, and at *Ceperana*, the Marquis of *Soluſſe*, with ſuche as were within *Caietta*, ioyned to them, hauing afore by thoccaſion of diſcamping of *Conſaluo*, recouered the Duchie of *Tracetta*, and the Countrey of *Fouery*, euen

euen to the floud of *Garillon*. The firſt thing that the Frenche armie did, was to aſſaye to get the caſtle of *Secqua*, from the which (after they had in vayne giuen one aſſault) they brake of and leauied their ſiege. But for that action they brought vpon them ſelues ſo muche contempt and imputation, that it was publikely affirmed in the Spaniſhe armie, that that day the Realme of *Naples* was aſſured agaynſt the French men, who ioyning feare to their fortune, and diſtruſting for that reſpect to chaſe their enemie towards *S.Germain*, determined to returne by the coaſte ſide, holding that way ſuſpected in their retyring wherein they founde confidence and fauour in marching on. After they had reapoſed two dayes within *Aquin*, which they had taken, and left ſeuen hundren footemen within the Caſtle *Guillaume*, they returned by *Pontecorue*, and marched by the way of *Fondy* to lodge at a towne ſet vpon the way of the ryuer of *Garillon*, where antiquitie holdes that the auncient citie of *Mynturno* was buylded. A place not onely conuenient to caſte a bridge, and paſſe the ryuer, as was their intention, but alſo of great importunitie to encampe there if they ſhould haue bene conſtrayned: for they had *Caietta* and their nauie at ſea at their backes, and *Tracetta*, *Itri*, *Fondy*, with all the circuite of the countrey to the ryuer of *Garillon* ſtoode firme in their deuotion. It was thought that the French armie paſſing the ryuer, was a thing of great conſequence for the victorie: for that *Conſaluo* being ſo farre inferiour in forces that he durſt not appeare in playne fielde, the French might march without impediment euen to the walls of *Naples*, whither alſo their Nauie at ſea might haue approched, hauing nothing to let them, if their vertue had but aunſwered thoportunitie. And for that cauſe *Conſaluo* iſſuing out of *S. Germain* was come on thother parte of *Garillon*, to let with all his ſtrength the paſſing of the Frenche, affying muche in the diſaduauntage and difficulties whiche armies finde to paſſe ryuers that haue no foardes, ſpecially when thenemie is oppoſed agaynſt them. But it often hapneth that things in execution fall out otherwyſe then they appeared in the firſt imagination, and as often it chaunceth (practiſe beeing farre aboue thopinion of things) that that which at firſt was eſteemed harde, brought foorth an action moſt eaſie, as of the contrarie, moſte hardnes was often found in thoſe things wherein coniecture & ſuppoſition made moſt facilitie. For, the French notwithſtāding the furious reſiſtāce & impedimēts of the Spaniſh, after they had caſt the bridge, wonne the way of the ryuer by force of artilerie planted partly vpon the banke where they encamped which was ſomewhat higher then the banke on the other ſide, and partly vpon barkes which they had cauſed to be brought from the Nauie at ſea, and drawne vp agaynſt the ſtreame of the ryuer: But the day after as they began to make an enterpriſe to paſſe, the Spaniards oppoſed agaynſt them, and charging with an incredible reſolution vppon ſuche as were alreadie paſſed, they repulſed them euen to the middeſt of the bridge, and had followed them further, if the furie of thartillerie had not compelled them to retyre. In this encounter dyed on the Frenche ſide the Lieutenant of the Baylife of *Dyon*, and of the Spaniards was ſlayne *Fabio* ſonne to *Paule Vrſin*, a young man amongſt Thytalians of great expectation. It is ſayd, that if when the French men began to paſſe, they had aduaunced forward with the ſame courage they entred into thenterpriſe, they had that day remayned maiſters of the fielde and the victorie: But whileſt they proceeded ſlowly, and with demonſtration of timerouſneſſe, they did not onely loaſe thoccaſion of the victorie of that day, but they diminiſhed greatly all hope in time to come, the fortune of the warre declining with the oportunitie whiche they had loſt: from that day all things tooke with them very ill ſucceſſe, for that amongſt

What happned to the French men as they would haue paſſed Garillon.

the rulers of tharmie was rather confuſion then concorde, and (according to the cuſtome of the French ſouldiours with Thitalian captaines) very litle obedience to the Marquis of *Mantua* the kings lieutenant. In ſo much as, either for that occaſion, or in reſpect of his diſeaſe (being ſicke in deede) or for that by other experiences in that ſeruice, he had loſt al hope of the victorie, he wēt from tharmie, leauing an opinion to the French king, that his loyaltie was greater then his courage, and that his vertue was of other facultie then to gouerne an armie. After the Marquis had thus giuen vp his charge, the Marquis of *Saluſſe*, the baylife of *Caen*, & *Monſr Sandricourt* chiefe commaunders in the Frenche armie: hauing firſt rayſed at the head of the bridge beyonde the ryuer a rampier with cariages, erected a baſtion capable of manye men, by whoſe protection they were defended from their enemies in paſſing the bridge. But they were let to paſſe further by other difficulties, happning partly through their proper negligence, but more by the vertue and patience of their enemies, but moſte of all by the malice of their fortune, with whom nothing is more familiar then to deceiue the confidence and exſpectation of men: for, *Conſaluo*, who ſtudied to hinder them more with thoccaſion of the winter, and ſituation of the countrey, then with his armie and forces: was incamped at *Cintura*, a place ſeated on high and remoued from the ryuer ſomewhat more then a mile, about the whiche the bandes of footemen and horſemen were lodged with a great incommoditie, for that the place of his owne condition being ſolitarie and not muche releued with cottages or cabynets of heardſmen, they had almoſt no other couer then the skie, the grounde alſo aſwell for the lownes of the playne, as for that the ſeaſon and weather was raynie, being full of water and myre: a neceſſitie which driue thoſe ſouldiours that had no meane to encampe in places more firme and high, to planke and couer the place of the grounde where they laye with mattes and other things materiall to defende the moyſtnes of the earth. In regarde of theſe difficulties, and for that tharmie was ill payed, the French withall hauing wholly wonne the paſſage of the ryuer, certayne captaynes were of opinion to retyre the armie to *Capua*, both to thende to releeue the intollerable ſufferance of the ſouldiours, and to take them ſelues out of that continuall expectation of daunger, « their numbers being farre inferiour to their enemies: It often hapneth that when « extremities and perill be at hande, confidence is turned into feare, and when the « counſels of men are not conſtant, they can not but wauer in reſolution, there vertue « hauing taken an other habite by the conſideration of the dangers they ſee afore thē. But that puſillanimitie of the captaynes was reſolutely reiected of *Conſaluo* with this « anſwere worthy the greatnes of his heart: In many caſes (ſayth he) vayne feares are « farre more hurtfull then haſtie confidence or credulitie, a cōmon diſpoſition in the « nature of man, making him to eſteme more then needeth thoſe dangers that be nea- « reſt at hand, & hold leſſe reckoning then he ought of perils furtheſt of and to come. « But concerning the preſent caſe, as glorie ſprings not of dignitie nor of honour (for « that they are the goods of fortune) but of vertue which is the riches of the mind & « gift of the goodnes of God: So for my parte I deſire rather to be preſently buryed « ten foote deepe in the grounde whereon we ſtand, then by giuing back one foote to « prolong my life an hundred yeres: fortune oftentimes makes many men more apte « to winne glory, then hable to keepe it, but occaſion and oportunitie ſeeme to offer « vs that eſtate of perpetuall honour and reputation, which our owne vertue denieth vs to be worthy of. And ſo reſiſting all difficulties with an incredible conſtancie, and fortifying him ſelfe with a deepe trenche, and with baſtions which he cauſed to

make

make in the front of the campe, he prepared to defende him agaynſt the Frenche, ſtanding againſt him: who, notwithſtanding the protection of their baſtylion which they had buylded, remoued nothing at all, for that the countrey beeing all ouerflowen with the raynes and waters of the ryuer (this place is called by *Lyuie* for the neighborhed of *Seſſa, aquæ ſinueſſanæ*, and perhaps they are the lakes of *Mynturnæ*, (wherein *C. Marius* hidde him ſelfe fleeing before *Sylla*) they coulde not paſſe further, but through a ſtraite which was all wateriſhe and full of a deepe quagmyre. And perhaps there was daunger to be charged in the flanke by the footebandes of the Spaniſh lightly armed, which lay encamped very neare that ſtraite, the wynter alſo by aduenture inclining to cold and ſharpneſſe, brought foorth more continual multitudes of ſnowes and raynes, then had vſed to fall in thoſe regions: Wherein it ſeemed that fortune and the elementes aboue had conſpired agaynſt the French, who ſtaying there, did not onely waſt the time vnprofitably, but alſo they receyued by that abode (by reaſon of their naturall diſpoſition) almoſt the like harmes which mens bodies receyue by a poyſon that worketh ſlowly: for, albeit they were lodged with leſſe diſcommodities then the Spaniſhe, and that by the meane of the reliques of an auncient Theater, wherevnto they had ioyned many other ſhroodes & couers, beſides the fauour of certayne olde houſes neare to them: and for that the circumference or ſkirtes of the tower ſomewhat higher then the playne of *Seſſa*, were leſſe offended with waters: and laſtly, that moſt part of their horſemen were lodged within *Tracetta*, and other places affronting: yet the bodies of the Frenchmen and *Svvyzzers*, not bearing ſo naturall reſiſtance agaynſt long trauels and perplexities, as do the bodies of the Spaniardes, they gaue manifeſt tokens of the diminution of their late valour and furie. Beſides, the couetouſnes of the officers and treaſorers, to whoſe office belong the paying of the ſouldiours, encreaſed muche thoſe difficulties: for that they preferring their particular profite afore the cõmon prouiſion of the whole, and forgetting no degrees of delay or illuſion, they ſuffred to diminiſh the numbers of the ſouldiours, and were negligent to furniſh the campe with vittayles as apperteyned: by reaſon whereof diſeaſes fell vppon tharmie, and many of Thitalian companies went away diſcontented. Theſe diſorders were made greater by the diſcorde of the Captaynes, through whoſe fault there was neyther order nor obedience, and in an armie there can be no expectation of thexerciſe of diſcipline, where is no certeintie of pay made. Thus the Frenchmen beeing reſtrayned by the ſharpnes of the winter, remayned ydle vpon the ſhoares of *Garillan*, no other thing beeing done eyther by thennemie or by them, but certayne light skirmiſhings which were of no importance, and yet the Spaniſh ſeemed always to carie the better fortune. About the ſame time alſo the footebandes whiche the Frenche left in garriſon within the Caſtle *Guillaume*, not able to endure the continuall braueries of the garriſons of the caſtle of *Secqua*, and other peces theraboutes cõmaunded by the Spaniſh, abandoned the places of their charge, and pretending to come to tharmie, were charged by the way and broken, wherin ſeeking to auoyde the danger they feared moſt, they light vpon the perill they diſtruſted leaſt, beeing onely abuſed in the opinion and intention of their ſafetie. But things hauing had continuance in this eſtate many dayes, *Bart. Aluiano* with certayne of the *Vrſins* and their regiments, arriued in the Spaniſhe armie, by whoſe comming *Conſaluo* thought him ſelfe ſo ſtrongly refurniſhed, hauing in his armie nyne hundred men at armes, a thouſande light horſemen, and nyne thouſande Spaniſhe footemen that he began to thinke that nowe he was no more to ſtudie to defende him ſelfe, but to offende his enemie,

Bart. Aluiano commeth to the ſuccours of Conſaluo.

wherevnto he was ſo muche the more encouraged, by howe muche he was well aduertiſed that the Frenche (ſtronger in horſmen then in footemen) were diſperſed in ſuche ſeparation and diſtaunce, that their lodgings helde little leſſe then ten myles of the countrey, in ſo muche as neare the towre of *Garillan*, there were onely the Marquis of *Saluſſe Viceroy*, and other principall captaynes, with the leſſer part of tharmy, which diminiſhed continually by thaggrauation of diſeaſes of the which many died, and amongſt others the baylife of *Caen*. For this cauſe, hauing determined to aſſay to paſſe ſecretly the ryuer, (in the good ſucceeding of which he doubted nothing of the victorie,) he recommended to *Aluiano* (the author as ſome thinke of that counſell) the charge to make ſecretly a bridge. By his direction there was made a bridge of barkes and veſſels within a Creeke neare to *Seſſa*, which they cauſed to be brought by night to *Garillan*, & to be caſt at the paſſage of *Suya*, foure myles aboue the bridge of the Frenchmen, where they made no garde. Aſſone as this bridge was caſt (being the xxvij. day of December in the night) all the armie paſſed together with the perſon of *Conſaluo*, who lodged the ſame night in the towne of *Suya* neare the ryuer whiche was occupied by thoſe that paſſed the firſt. The morning folowing whiche was on a fryday (a day happie for the Spaniards) *Conſaluo* hauing ordered that the rearegarde lodged betweene the caſtle of *Montdragon* and *Cariuola*, foure myles belowe the bridge of the French, ſhould go and charge their bridge, he prepared him ſelfe with the vauntgarde led by *Aluiano*, and with the battell which paſſed with him ſelfe, to followe the Frenchmen: who receiuing aduertiſement the ſame night that the Spaniards had caſt the bridge and began to paſſe, entred into a generall feare, which ſo much the more drew them into aſtoniſhment, by howmuch this accident and boldnes of thenemie had exceeded their expectation, and hauing them ſelues determined to attempt nothing till the time were more gracious and fauourable, they nouriſhed alſo a coniecture that thenemie ſtoode reteyned with the ſame negligence and ſlouthfulneſſe, conſtruing things by opinion onely, without reſpecting thopportunitie, which beeing ouerſlipt of them, proued fauourable to thenemie. Therefore albeit the Viceroy (to whom were reſorted many bandes both from *Tracetto* and the places about) puſhed forwarde more with feare then with ſetled counſell (as often hapneth in ſodayne aduentures) had ſent towards *Suya* to ſtoppe their paſſage, *Monſr d'Alegre*, with certayne regiments of footemen and horſemen: yet finding that their deuiſe was too long protracted, and that feare ouerruled all diſcourſes and conſiderations, they leauyed their campe ſodainly, and about midnight with a haſt contrarie to the valour of men reſolute, they brake vp from the towre of *Garillan*, leauing abandoned the moſt part of their munitions and nyne great peeces of artillerie, together with great numbers of their ſouldiours with bodies wounded
" and full of ſicknes. Suche a thing is feare, that it makes men forgetfull aboue ſhame
" and all other obſeruances, and when the calamitie is generall, it leaues euery one
" to his fortune, impreſſion for the moſt parte amazing more then the perill it ſelfe.
They tooke the way towards *Caietta*, whither they thought to retyre: But *Conſaluo*, who would omit no oportunitie wherein occaſion was offered, aſſone as he knewe they were diſcamped, folowed them with his armie, ſending afore *Proſper Colonno* with his light horſemen to vndertake the skirmiſhe, to thende their march might be more ſlowe. And notwithſtanding the feight was enterteyned by the horſemen, yet the Frenche forbare not ſtill to keepe on their way, beeing notwithſtanding compelled to ſtay oftentimes for feare to fall into diſorder at the bridges and harde paſſages, from whence, after they had ſupported the skirmiſh a certayne ſpace, they retyred

tyred ſtill, receyuing alwayes ſome hurte: The order they vſed was this, the artillerie marched afore, the footebandes followed after, and then the horſemen, of whom ſuch as were moſt behind, continued the feight with thenemie. The Frenchmen being in this ſorte aduaunced after certayne pawſes and light skirmiſhes, as farre as the bridge whiche is before *Caietta*, neceſſitie compelled the *Viceroy*, to cauſe to ſtaye there one parte of his men at armes to giue leaſure to thartilleries to paſſe before: But they beeing not hable to marche with that ſpeede whiche was neceſſarie to their ſafetie, the companies of thenemies beginning already to meddle with them, there was begonne in that place a greate and hoate skirmiſh, for that the reregarde of the Spaniardes came immediatly after, who hauing paſſed the ryuer without reſiſtaunce, euen with thoſe barkes of the bridge which had beene broken by the Frenchemen, went towardes *Caietta* by the right way, *Conſaluo* marching alwayes on the wing with the reſidue of tharmie: the feight was violent at the bridge of *Mola* for a certayne tyme, the Frenche meinteyning them ſelues principally by the aduauntage of the place, but with feares farre greater then their valoures: And the Spaniſhe ioyning furie to their fortune, fought with the ſame felicitie which followe thoſe men that ſuppoſe them ſelues to bee alreadie in the poſſeſſion of the victorie: At laſt the Frenchemen to whoſe diſhabilitie beganne to ſucceede a feare, leaſt part of the regiments which *Conſaluo* had ſent by the coaſt for that effecte, woulde cutte of their way, beganne to retyre in diſorder, and beeing continually followed by their enemies, when they came to the head of two wayes, the one leading to *Ytry* and the other to *Caietta*, they fell into generall and manyfeſt flying, many remayning ſlayne, as *Barnardo Adorno* lieftenant of fyftie launces: many were taken priſoners, and thartillaries abandoned with all the horſes appoynted for the ſeruice of the ſame: And touching the reſidue which fledde towardes *Caietta*, they were victorioufly chaſed euen to the gates of the Citie. At the ſame time *Fabricio Colonno*, ſent by *Conſaluo* (after he had paſſed the ryuer with fyue hundred horſe and a thouſande footemen, neare to *Pontecoruo*) and beeing fauoured of moſte parte of the villages and countreymen, ſtripped the regiments of *Lodouvyk de la Mirandola*, and *Alexander de Triuulco*: Beſides, there were many of tharmie, who beeing lodged at *Fondy*, *Ytry*, and other places thereaboutes, and hearing that the Spaniſhe had caſt the bridge, went not to the armie at the towre of *Garillan*, but for their ſafetie diſperſed into diuers places, were taken and ſtripped by the countrey: But *Peter de Medicis* who alſo followed the French campe, with certayne other gentlemen, had a greater miſſortune: for when the armie brake vp from before *Garillan*, beeing mounted vppon a barke with foure peeces of artillerie, to go to *Caietta*, their barke ſonke, aſwell for that they had ouercharged her, as that the winds were contrarie to the mouth of the ryuer: They were all drowned: A deſtinie lamentable conſidering the qualitie of the perſons, with the maner of their dying. Wherein though many vaynely diſpute that fortune ledd them to ſo miſerable an accident, yet if wee will lifte vp our conſiderations to God, we ſhall finde that he hath reſerued ſuche a prerogatiue ouer all thinges whiche he hath created, that to him onely belongs the authoritie to diſpoſe all things by the ſame power wherewith he hath created them of nothing. The night following, *Conſaluo* with tharmie lodged at *Caſtellona* and *Mola*, and appearing the next day before *Caietta*, whither were retyred the Frenche Captaynes together with the Princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignan*, he occupied immediatly the ſuburbes & the Mount which the French had abandoned: And albeit *Caietta* was ſufficiently

Peter de Medicis drowned.

manned with multitudes of ſouldiours, and no leſſe prouiſion of vittayles, beſides the conueniencie of the place to be ſuccored by tharmie at ſea: yet yeelding to the conſideration of their perils, which were more in impreſſion then in deede, they loſt courage, and inclined with manifeſt conſent to parley, being not diſpoſed to endure the perplexitie of expectation of ſuccors that were incertayne: They ſent out the Baylife of *Dyon* and *S. Colombo* with *Theodor de triuulco*, who in the mouth of all the reſidue accorded the firſt day of the yeere 1504. to giue vp to *Conſaluo, Caietto* with the caſtle, vnder condition of free power to go out of the realme of *Naples* with their goods either by lande or ſea, and that *Moñſr d'Aubigni* and the other priſoners ſhould be redeliuered both of the one and other partie. But this capitulation was not ſo clearly ſet downe, that *Conſaluo* tooke not occaſion to diſpute, that by the vertue of the couenants, the Barons of the kingdome could chalenge no libertie or deliuery frō impriſonment. This was the chaſe that was giuen to the french army nere to the riuer of *Garillan*, being encamped vpon the ſhores or banks therof about fiftie dayes: An ouerthrow hapning to them no leſſe through their owne diſorders, then by the vertue of their enemies, and ſo much the more worthy of commemoration and memorie, by howmuch folowed (as it were by ſucceſſion of calamitie) the abſolute loſſe of ſo noble and mighty a kingdome, together with the confirmation of the empire of the Spaniſh: it noriſheth alſo matter more worthy of monument, for that the French entring with a farre greater ſtrength then thenemie, and no leſſe plentie of all prouiſions both by lande and ſea neceſſarie to the warre, they were vanquiſhed with a facilitie farre contrarie to the courſe of victories, and without bloud or danger of the conquerers: but the thing that was no leſſe lamentable in this accident then all the reſidue, was, that albeit there dyed very fewe of the Frenche by the ſworde of the enemie, yet the number was ſmall that was reſerued of ſo great an armie: for that of the regiments of footmen which eſcaped by fleing, and of thoſe alſo that came frō *Caietto* after thaccorde, there dyed many trowpes by the wayes, aſwell the ſharpe violence of the colde, as the rigour of ſickneſſe, ſeruing to the execution of thoſe miſerable bodies, whom fortune ſpared from the ſlaughters of the warres: And of ſuche whoſe ſtrength with great payne was hable to carrie them to *Rome*, parte came ſterued with the hardneſſe of the weather, and ſome through feeblenes languiſhed, lingring yet to abyde with greater paynes their latter tymes: of this ſorte many dyed in hoſpitals both of hunger and colde, the ſtreetes and highe wayes beeing lamentable teſtimonies of their calamities, and the diches and other places vyle and vnworthy ſeruing as ſepulchers to thoſe bodies whoſe myndes not long ſince ſuppoſed them inuinſible agaynſt all aduerſities of warre: And whether, in cōpariſon of cauſes & reaſons, we may referre the motions of theſe calamities eyther to deſtenie enuying the French, and no leſſe contrarie to the Nobilitie then to bodies of inferiour condition: or to the diſeaſes which fell vpon them by the diſcommodities they ſuffred about *Garillan*, many euen of thoſe who departing frō *Caietta* (where they left the moſt part of their horſes) embarked them ſelues to paſſe by ſea, and eyther periſhed by the wayes, or at leaſt beeing reſerued till they came into Fraunce, dyed in the ſight of their friends, of whom they thought to receiue conſolation: Amongſt theſe were the Marquis of *Saluſſo, Sandricourt*, & the baylie of the Mountains, with many other gentlemen of marke, in whom the maner of their death was no leſſe lamentable then their fortune: ouer & beſides that which by imputatiō may be impoſed vpō the French captains for their diſagrement & negligent gouerument, as alſo that that may be obiected to the iniury of the time, that neither

the

the French nor *Svvizzers* are not comparatiue with the Spaniards, either with resolution of mind to temporise or expect, or with their bodies to sustaine the trauels and incommodities that a warre draweth with it. There are principally considered two things whiche hindered the Frenche king that he remained not victorious: the one was, the long aboade that tharmie made vppon the territories of *Rome* for the Popes death, the same beeing the cause that wynter came vppon them, and that the *Vrsins* were practised withall by *Consaluo*, afore they coulde enter into the kingdome: where, if they coulde haue made their entrie whilest the tyme was tollerable, *Consaluo* farre inferiour to them in forces, and not fauoured with thoportunitie and rigor of the time, had bene constrayned to abandon the greatest part of the kingdome, & to seeke out the strong places for his succor, or els suffer the authoritie of an enemie farre more mightie then him selfe: The other consideration was, the couetousnes of the officers & treasorers, who, beguyling the king in the payes of the souldiers, and lesse trustie in the prouision of vittayles, & furniments for the seruice, made their thefts and negligences the principall cause of the diminution of that armie, since the king had expressed such a prouision and care for all things necessarie, that it is certayne by good credible testimonie, that at the vnhappie time when the frenchmen were ouerthrowen, there were within *Rome* by the kings direction, great quantities of siluer and other releefes for warre: but so violent was the destinie that ranne to the desolation and ruine of that armie, that albeit at the laste, after many complayntes of the Captaynes and the whole multitude of souldiours, there was leauyed an abundant prouision of vittels, yet, they suffered suche a penurie and scarsity in the beginning, that that disorder ioyned to the other discommodities, was the breeder of infinite diseases, of the absenting of many, of the murmuring of many, and that many, seeing their fidelitie could finde no refuge in the armie, sought their safetie in places thereabout, matters which in the ende brought foorth the absolute ruine of so braue an armie: for, as for the nourishing of the body, it is not ynough that the head be well disposed, but it is also necessarie that the other members do their office: euen so it sufficeth not that the Prince do his duetie, if withall, the diligence and vertue which ought to be in his ministers haue not equall action, the one beeing necessarie to the other, as the direction of the head and brayne of man auayleth little without the execution of the other inferior members, to whom suche ministration is appoynted.

Peace betweene the Turke & the Venetians.

The selfe same yere, wherin so great mutations hapned in *Italie*, was made a peace betwene the Turke *Baiazet Ottoman*, and the *Venetians*, which both parties embraced with great affection: for the Turke, in whom was expressed a spirit of mekenes and disposed to learning and studie of the Scriptures of his religion, had, by the working of his owne inclination, a nature farre estraunged from armes: by reason whereof, notwithstanding he had begonne the warre with great preparations both by sea and lande, and occupied in *Morea* the two former yeares *Naupanto* nowe called *Lepanto*, *Modono*, *Corono*, and *Iunquo*, yet he folowed not nor continued the warres with so great affection, beeing withdrawen eyther by the desire he had to tranquilitie and rest, or at leaste by a suspicion of hys proper daunger, least for religion sake the Princes of Christendome should drawe into conspiracie agaynst him: for, both Pope *Alexander* had sent certayne galliots to the succours of the *Venetians*, and with money had also stirred vp *Launcelot* king of *Bohemia* and *Hungaria* to make warre vpon the Turkes frontiers, the Frenche and Spanishe kinges sending (but not at one tyme) their seuerall armies to ioyne with the power of

the *Venetians*. But this peace was embraced by the ſtate of *Venice* with a greater deſire, for that by thiniquitie of the warres, and that to the common detriment of the Citie, and perticuler loſſe to euery one in priuate, the traffike of marchandiſe which they made in diuers regions of the Leuant, was diſcontinued: the Citie alſo of *Venice*, whiche euery yeere was wonte to haue from certayne prouinces of the Turkes, certayne quantities of corne, did ſuffer many neceſſities for the depriuation of that reliefe: And laſtly, where they had wont to amplifie their iuriſdiction by the warres which they haue managed with other princes, they feared nothing ſo muche as the power of the Turkes, of whom they had bene alwayes beaten as often as they had had warres together: for, *Amurathus*, grandfather to *Baiazet*, had occupied the towne of *Theſſalonica* (nowe called *Salonica*) parcell of the dominions of *Venice*: And after him *Mahomet* his father, mainteyning continuall warre agaynſt him for ſixteene yeres, tooke from them the yle of *Negroponto*, a great part of *Peleponeſſo*, now named *Morea Scutaro*, with many other towns in *Macedonia* & *Albania*: In ſo much as both for that they ſupported the war agaynſt the Turks with right great difficulties and expences, hauing no hope to breede any profite by them, and alſo, by howmuche they doubted at the ſame time to be diſtreſſed by inuaſion of other Chriſtian princes (the time beeing full of conſpiracies) by ſo muche was it reaſonable that they deſired to be at tranquilitie with the Turkiſhe regions: It was ſuffered to *Baiazet* by the conditions of the peace, to reteyne ſtill all that he had occupied, and the *Venetians* reſeruing onely the Ile of *Ceſalonia*, aunciently called *Leucado*, were compelled to yeelde to him the proprietie of *Nerita* nowe named *S. Mavvra*. But the warre of the Turkes brought not ſo many diſpleaſures to the *Venetians*, as they receyued harmes by the king of *Portugall*, who had taken from them and appropriated to him ſelfe, the traffike of ſpices, whiche the Marchantes and ſhippes bringing out of *Alexandria*, (a noble Citie in Egypt) to *Venice*, they ſent diſperſed with a wonderfull profite through all the prouinces in Chryſtendome. The whiche alteration beeing a thing of the moſt merite and memorie of all others that haue hapned in the worlde ſince many ages, and, for the harmes which the Citie of *Venice* receyued by it, hauing ſome affinitie with the matters of *Italie*, it can not much alter the eſtate of our hiſtorie to ſpeake ſomewhat of it at large.

Diſcourſe vpõ the nauigatiõs of the Spaniards.

Such men of ſpirite and ſcience as by depe ſpeculation and contemplation haue conſidered the wonderfull motions and diſpoſitions of the heauen, and haue left the knowledge thereof recommended to ſucceſſion and poſteritie: haue figured a line running through the round circle of the heauen, frõ the weſt to the Eaſt: and bearing an equall diſtaunce in all his partes from the Pole *Septentrionall* and Pole *Meridionall*, they call it the lyne *Equinoctiall*: for that when the ſunne is vnder it, the day and night haue one equalitie. They haue deuided with imagination the longnes of this lyne into three hundred and three ſcore partes, which they call degrees, as the other circuit of the heauen, by the Poles is lykewiſe of three hundred and threeſcore degrees. After theſe men had giuen this rule, the Coſmographers meaſuring and diuiding the earth, haue figured in the earth a lyne *Equinoctiall*, which falles parpendicularly vnder the celeſtiall lyne figured by *Thaſtrologians*, deuiding likewiſe the ſame and the circuite of the earth with a lyne falling parpendicularly vnder the Poles in largneſſe of three hundred and threeſcore degrees: ſo as from our Pole, to the Pole Meridionall, they put a diſtaunce of an hundred and foureſcore degrees, and from euery one of the Poles to the line Equinoctiall, foureſcore & ten degrees: Theſe haue ben the generall opinions of the Coſmographers.

But

But touching the particular deſcription of the earth habitable, after they hadde made knowen that parte of the earth whiche is vnder our *Hemiſphere*, they had a perſwaſion that that parte of the earth lying vnder the *Zona Torrida*, figured in the heauen of Thaſtrologians, and wherein is conteyned the lyne *Equinoctiall*, was, (as beeing neareſt the ſunne) vnhabitable by reaſon of his heate: And that from our *Hemiſphere* there was no paſſage to the landes which are vnder the *Zona Torrida*, nor to thoſe regions, whiche beyonde it are towardes thé Pole *Meridionall*, called by the confeſſion of *Ptolomie*, landes and ſeas vnknowen. By reaſon whereof both he and the others preſuppoſed, that who ſo euer would paſſe from our Hemiſphere to the *Sino Arabico* and *Sino Perſico*, or to the other partes of *India*, which firſt came to the knowledge of men by the victories of the great *Alexander*, ſhould be conſtrayned to go thither by lande, or els comming as neare to it as he coulde by the ſea *Mediterrane*, ſhould performe the reſidue of the way by lande. But the nauigations of the *Portugalls* haue made knowen in our tyme, that thoſe opinions and ſuppoſitions were falſe, for that the Marchauntes puſhed on with a deſire to gayne, hauing begon many yeres ſince to coaſt *Affrica*, and being guyded by little and little euen to the Iles of *Cape Verde* (which the Auncientes named the Iles of *Eſperides*) which are diſtant xiiij. degrees from the Equinox, drawing towardes the Pole *Artike*. And beeing comen ſithence, in making a long circuite towards the ſouth, to the cape *de bonne Eſperance*, which is a promontorie of *Affryke*, further diſtant then any other from the line Equinoctiall, for that his diſtaunce conteyneth xxxviij. degrees. And drawing from thence towardes the Eaſt, they haue ſayled by the *Occean*, euen to the *Sino Arabico* and *Sino Perſico*. In which places the marchauntes of *Alexandria* are wont to buy the ſpices which grew there in part, but for the moſte part were brought thither from the Iles *Molucque* and other partes of *India*, and are afterwarde conueyed by land by a way long and full of incommodities, and with no leſſe charges, into *Alexandria*, where they were ſolde to the marchauntes *Venetians*, and they bringing them frō *Venice*, furniſhed all Chriſtendome to their great gaines and wealth: for that they only poſſeſſing the traffike of the ſpices, laide on them what rate or price they woulde, and caried into *Alexandria* many ſortes of marchaundiſe in the ſhippes wherein they brought embarked the ſpices, the ſame veſſels likewiſe wherein they conuayed that trade of ſpicerie into *Fraunce*, into *Flaunders*, *Englande*, and other places, returning fraughted with other marchandiſe. But the *Portugalls* going by ſea from *Lyshbone* the capitall Citie of the Realme, into regions farre remoued, and hauing confederation in the *Indian* ſea with the kings of *Calicut* & other regions neare, they pearſed by degrees further, and buylded with time fortreſſes in places conuenient, by whoſe oportunitie making them ſelues friendſhip with certayne cities of the countreis, & reducing others to obedience by their armes and oppreſſion, they haue appropriate to them ſelues the traffike of the ſpices which the marchauntes of *Alexandria* were wont to haue afore: and bringing them by ſea into *Portugall*, they diſtributed them alſo by ſea into the ſelfe ſame Realmes and countreys, where the *Venetians* at the firſte had cuſtome and vent for them. Sure this nauigation is right wonderfull, for that it conteynes a courſe of eyght thouſand french leagues, through ſeas altogether vnknowen, vnder other ſtarres, vnder other firmament, and with other inſtrumentes: for, the lyne Equinoctiall beeing paſſed, they are no more guided by the northſtar, & ſtand altogether depriued of the ſeruice and vſe of the Adamant ſtone, and for that they can not take harbour in ſo long a way, but in regions vnknowen, differing in language, in religion, in cuſtomes, and

altogether barbarous and enemies to straungers. And yet notwithstanding so many difficulties, they haue in time made this nauigation so familiar, that where afore they had wont to consume ten monthes in the voyage, they runne it nowe commonly in lesse then sixe, their daungers beeing lesse, and all things in more securitie. But farre more marueylous is the nauigation of the Spaniards, which was begonne by *Christopher Colombo* a *Genovvay* in the yeere a thousande foure hundred fourescore and ten: after he had many times sayled by the Occean sea, wherin making coniectures by the obseruation of certayne windes of that which afterwards succeeded to him in deede, he obteyned certayne vessels of the King and Queene of *Spayne*, with the which setting his course towards the west, he discouered at thirtie dayes ende in the vttermoste extremities of our Hemisphere, certayne Ilandes altogether vnknowen to men before: regions happie for the situation of the heauen, and for the fertilitie of the lande, and withall no lesse blessed (sauing that certayne people lyued vppon mans flesh) by the dispositon of thinhabitantes, whose maners were simple, and contented with that which the liberalitie of nature brought foorth for them: they were not disquieted with passions of couetousnesse and ambition: but most vnhappie, in that the people hauing no certayne religion, no knowledge in learning, no science in negociations or handycraftes, but wholly without experience of armes, without rule or art of warre, and without science, vse, or custome in any thing, be as it were no other then tractable and tame creatures, and a pray most easie to whosoeuer will assayle them. By meane whereof, the Spaniards being drawne with the facilitie of commaunding those Ilands, and with the possibilitie of reuenue and profite, beeing plentifull of veynes for golde, many of them began to inhabite there, as in their proper countrey. *Christopher Colombo* passing further, and after him *Americo Vespuccio Florentin*, and successiuely many others, haue disclosed other Ilandes and great countreys of firme lande, finding in certayne of them (albeit in the moste parte the contrarie) aswell in their buyldings both publike and priuate, as in the forme of their habites and conuersation, a conformitie of maners and ciuile comelynes, but so farre ignoraunt in the knowledge of armes, that they were a ready pray to the first inuader: and yet the limits of these newe countreys are so farre stretched out, that they farre surmount the inhabitable circuit of the earth come first to the knowledge of man. In these regions the Spanish enlarging them selues with newe supplies of people, and with newe nauigations, and sometimes labouring the mines of golde and siluer that are in many places, and also in the sandes of the ryuers, somtime buying it at easie prices of thinhabitantes, or at least taking it from them by robberie and violence, they haue brought infinite quantities into *Spayne*, many sayling thither at their proper charges and venture, but vnder licence of the king, to whom they retribute the fift part of all that they bring from thence: yea the Spaniardes haue taken suche courage in these courses of nauigation, that certayn sailes aduauncing three and fiftie degrees towards the Pole *Antartike*, alwayes along the coastes of the firme lande, and afterwardes falling into a straite sea, from thence sailing towards the East by a very large sea, and returning afterwardes by the nauigation which the *Portugals* make, they haue (as appeareth clearely) sailed round about the earth. Which makes me say that the *Portugalls* and the *Spaniards*, but specially *Colombo* the first finder out of this wonderfull and perillous nauigation, are worthy, whose knowledge, industrie, resolutenes, studie, and trauels, be celebrated with eternall memorie, for that by their vertues, our age and all posterities are made capable of the knowledge of great things which afore laye hidde from the sence and

vnder-

vnderstanding of men: but farre greater had bene their merites, if in those paynes, in those perilles, and in those aduentures, they had not bene induced by the immoderate thirst after golde and riches, but caried by desire to disclose them for the benefite and enlarging of Christian faith: A matter neuertheles hapned consequently, for that thinhabitantes in many places haue suffered conuersion to the religion catholike. By these nauigations it is knowen that thancientes were beguyled in many things touching the knowledge of the earth: that there was passage beyonde the line *Equinoctiall*: that there was habitation vnder the *Zona torrida*: as also (contrary to their opinion) it is knowen by the nauigation of others, that the *Zones* next to the Poles were inhabited, vnder the which they assured (hauing regarde to the situation of the heauen so farre remoued from the course of the sunne) that there was no habilitie of dwelling for the ouermuche colde. Besides, it is knowen (which some of thauncientes beleeued, and some rebuked) that vnder our feete be other inhabitantes whom they named *Antipodes*.

Complaints of the Frenchemen.

But returning now to the matter of our narration of those things which hapned the yere a thousande fiue hundred and foure, after *Caietta* was rendred to the Spanish: The newes of the chase which was giuen to the Frenche neare *Garillan*, ioyned to so many disorders and aduersities that followed, made sorrowfull almoste the whole realme of *Fraunce*, no lesse for the generall multitude of bodies that were slayne, then for the losse of so great a nobilitie: The Court accompanying their teares and weepings with habites of sorowe and mourning, filled all full of heauyneste and affliction, and throughout the realme nothing was harde with more compassion, then the lamentable complaynings of men and women accursing the day wherein the miserable humor of couetousneste to conquer estates in *Italie* entred the heart of their kings, to whom, if any thing might satisfie the desires of men, the proprieties and possessions of so many of their owne countreys might haue suffised. In these perplexities the king was not without his proper calamitie, and to him so muche the more intollerable, by howmuche in so great a diminution of his authoritie and reputation, he sawe also a depriuation of hope neuer to be able to recouer so noble a realme, his losses farre exceeding the remedies that remayned. He called to remembraunce the braue words which he had so often obiected agaynst the king of *Spayne*, and howe vaynely he had promised to himselfe a succesſe of those huge preparations whiche he made to inuade him on all sides. But that which made him ryse most of all into furie and complaynt, was the consideration of his plottes layde with so great wisedome and expences, that notwithstanding his importunities and diligence in the prouision of his warres so plentifully & liberally furnished, and matching withall with enemies most poore and needie of all things, yet the couetousnes and robberies of his owne people, had turned his glorie into infamie, and made his losses the more lamentable, by howmuche he was betrayed by their corruptions. In so muche as crying out agaynst heauen & earth, he protested with many othes, that since he was serued with so great a negligence and infidelitie of his owne seruauntes, he would from hencefoorth neuer leaue recommended to his captaynes any expedition of warre, and muche lesse reappose him selfe vpon their assuraunce, but that in his owne person he would be the fashioner and follower of all enterprises. To these vexations of minde was ioyned this last and chiefe perplexitie, that he saw how much his forces were weakened for the losse of suche an armie, for the death of so many braue captaynes, and diminution of so flourishing a Nobilitie. All which concurring in one fortune, heaped agaynst him suche an ad-

uersitie, that if *Maximilian* had made any sturre in the duchie of *Millan*, or the Spanishe armie had past further then their victorie of *Naples*, he doubted muche to be hable to defende that estate, specially *Askanius Sforce* ioyning to the one of them,
« whom the people desired with no little affection. So daungerous are the ylles that
« are feared by a reuolution of estate, which for the most part drawes with it all those
« miseries which may be figured in an vtter ruine or desolation. Touching the king of *Romaines*, no man maruelled that he was not wakened in so great oportunitie, for that it was his custome to delay, and to let passe for the most part tymes and occasions. But euery one helde a contrarie persuasion of *Consaluo*, for that all the French faction in *Italie* had a wonderfull feare, least he, hoping that neither money, nor occasions would faile his victorious armie, would not ioyne him selfe to his fortune to followe the subuersion of the state of *Myllan*, and in his way, to chaunge the affaires of *Tuskan:* which if he had done, it was beleued assuredly that the French king, drained of money, and appalled in courage, had yelded to the storme without any resistaunce, specially his people hauing no desier to passe into *Italie*, and such as remained of the calamity of *Caietta* in passing the mounts, hauing despised the commaundements of their king presented at *Genes:* besides, it was clearely discerned that the king, hauing no inclination to armes, was whollie prepared to make peace with *Maxymylian*, and no lesse disposed to continue the negotiations and practises with the king of *Spayne*, for the solicitation wherof (not commoned vpon in the extreame heate of the warre) the spanish Embassadors, had bene and were at that time at the court: but *Consaluo*, whom hereafter we will call for the most parte, *The great Capteine*, hauing confirmed with so many glorious victories the surname that before had bene giuen him by a spanish bragge, refused to embrace the benefit of so great an occasion: either for that, being altogether without money, and indetted to his armie for many paies, he saw it impossible to make his people marche eirher vnder hope of profit that was to be wonne with perill, or in promise of their payes which would be long in comming, his regiments crying either to be satisfied, or to be bestowed in garrison: or else, he was tyed to proceede according to the will of his king, whose direction it was not lawfull for him to transgresse: or at the least it seemed not to agree with his security, to draw his army out of the kingdom of *Naples*, till first he had purged it of all his enemies: for that *Lovvys d'Ars* one of the French capteines, who, since the iorney of *Cirignoula* had put himself within *Venousa* with such remeinders of Frenchmen as were not to be despised, & who, whilest the armies were vpon the shoares of *Garillan*, had occupied *Troya*, and *S. Seuero*, kept also in deuotion all *Povvylla:* certayne Barons also of the faction of *Aniovv*, which were retyred vpon their estates, stoode to their defence, embracing openly the parte of the Frenche king. There was lastly this impediment, that a little after the victorie the *great Captayne* fell into a daungerous sicknes, which staying his personall expedition, he sent *Aluiano* with part of his armie to make warre vpon *Lovvys d'ars:* By which his necessitie, not hable for the present to follow his victorie out of the kingdome of *Naples*, the residue of *Italie* remained rather in suspition, then in trauell, things hanging more in expectation then in action: for, the *Venetians*, according to their custome, stoode doubtfull, expecting what woulde bee the issue of things: The *Florentins* thought they had wonne muche, if at a time when they wholly dispayred to be succoured by the Frenche king, they were not inuaded by the *Great captayne:* And the Pope, referring to another time his ambitious thoughts, studied to bring to passe that the duke *Valentynois*, who helde no more in *Romania* but the castels of *Furly*, of

Consaluo deserueth the title of great captayne.

Cesena,

Ceſena, and of *Bertinoire*, (hauing loſt *Forlimpople* by corruption of the keper) might accorde to leaue them to him, taking the aduauntage of the time and his impriſonment. *Valentynois* condiſcended to giue to the Pope the aſſignement of the caſtle of *Ceſena*, and *Dom Petro d'Ouiedo* a Spaniarde beeing gone thither to receyue it in the Popes name, was hanged by the caſtlekeper, obiecting that it coulde bee no leſſe diſhonor to him to obey his lorde whyleſt he was a priſoner, then he that preſumed to impoſe that requeſt vpon him deſerued to be puniſhed. By this occaſion the Pope deſpayring to reioyce in his deſire without the deliuerie of *Valentynois*, he accorded with him (and of this conuention there was a bull diſpatched in the conſiſtorie for greater ſuretie) that he ſhoulde be ſet in the rocke of *Oſtia*, vnder the abſolute power of *Bernardin Caruagiall* a Spaniard Cardinall of *S. Croce*, and he to let him go when ſoeuer he had rendred to the Pope the caſtels of *Ceſena* and *Bertinoire*, and transferred to the Pope the aſſignation of the rocke of *Furly*, and appoynted in the towne of *Rome*, bankers to aunſwere fifteene thouſande duckets in recompence of the expences which the Caſtlekeeper alleaged he had ſuſtayned: But the Pope had an other intention, for that albeit he woulde not apparauntly defile and breake the fayth he had giuen, yet his meaning was to keepe his deliuerie in delay, eyther for feare leaſt he beeing at libertie, the caſtlekeeper of *Furly* would refuſe to render the Rocke, or els for the memorie of thiniuries he had receyued of his father and him, or at leaſt for the hate which euery one reaſonably bare him: ſo infallible is the „ law of iuſtice to take reuenge of wrõgs, not obſeruing the preſence of times wher- „ in they are done, but transferring occaſions from one ſeaſon to another, calleth „ then the iniuries into reckoning, when the offendor hath leaſt memorie of them. „ *Valentynois* growing into ſome ſuſpition that the Pope woulde not holde fayth with him, required ſecretly the *great Captayne* to giue him ſafe conduite to come to *Naples*, and withall to ſende two Galleys to conuey him from *Oſtia*: whiche requeſt being condiſcended vnto by *Conſaluo*, the Cardinall of *S. Croce* holding the ſame ſuſpicion with *Valentynois*, ſuffred him to depart without the Popes priuitie, beeing firſt aduertiſed that pledge was put in for the fifteene thouſande duckets with the redeliuerie vp of the caſtles of *Ceſena* and *Bertenoire*. The feare and daunger wherein *Valentynois* was, made him careles to attende the Gallies which the *great captaine* ſhoulde ſende him, and therefore beeing ſtill caried with thoſe impreſſions, he went ſecretly by lande to *Nettuna*, from thence he ſayled in a little barke to *Montdragon*, and ſo by lande went to *Naples*, where *Conſaluo* receyued him with great tokens of gladnes and ſhowes of honour: At *Naples* he communicated many times in ſecrete with *Conſaluo*, whom he ſolicited at laſt to giue him power to paſſe to *Piſa*, aſſuring him that if he might but once put foote into that citie, it would be muche to the profite and furtheraunce of his king. *Conſaluo* diſſembling his opinion, ſeemed to fauour the deuiſe, and offering him galleis to garde him in paſſing, he ſuffred him to leuie in the kingdome, ſuche regiments of footemen as he thought to carie with him: he enterteyned him in this hope till he had receyued aunſwere from his king conformable to that he had determined to do, alwayes conſulting with him of thaffayres of *Tuskane*, and *Aluiano* offering at the ſame time to inuade the *Florentins*, for the deſire he had to ſee the familie of *Medicis* reſtored. But as there is no poſſibi- „ litie to auoyde that which the euerlaſting counſell of God hath determined, nor „ any reaſon to pull on the deſtinie of things till times be accompliſhed: So *Valenty-* „ *nois* rayſed into thoughtes of ſecuritie, ſtoode readie to his ruine, when he iudged his eſtate in moſt ſtabilitie, euen as a houſe whoſe foundation is not ſounde, falles

eſtſones to the ground beeing but newly buylded: for, the gallies beeing now prepared, and his bandes of footemen in readynes to marche the day folowing, *Valentynois*, after he had deuiſed long the ſame night with *Conſaluo*, and taking his leaue with demonſtration of great affection embraſing one an other at parting, was by his commaundement, aſſone as he was out of the chamber, reteyned in the caſtell, ſending foorthwith into his lodging to ryfle the ſafeconduit that had bene ſent him before he departed from *Oſtia*: *Conſaluo* excuſed him ſelfe vpon thauthoritie of his king, who ſending warrant to apprehende him priſoner, his maieſties cõmaundement (he ſayd) was of more force then his ſafeconduit, for that thaſſuraunce that was giuen by the proper authoritie of a ſeruaunt, was not auaylable if the will of his Lorde conſented not. Beſides, he occupied with him theſe rounde tearmes, that it was neceſſarie to holde him reſtrayned, for that, not ſatisfied with ſo many ſiniſter dealings done in times paſt, he ſtudyed ſtill to chaunge the eſtates of others, he deuiſed to innouate things, he ſewe vniuſt ſlaunders, and caſt to kindle a fyre through all *Italie*: immediatly after he ſent him in a light galley priſoner into *Spayne*, leauing him of all his trayne but one page to ſerue him: There he was impriſoned within the caſtle of *Medino de campo*, hauing good oportunitie by the conſideration of his iuſt puniſhment to enter into cõſcience touching the harmes he had inflicted vpon diuers regions and men.

Valentynois priſoner by Conſaluo.

About this time truce was made both by ſea and lande, aſwell for *Italie*, as the nations beyonde the Mountes, betweene the Frenche king, and the king of *Spayne*: which, as the Frenche deſired by neceſſitie, ſo the Spaniſhe embraced it by iuſt reaſon, for that he thought it was better to confirme by that meane with greater ſuretie and reſt, that which he had conquered, then to referre all to hazarde by newe warres, which beeing full of perill and expences, bring forth oftentimes other iſſues then are hoped for: The conditions were that euery one ſhould reteyne that which he poſſeſſed: That it ſhould be ſuffred to the ſubiects of both parties to traffike through all their Realmes and eſtates, except in the kingdome of *Naples*, with the which exception the *great Capteine* obteyned indirectly that which was forbidden to him directly: for, in the frontiers of thoſe places which the French helde (which were onely *Roſſano* in *Calabria*, *Oiro* in the lande of *Otranto*, and in *Povvylla*, *Venouſa*, *Conuerſan*, and the Mount caſtle) *Conſaluo* beſtowed men to giue impediment that not one of the ſouldiours or men of thoſe townes ſhould vſe conuerſation with any peece poſſeſſed by the Spaniſhe: A deuiſe which brought them into ſuche neceſſitie, that *Lovvys d'ars* with the other Barons and ſouldiours of thoſe places, went their way, knowing that thinhabitantes not hable to endure ſo many diſcommodities, were determined to yeelde them ſelues to the Spaniards. So infinite is the malice of fortune, that whom ſhe hath reſolued to roote vp, ſhe will not ſpare to perſecute till his laſt deſolation be come. But for all this, the kingdome of *Naples*, notwithſtanding thenemies were all expulſed, enioyed not the fruites of the peace: for that the Spaniſh ſouldiours, to whom were due their paies for more then one yere, not contented that the *great capteine* (the better to conteine them till he had leuied prouiſions for money) had beſtowed them in ſundrie places where they liued vpon the people (which men of warre call to liue by diſcretion) breaking all bondes of diſcipline and obedience, had entred *Capua* and the ſeacaſtle, from whence they would not depart till they were ſatisfied of their paies: And becauſe the money could not be leauyed by conuenient meanes (the ſumme being great) without laying an exceſſiue taxation of the Realme, the conditions of men were found ſo much

Truce betvveene the kinges of Spayne and Fraunce.

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the more miſerable, by howmuche the medicine was no leſſe greeuous then the diſeaſe they went about to cure: matters ſo muche the leſſe eaſie or tollerable, by how muche they were practiſes newe, and out of the examples paſſed: for, notwithſtanding that ſince the auncient times wherein the diſcipline of warre was exerciſed with ſeueritie, the ſouldiours were alwayes full of libertie, and troubleſome to the peoples, yet things beeing as yet not wholly diſordered, they lyued for the moſte parte of their paies, and their libertie was not altogether intollerable. But the Spaniards were the firſt that began in *Italie* to liue wholly vpon the ſubſtance of peoples, the diſhabilitie of their kings giuing them that occaſion, or happly their neceſſities muche enforcing, beeing yll payde: of which beginning, diſorders ryſing alwayes in increaſing (for thimitation of an yll is greater for the moſt parte then the example) euen the Spaniards themſelues and Thitalians alſo whether they were payed or not payed, haue euer ſince made ſuche cuſtome of that example, that to the great diſhonour of the diſcipline of warre at this day, the goods of good men and friends are no more aſſured from thinſolencie of ſouldiours, then ſuche as belong to wicked people and the very enemie, all things running in confuſion without regarde to obedience, conſcience, or honour, as the horſe when he hath broken his brydle forbeareth not in his libertie to ſpoyle the feeldes of his maſter, as if he were a ſtranger.

What by the taking of *Valentynois*, and this truce betweene the two kings, with opinion that the peace would ſucceede immediatly, *Romania* was put wholly in reſt: for *Ymola* was diuolued afore by the willes of the chieftaines of the Citie into the power of the Pope, and not without the conſent of Cardinall *S. George*, whom the Pope enterteined with a vayne hope that he would render it eſtſones to his nephews. And about thoſe ſeaſons *Lovvys* his baſtard brother being entred into *Furly* by the death of *Anthony d'Ordelaffy*, that citie had falne into the hands of the *Venetians*, to whom *Lovvys* offred it (knowing he was not hable ynough to holde it) ſauing that the conditions of the preſent time made them feare to accept it, leaſt they ſhould further incenſe the Pope, who without any reſiſtance obteined the towne abandoned by *Lovvys*, and had likewiſe, paying fifteene thouſande duckets, the Citadell: A place which the keeper (a faythfull ſeruaunt to *Valentynois*) woulde neuer giue vp, till he was aſſured of his impriſonment by men which he ſent expreſly to *Naples*, holding it a iuſt office to reteyne to the laſt, thoſe things which his maiſter had recommended to his fidelitie.

Thus, beeing a ſurceaſſing of armes in all other partes of *Italie*, the *Florentins* only woulde not ceaſe in the beginning of ſommer to recontinue the warres vpon the *Piſans* according to their cuſtome: for, hauing newly receyued into their pay *Iohn Paule Baillon*, with other captaynes and men at armes of the *Colonnois* and *Sauelleus*, and leauying withall farre greater forces then they were wont, they ſent an armie to giue the ſpoyle to the corne of the *Piſans*, wherein they proceeded with greater corage, for that they doubted no impediment by the Spaniarde, not ſo muche for that the king of Spayne had not named the *Piſans* in the truce (wherein both the kings had libertie to comprehende their freends and adherents) as for that the *great Captaine*, after his victorie vpon the Frenchmen, notwithſtanding from the beginning he had giuen great hopes to the *Piſans*, had exerciſed gracious and ſweete ſpeches with the *Florentins*, hoping at the leaſt by his cunning to ſeparate them from the French king: wherein albeit he founde himſelfe afterwardes diſappoynted, yet wiſely forbearing to incenſe them, as not to giue them occaſion to be more for the

Frenche king, he was entred by the meane of *Prosper Colonno* (but not otherwise then with wordes simplie) into this secrete intelligence with them, that if it hapned the Frenche king eftsones to renewe the warres of *Naples*, that they should not minister to him any ayde, as also for his parte he woulde not giue succours to the *Pisans*, but in case the *Florentins* should sende an armie with artilleries to take the Citie, which he wished they should not recouer so long as they folowed thamitie of the Frenche king. The *Florentin* armie prepared to spoyle not onely those partes of the countrey of *Pisa* which they had wasted in times past, but also to ouerrunne *S. Rossoro* and *Barbaricino*, and so to the vales of *Serclo* and *Osolo*, places ioyning to *Pisa*, wherevnto they could not go without daunger when their armie was lesse: Then they encamped before *Librafrata*, which beeing manned with a very slender garrison, was within few dayes constrained to yeelde to discression: And suche were the calamities of that yere, that the *Pisans* had beene compelled by famine to receyue the yoke of the *Florentins*, if they had not bene succored by their neighbours, but principally by the *Genovvaies* and *Lucqueis* (for *P. Petruccio* no lesse ready to stirre vp others, then liberall in his owne promises to contribute to thexpences, was very long in effectes) with whose moneis *Reniero* of *Sassetto*, a souldiour of the *Great capteine*, with certaine other leaders hauing sufferaunce, led to *Pisa* by sea two hundred horsmen, and the *Genovvaies* sent thither a Prouost with a thousand footemen: ouer and besides which prouisions, *Bardello de porto Venere* a famous Roauer in the sea *Tirreneum*, and who beeing leauyed and payed by the sayde helpers, was called the captayne of the *Pisans*, reuitteled *Pisa* continually with a gallion and other Brigantines: for these considerations the *Florentins*, holding it necessarie, that besides the trauels they gaue them by lande, they should also take from them the vse of the sea, enterteined three light galleis of king *Federyk* whiche were in *Prouence*, with the which as their capteine *Dom Rimas Ricaieuso* approched *Lyuorno*, *Bardello* retyred, and yet sometimes taking thoccasion of the windes, he brought some barkes laden with vittayles to the mouth of *Arno*, from whence they fell easily into the towne of *Pisa*, which at the same time suffered many perplexities by lande: for, after the armie of *Florence* had taken *Librofratto*, deuiding them selues into many legions, they looked how to giue impediment to the tilling of the landes for the yeere folowing, and to restrayne the passage of vittels both by the way of *Lucque* and the sea: they gaue also in the ende of the sommer, a spoyle to all sortes of graynes, whereof that countrey brings foorth a great quantitie: Their furie left nothing vnproued agaynst the ruine of the *Pisans*: for neyther weeried with the great expences, nor holding impossible any thing that gaue them hope to accomplishe their purpose, they deuised to trouble the *Pisans* in a newe fashion, that is, by a new chanell to make fall the riuer of *Arno* which runneth by the towne of *Pisa*, from the towre of *Fagiana* fyue miles from *Pisa*, into the poole which is betweene *Pisa* and *Liuorna*: whiche if they had brought to passe, there coulde haue bene no more portage of things to *Pisa* by sea through the ryuer of *Arno*, and the rayne waters for that the countrey is lowe, not hable to be conueyed into the sea, the Citie had remained as it were in the middest of a marishe, as also for the difficultie to passe *Arno*, the *Pisans* coulde not haue ronne from thence forwarde along the hilles to hinder the traffike from *Lyuorno* to *Florence*: And lastly they should haue bene constrained to fortifie that part of *Pisa* by the which the ryuer entred and issued, least it should be open to thincursions of the enemie. But this enterprise as it was begonne with a very great hope, and folowed with farre greater expences, was in the ende made vayne: and as it often

hapneth

hapneth that like enterprises, notwithstanding they be layde out by measure and line, are yet founde fallible by experience, which is the certayne proofe of the difference that is betweene the deuising and doing of things: so besides many difficulties, not considered before, and now caused by the course of the ryuer, which when they thought to restrayne, abated of him selfe fretting his channell: the bottome of the poole where they woulde haue it enter, contrarie to the reasons and opinions of many ingenistes and water workers, was founde to be higher then the channell of *Arno*: Besides, in so great a desire to obteine *Pisa*, fortune enuyed also the ambition of the *Florentins*, for that the galleys whiche they had enterteyned returning from *Villefranche* with a prise of the *Pisans* loaden with grayne, were so weather beaten neare to *Rapallo*, that they were constrayned to giue agaynst the grounde, the capteine with the residue hauing great payne to saue them selues. But the *Florentins*, whose desire of the victorie was without limit, sought to serue their turne of all the meanes whiche eyther the witte of man or oportunitie of the tyme coulde deuise: And therefore after they had proued in vayne to raunge the *Pisans* by armes and threatnings, they sought to reclayme them by affabilitie and sweetnes, making a newe lawe, by the which it was graunted that euery Citizen or other subiect of the countrey of *Pisa* that within a certeine tyme woulde eftsones withdrawe to his lyuing or dwelling place, should obteine pardon of all faultes committed, with full restitution of goods. Notwithstanding the fauor of this lawe, there were very fewe of hart and fayth resolute, which would depart out of *Pisa*, but they suffred all suche as were vnprofitable to the warre to take the benefite of the dict, and go their way: the same being the cause that both the dearth of vittels which raged afore was not now so great, and also that they receyued afterwards certayne commoditie of reuenues from others that secretly ayded them: whereby albeit the necessities of the *Pisans* were somewhat by these meanes diminished, yet they founde their estate greuously vexed with their great pouertie & wantes: And yet, hauing all things in lesse horror then the name of the *Florentins*, notwithstanding the minds of the Peisantes did oftentimes wauer, they determined to endure all extremities of miserie, rather then to returne to the deuotion of the *Florentins*: Therefore they offred to giue themselues vp to the *Genovvayes*, with whom they had so oftentimes fought for the iurisdiction and for their safetie, and by whom their power had bene of long antiquitie afflicted and embased: of this motion they of *Lucquei* and *Pandolffe Petruccio* were the causes, desiring (to auoyde in them selues the continuall expences and troubles) to binde the *Genovvaies* to the defence of *Pisa*: And for their more easie inducing to the matter, they offred to defray part of the expences for three yeres. Wherevpon the *Genovvaies*, hauing a deliberation to embrace the offer, notwithstanding *Iohn Lovvis de Fiesquo* with many others, were agaynst it, made an instance to the French king to suffer them, without whose consent they had no power to execute any deliberation: They debated with the king howe daungerous it woulde be that the *Pisans*, excluded from this their last and almost only hope, should come to offer them selues to the king of *Spayne*, from whence would succeede to his great preiudice, that both *Genes* should be in continuall trauell and danger, and almost all *Tuskane* by compulsion, followe the Spanish faction. These reasons, albeit at the beginning had so much wrought with the king, that he was almost at a poynt to gratifie their demaundes, yet his counsell considering, that if the *Genovvaies* should beginne to accept warres of them selues, and for a desire of imperie, to haue confederation with other Potentates, it would be the cause, that comming afterwards

to rayse their thoughts to greater things, they would put their state into absolute libertie: he forbad them expresly to accept the iurisdiction of *Pisa*, but not that they should forbeare to ayde or succour them, notwithstanding the *Florentins* had made great complaynts, perticular respectes bearing more force in these matters, then equitie, conscience, or compassion.

About this time the peace was earnestly laboured betweene the kings of *Spayne* and *Fraunce*, who offred dissemblingly to render the realme of *Naples* to the king *Federike*, or to the duke of *Calabria* his sonne: to whom the French king should resigne and giue vp all his clayme, so farrefoorth as the mariage were accomplished betwene the duke and the queene widowe, Nece to the same king, hauing afore bene wife to yong *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* king of *Naples*. And it was without doubt that the French king had a mind so farre estranged from the affaires of the kingdome of *Naples*, that for his owne regarde, he had accepted all sorts of peace, if it had not bin for these two difficulties that restrayned him: the one (of lesse moment with him then the other) was the shame and reproches that would be thundred vpon him, to leaue abandoned the barons, who, for that they folowed his faction, had suffred priuation of their estates, and to whom were offred conditions hard & intollerable: the other (working somewhat more strongly with him) was the doubt wherin he was, least the king of *Spayne* hauing other intentions, offred according to his accustomed suttleties, this restitution for some ende, that though his maiesties consenting, yet the effect should not folow: and that in the meane while the archduke were not estranged frō him, who desiring to haue the kingdome of *Naples* for his sonne, made instance that there should be cōtinuation of the peace which he had begon before. Therfore he answered generally that he desired the peace, but that he could not with honor giue vp to an *Arragon*, the rights which he had in the same realme: And on the other part, he continued the auncient practises with the king of *Romaines*, & tharchduke: wherin as he was almost certaine of the conclusion & effect, & to thend they should not be cut of nor hindred by the incerteine practises of the king of *Spayne*, he let call before him the Spanish embassadors, making his colour for his greater honor, that the respects & interests of the barōs did chiefly moue him: and being set in the chaire royal in the aspect & presence of al the court with solēne ceremonies far aboue the vsage of times before: he cōplained that their king expressed in words his desire and disposition to the peace, hauing his intētions dissembled, in which regard, & also for that it was not a thing worthy the vertue and honor of a king to consume the tyme in vayne practises, he tolde them it were their best to depart out of the Realme of *Fraunce*. After whose going away, thembassadours of *Maximilian* and tharchduke came to giue perfection to that which had bene negociated, In whiche action (because there were plottes layed to greater purposes) was assistant the Bishop of *Sisteron* the Popes ordinarie *Nuncio* in that Court, and the Marquis of *Finalo* whome the Pope sent expresly in those affayres. This peace hauing bene many times afore throughly debated for the profite which appeared very great to all those Princes, was finally set downe vnder these conditions: That the mariage of Lady *Clauda* the French kings daughter, commoned vpon long time before, should now grow to effect with *Charles* theldest sonne to tharchduke: And for more firme confirmation of the same, there shoulde be ioyned to the othe and subscription of the Frenche king, the ratification of *Frauncis Counte* of *Angulesme*, who (issue male fayling in the king was next heire to the crown) together with many of the principals of the kingdome: That all thinuestitures of the state of *Millan* allowed till that day, being razed

Confederation betweene the Pope, king of Romains, and the Frenche king agaynst the Venetians

and

and cancelled for iuſt and honeſt occaſions *Maximilian* ſhould transferre thinueſtiture thereof to the French king for him ſelfe and heires males, and for want of ſuche iſſue it ſhoulde be (in fauour of the mariage) conueyed to Madame *Clauda*, and to *Charles*, and if *Charles* ſhoulde dye before the conſummation of the mariage, then it to diſcende to Lady *Clauda*, and to the ſeconde ſonne of the Archduke if ſhe maried with him: That betweene the Pope, the king of Romains, the Frenche king, and Tharchduke, ſhould be made a confederation for their common defence, and to offende the *Venetians*, from whome they all determined to withdrawe thoſe places whiche they occupied of theirs: That the king of *Romains* ſhould paſſe in perſon into *Italie* agaynſt the *Venetians*, and afterwards go to *Rome* to take the crowne imperiall: That the Frenche king, aſſoone as the Charters ſhoulde be diſpatched, ſhoulde pay for thinueſtiture threeſcore thouſande florins of *Rhein*, and threeſcore thouſande others within ſix monthes, and euery yeere a payre of ſpurres of golde vppon the day of the natiuitie of our Lorde: That there ſhoulde be place left for the king of Spayne to enter into this confederation within foure monthes: But it was not expreſſed, that in caſe he did not enter, it ſhoulde bee ſuffred to the Frenche king to inuade the kingdome of *Naples*: That the Frenche king ſhoulde giue no more ayde nor ſuccours to the *Counte Palatine*, who ſtirred vp by him, and enterteyned with hope of his ſuccours, was in great warre with the king of *Romains*: That the *Venetians* ſhoulde be excluded out of this league, notwithſtanding that both the king had giuen willing eare to their Embaſſadours, and alſo the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* (to cleare them from all ſuſpition) had nouriſhed them with aſſured promiſes and othes, that the king would neuer go agaynſt that confederation which he had with them. Theſe matters were conteyned in letters which were ſolemnly paſſed: beſides the which it was moued that the king & *Maximilian* ſhould ſpeake together at an other time in ſome place conuenient: The king alſo promiſed at that time that he would deliuer out of priſon *Lodovvyk Sforce*, and indue him with conuenient meane to liue in the realme of *Fraunce*. The ſafetie of this man, the king of *Romaines* had ſhame not to procure, for that his conſcience put him in remembrance, that the promiſes he had made him, and the hopes he had vaynly reappoſed in him, had bene cauſes to haſten his ruine: In which conſiderations, hauing no power to do what he would, at leaſt he expreſſed inclination to do what he could, in ſo much as when the cardinall of *Amboyſe* went to him at *Trent*, he wrought ſo much as he ſhould no more be ſo ſtraightly kept as he had bin, making now importunate inſtance that he might remeine at libertie in the court of *Fraunce*, or in ſuche quarter of the realme as it pleaſed the king: The king promiſed alſo at his requeſt, that the exiles of the duchie of *Myllan* ſhould returne, whervpon were many difficulties in the negociation of *Trent*: it was beleeued that he would kepe this capitulation being ſo greatly to the aduantage of tharchduke and *Maximilian*, notwithſtāding his ordinarie variations, the Pope being cōprehended, and no leſſe agreable to the French king, not ſo much for the deſire he had at that time to make newe enterpriſes, as for an ambicious reſpect to obteine thinueſtiture of the duchie of *Millan*, and to be aſſured not to be moleſted neither by *Cæſar* nor his ſonne.

The death of king Federike.

In theſe ſeaſons dyed king *Federyk*, beeing wholly depriued of hope to recouer by accordē the kingdome of *Naples*, notwithſtanding he was perſwaded afore (euery one naturally ſuffreth him ſelfe to be beguyled by deſire) that the king of *Spayne* had a better deuotion to it then the Frenche king: he conſidered not that in that tyme it was a thing vayne to hope for the reſtitution of ſo noble a Realme,

the examples being very rare in times farre more auncient and before, wherein men were more disposed to actes of vertue and nobilitie, then they were in the time running: he saw not also that it was a thing out of all likelyhood, that he which had vsed so many deceites to occupie the moytie of the kingdome, would nowe that he hath wonne all, depriue him selfe of the fruite & glory of his victorie: Besides in the common reason & discourse of affaires, he might haue perceiued, that the one made no lesse difficultie then the other: onely he had more reason to doubt that he that was already possessed, would not restore, then he which helde nothing in the kingdome, would not consent.

The death of Elizabeth Queene of Spayne,

In the end of this yere, *Elizabeth* queene of *Spayne* exchanged this life for a better: she was a Lady of most honest & honorable conditions, & won in the opinion of her subiects a right worthy name of magnanimity, modesty, & discretion: to her did properly apperteine the kingdome of *Castillo*, which is the greater part of *Spayne*, to the which she succeeded after the death of Henry her brother, but not without bloud & warre: for albeit it was beleeued for a long time that Henry by nature was vnhable to procreation, and for that reason *Beltramise* could not be his daughter which was brought foorth by his wife, and by him nourished many yeres as a frute of his owne seede: And albeit for that occasion *Elizabeth* daughter of *Henry* was acknowledged for Princesse of *Castill*, a title neareſt to the succession: yet many barons of the realme rising after his death in fauor of *Beltramise*, & the king of *Portugall* ministring succors by armes in the right of a friend, alie and confederat, the factions cõming at last to battel, the cause of *Elizabeth* was approued most iust by the issue of the fielde, *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* her husband leading tharmy, who likewise was discẽded of the house of the kings of *Castill*, & conioyned to *Elizabeth* in the third degree of cõsanguinitie, and he afterwards succeding by the death of *Iohn* his father to the realme of *Aragon*, they both tooke vpõ them by one ioynt right the title of king & queene of *Spayne*: for that the kingdome of *Valence* being vnited to the crowne of *Aragon*, together with the countrie of *Catalogna*, they were Lords ouer al the prouince of *Spayne*, whiche is conteined betwene the Mounts *Pirenei*, the Occean sea, & the Middle earthsea: And vnder this title, for that that region hath bin occupied by many kings of the *Mores*, the title of many kingdomes is cõprehended, euery one of thẽ making a title separat by him selfe: except notwithstanding the kingdome of *Granado*, which being at that time possessed by the *Mores*, was afterwards by the vertue of this king & queene gloriously subdued to the empire of *Castille*, together with the title & kingdome of *Portugall*, & the realme of *Nauarre* much inferior, al which had kings particular: But the kingdome of *Aragon*, with *Cicilia*, *Sardignia*, and other Ilands apperteining by inheritance to *Ferdinand*, were gouerned by him only without interposing the name or authoritie of the queene, contrarie to the policie and course of gouernment in *Castille*: the reason was for that that kingdome belonging by lawe of succession to *Elizabeth*, and standing in a state endowed to *Ferdinand*, things were administred vnder their common name aswell in demonstrations as in effects, nothing beeing executed which was not debated, ordeined, & subscribed by them both: The title of the king of *Spayne* was common, their Embassadours dispatched in cõmon, their armies leauyed in common, their wars administred in cõmon, and neither of them in particular appropriating more then the other in authoritie, and gouernment of the kingdome. But by the death of *Elizabeth* without issue males, the succession of *Castille*, by the laws of that kingdome, which regarding more the proximitie then the sex, exclude not the woman, belonged to *Iane* the daughter of *Ferdinand* & her, and wife

wife to tharchduke, their eldeſt daughter which had ben maried to *Emanuell* king of *Portugal*, together with her litle ſonne, being dead long time before: By reaſon wherof thadminiſtration of the realme dowager apperteining by the end of the mariage, no more to *Ferdinand*, he was eftſones to returne into his litle kingdome of *Aragon*: litle in cõpariſon of the realme of *Caſtill*, for the ſtraitnes of the countrey, & ſmalnes of the reuenues, and for that alſo the kings of *Aragon*, not hauing abſolute regall authoritie in all things, be in many poynts ſubiect to the conſtitutions and cuſtomes of the ſame prouinces, which limit much the power of their kings. But *Elizabeth* drawing towards hir lateſt time, ordeined by hir teſtament that *Ferdinand*, ſo long as he liued ſhould be gouernor of *Caſtillo*, aſwel for that ſhe deſired it might be kept in his firſt greatnes, for the amitie that had bene mutual betwene them, as alſo for that ſhe knewe it concerned the profite of hir ſubiects to be continued vnder the moderate gouernment of *Ferdinand*, and imported no leſſe the commoditie of hir ſonne in law and daughter, who, ſeeing in the ende they ſhould likewiſe ſucceede *Ferdinand*, had reaſon to eſteme it much to their behoof, that vntil *Philip*, borne & noriſhed in *Flaũders* where things were gouerned diuerſly, had attained a riper age, & taken a greater knowledge of the laws, cuſtomes, nature, & maners of *Spayne*, al their realmes might be preſerued for them vnder one peaceable & well ordred gouernment, the coũtreis of *Caſtill* & *Aragon* being meinteined in the meane while as one ſelfe body. But as in mortall actions the wit of man is inſufficient to ſet downe a firme ſtabilitie, for that all things vnder the higheſt circuite haue their proper reuolutions: ſo, litle helped the wiſe prouiſions of this Queene, to ſtay the alteration of things, for that after her death newe accidents hapning in *Spayne*, the ſtate tooke a newe forme of gouernment. But touching thaffayres of *Italie*, as we meane to expreſſe hereafter, they were better diſpoſed to a newe peace.

Teſtament of Queene Elizabeth.

The yere 1505. things continued in the ſame eſtate of tranquilitie wherin they had bene noriſhed the yere before, which was ſuch, that had not the quarell betwene the *Florentins* and *Piſans* brought ſome alteration, the actions of armes for that yeere had wholly ſurceaſed, one part of the potentates beeing deſirous of peace, and the other that were enclined to warre, holden reteyned for many reaſons: for, it ſuffiſed the king of *Spayne* (who continued ſtill the ſame title, and as yet traueled with the thoughtes of his dead wife) to keepe the kingdome of *Naples* by meane of the truce that had bene made. The Frenche king was entred into a great ſuſpicion, for that *Cæſar* following in this as in all other things, his wandring nature, had not ratified the peace: The Pope, albeit he was deſirous of innouation and newe things, yet he neyther durſt nor coulde ſtirre onleſſe he were accompanied with the armes of ſome mightie Prince: And the *Venetians* eſteemed it to no ſmall grace, if in ſo great conſulte and counſell of things agaynſt them, and in ſo yll a diſpoſition of the Pope, they ſtoode quiet and were not moleſted by others: wherein the better to appeaſe the Pope, they had offred many monthes before to leaue him *Rimini* and all that they had poſſeſſed in *Romania* ſince the death of Pope *Alexander*, to thende he did conſent that they might reteyne *Faenza* with his territories: This offer they made alſo for feare they had of the Frenche king, and for that *Cæſar* at the ſolicitation of the Pope, had ſent his Embaſſadours to *Venice* to ſommon them to make reſtitution of the landes of the Churche: But the Popes aunſwere was ſo reſolute, that they paſſed no further: he tolde them according to the conſtancie of his minde, and his free nature to expreſſe his conceytes, that he woulde not conſent to the reteyning onely of a little towre, but dyd hope to recouer be-

fore his death bothe *Rauenna* and *Ceruia*, cities whiche they poſſeſſed no leſſe iniuſtly then they did *Faenza:* with whiche aunſwere they kepte ſuſpended their further ſutes till the beginning of the ſommer, when their feares beeing become greater, they offred by the meane of the Duke of *Vrbin* (a friende indifferent) to reſtore all that they had occupied which was not of thappurtenances of *Faenza* and *Rimini*, ſo that the Pope, who would not afore admit their Embaſſadours to tender their obedience, would nowe conſent to receyue them. This demaunde albeit the Pope ſhewed him ſelfe ſomewhat harde to accept, ſuppoſing he ſhould do wrong to his dignitie, as not conuenient to allowe it, remembring the great quarrels and threatnings he had made to them: yet hauing regarde to the perplexities that were endured by them of *Furly*, *Ymola*, and *Ceſena*, who depriued of the greateſt parte of their countreis, ſuffred many incommodities: And ſeeing withall no other meane to redreſſe things with ſpede, for that the affaires betweene *Ceſar* & the French king proceeded with ſo great a longnes of time and delay: at laſt he conſented to that which in effects was a gayne without loſſe, ſince neither by wordes nor writings he was bounde to any thing: So that after the townes were reſtored, eight embaſſadors of the principals of the Senate choſen ſince he was created Pope, were ſent to him, (The greateſt companie and moſt honorable ſhewe of Embaſſadors which that commonweale had euer ſent to any Pope, if he were not a *Venetian:*) But after they had tendred their obedience with the ceremonies accuſtomed, they brought not backe to *Venice* any ſigne by the which they coulde gather that the Pope was become more eaſie or tractable: ſo deepe were thimpreſſions of his miſliking agaynſt them: or els ſo cunningly coulde he diſſemble contrarie to his owne promiſes and their expectations. About this time the French king deſiring to put ende to that which had bene debated, ſent the Cardinall of *Amboyſe* to *Haguenau* a towne of baſe *Almaine*, where *Ceſar* & Tharchduke attended him, hauing newly taken that towne vpon the *Counte Palatin:* There were publiſhed & ſworne ſolemnly the conuentions that had bene made, the Cardinall paying the moytie of the money promiſed for thinueſture, with promiſe that *Cæſar* ſhould receyue thother moytie aſſoone as he ſhould paſſe into *Italie:* notwithſtanding, both at the preſent he gaue to vnderſtand, and a little after he declared, that he could not paſſe that yere for thimpedimentes which were in *Germanie:* the ſame making the ſuſpition of warre ſo much the leſſe, the French king being determined to enter into no new attempt without him. Only, the warre almoſt continuall betweene the *Florentins* and *Piſans*, remeined kindled in *Italie*, the which proceeding by eaſie degrees, and not purſued but when occaſions offred to the one or the other partie, who otherwiſe had no one ſetled enterpriſe: it hapned that *Luke Sauelle* iſſued out of *Caſsina*, in which lande the *Florentins* made their retraite of warre, and with him certeyne captaynes and conſtables of the *Florentins*, with foure hundred horſe and many bandes of footmen, their intention was to reuittell *Librafatta*, and by the ſame meane to leauie certayne heards of cattell of the *Piſans* feding on the other ſide the ryuer of *Sercle* vpon the grounds of the *Lucquoys*, not ſo muche for the benefite and pillage of the pray, as for the deſire they had to drawe the *Piſans* to the feight, hauing a confidence to ouerthrowe them for that they were the ſtronger in the fielde: And when they had conueyed vittels into *Librafatta*, & poſſeſſed the pray they pretended, they returned with leiſure by the ſame way, to thende to intiſe the *Piſans* with that oportunitie to come and charge them. *Tarlatin* chiefe commaunder ouer their men of warre, iſſued out of *Piſa* aſſone as he vnderſtoode thenemie droue away their cattell: And bicauſe the

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chiefe poynt of the reskue reſted in expedition, he tooke no moe with him then fifteene men at armes, fortie light horſemen, and threeſcore footemen, leauing order that a greater ſtrength ſhould follow him: ſo neceſſarie is ſpeede in enterpriſes, that oftentimes they are wonne and loſt with a leſſe meaſure & diſtance of time, then is required to conſult vpon them: But the *Piſan* capteine vnderſtanding that certayne of the *Florentin* horſemen were runne vp euen to *S. Iackes* neare *Piſa*, he made towards them, and they retyring to their ſtrength which ſtayed at the bridge *Capella* vpon the ryuer of *Oſolo*, and three myles from *Piſa*, where they taried for the droues of cattell that were taken, and the Mulets with the which they had reuitteled *Librafatta* comming behinde, and as yet beyonde the bridge, which the firſt bandes of footmen had occupied, and manned the loopeholes and trenches: *Tarlatin* followed them euen to the bridge, not perceyuing that all tharmie of the *Florentins* were in that place, till he was ſo neare that he coulde not returne without manifeſt daunger: and therefore, as neceſſitie is mightie to make men reſolute, ſo he determined to make way by his valour, and to charge the bridge, declaring to his company that that wherevnto their perill conſtrayned them was not without great hope and poſſibilitie to ouercome, for that in a place ſo ſtraite where fewe men could fight, the great number of their enemies was more fearefull then hurtfull, the narrownes of the place hindring the vſage of the weapon wherewith they ſhould ſtrike them: In ſo muche that albeit they could not make their paſſage ouer the bridge, at the leaſt they ſhould eaſily mainteine their owne defence till the regiments of *Piſa*, which he had ſent for, were come to their ſuccours: But if they could winne the bridge, the victorie would be no leſſe eaſie then thattempt was glorious, for that the way beyond the bridge which runneth betwene the bridge & the moũtaine being ſtraite & narrow, the multitude of their enemies encombred with the mulets & beaſtes they had ſtolne, would of themſelues fall eaſily into diſorder, being drawen into a place ſo inconuenient either to fight or to flee: His wordes were iuſtified with deedes: for he being the formoſt, giuing with gret valor the ſpurs to his horſe, charged the bridge, but being cõpelled to retire, an other did the like, and after him a thirde, whoſe horſe being hurt, the capteine returned with great furie to ſuccour him, & in that veyne of corage what with the force of his weapõ & furie of his horſe, he paſſed on the other ſide the bridge, the footemen that defended making him place: foure others of his cõpanie did the like by his example, all which whileſt they enterteined the skirmiſh on the other ſide the bridge with the footmen of thenemie in a ſtraite medowe, certeine footemen of the *Piſans* paſſed ouer the ryuer in water vp to the chinne, the horſmen likewiſe paſſing without impediment ouer the bridge whiche was nowe abandoned, beſides the ſuccours expected from *Piſa*, beginning to ariue without order: wherein the *Florentin* ſouldiours ſeeing their ſafetie turned into perill, and their bodies and weapons reduced into a place ſtraite and narrowe, fell into confuſion amongſt them ſelues, and as men whoſe confidence was turned into cowardnes, and nothing but feare appearing in their faces which had wont to expreſſe courage and reſolution, hauing no capteine of authoritie to reteine them in order, they turned their backes and fell to flying: in ſo much that they which were farre mightier in forces, and marched in order and obſeruance of warre, left the victorie to thoſe whoſe numbers were farre inferior, and came altogether disbanded, with intention rather to make ſhowe onely, then to fight in deede: many capteines of the *Florentin* footemen and other gentlemen of marke were the miſerable monuments of this ouerthrowe, for that many of them were ſlaine, mo taken, and moſte of all

The Florentins broken by the Piſans

dangerouſly hurt, and ſuche as ſought ſafetie in flying fell into the diſcretion of the vplandiſhe people of *Lucqua*, who ſtripping them, ſent them away naked to be beholden with greater greete of their friends: ſo ſpitefull is fortune when ſhe is diſpoſed to oppreſſe ſuche as ſhe holdes for hated, that ſuffring them to eſcape out of the daunger they feared moſte, ſhe leades them into thoſe aduerſities they doubted leaſt, taking her pleaſure in the afflictions of men. This calamitie of the *Florentins* brought a great diſorder to their affayres in the countrey of *Piſa*, for that hauing weakened their legions of horſmen within *Caſsina*, they were not hable to lette the *Piſans* (whom their late victorie had made inſolent and proude) to ouerrunne and pill the whole countrey: And that which was of greater importance, *Pandolfe Petruccio* being entred into a hope by reaſon of this accident, that they might eaſily giue impediment to the *Florentins* for ſpoyling that ſommer the corne of the *Piſans*, who maynteining defence with their accuſtomed difficulties, were (but in colde maner) ayded by the *Genovvaies* and *Lucquois*, for the *Siennois* ſuccored them rather with counſell, then with money or vittels: he wrought ſo much that *Iohn Paule Baillon*, in whom the *Florentins* reappoſed muche, for that they had bene the principall cauſe of his returne into *Perouſa*, refuſed during the time of his ſeruice, to continue in their pay, alleaging that *Marke Anthonie* and *Mutio Colonno*, with *Luke* & *Iacques Sauelles*, hauing altogether a greater number of men then he, and being in the ſame pay, he coulde not remayne there without daunger for the diuerſitie of factions: And to thende they ſhould haue leſſe time to prouide them ſelues, he temporiſed and taried as long as he could, to diſcloſe wholly that which he had in his thought, and to induce them to giue more fayth and credite to his excuſe, he promiſed the *Florentins* not to take armes agaynſt them: wherin to keepe them the more aſſured, he left as a gage, his ſonne *Maleteſta* a very yong man, in their pay with fifteene men at armes: and becauſe him ſelfe would not remeine altogether without appoyntment, he tooke pay of the *Siennois* with threeſcore and ten men at armes: But becauſe they of *Sienna* were not hable to ſupport ſo great expences, the *Lucquois* who did communicate in that counſell, tooke into their paye with three ſcore and ten men at armes, *Troylus Sauellus*, who afore was mercenary to the *Siennois*.

What for the ſodayne and vnlooked for departing of *Iohn Paule*, and the harmes receiued at the bridge *Capello*, the *Florentins* looking into their own weaknes, would not that yere giue the ſpoyle to the lands of the *Piſans*, forbearing to attempt enterpriſes till their fortune were better reconciled: yea they ſaw how farre they were conſtrained to deuiſe how they might remedie greater dangers: for thauncient humor of affection being eftſones reuiued in *Iohn Paule*, and in *Pandolfe*, they debated ſecretly with the Cardinall of *Medicis* to trouble theſtate of the *Florentins*, making their principall foundation of *Bartlemevv Aluiano*, who being in ſome diſagreement with the *great Capteine*, was newly come to *Rome*, where he drew to him many ſouldiours with diuers hopes and promiſes: Wherein it was feared leaſt thoſe counſels would pearſe into Cardinall *Askanius*, with deliberation (if things ſucceded not happily in *Tuskane*) to aſſaile the duchie of *Millan*, with the ioynt forces of the *Florentins*, and others conſenting to this conſpiracie: The reaſon was, that they had a hope, that aſſayling it there would eaſily riſe ſome mutation, ſeing there was a ſlender ſtrength of the men at armes of *Fraunce*, many of the nobilitie were abroade, the peoples much enclined to the name of *Sforce*, and the French king (on whom was falne a great maladie) languiſhing in ſo dangerous extremitie, that for many houres there was a generall diſpaire of his health, and though he ſhould ſomewhat reuiue,

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yet his diſeaſe had made him ſo yll diſpoſed that there was no hope of lyfe, and leſſe expectation of action: And ſuch as looked into things with a deper counſell, doubted leaſt *Askanius* (with whom at that time the *Venetian* Embaſſadour had familiar conuerſation at *Rome*) interteined a ſecret intelligence not onely with the *great Capteine*, but alſo with the *Venetians*, who had bene of late more ready and more bold to offende the French then in times paſt, for that the French king, who newly was entred into ſuſpition and diſtruſt of the king of Romaines & his ſonne, ſeeing after the death of the Queene of *Spayne*, what would be the greatnes of the Archduke, forſooke apparantly their amitie, and ayded agaynſt Tharchduke the Duke of *Gueldres* his ſharpe enemie, and inclined to practiſe particular intelligence with the king of *Spayne*.

Death of Cardinall Askanius.

But as the thoughtes of men are deceitfull, and their hopes full of infirmitie and frayltie, ſo, whyleſt theſe things were in ſolicitation, the French king, whoſe recouerie was holden deſperate, went dayly growing into health, and Cardinall *Askanius* dyed ſodenly at *Rome* of the plague: By whoſe death albeit the dangers to the eſtate of *Millan* were cut of, yet the plottes layed to moleſt the *Florentins* were not altogether remoued: and therefore *P. Petruccio*, *Iohn Paule Baillon*, and *Bartlemevv Aluiano* aſſembled together in the borowe of *Pregai*, vpon the confins of the *Peruſins* and *Siennois*, not with hope to be ſtrong ynough to reſtore the *Medicis* into *Florence*, but with this intention that *Aluiano* entring into *Piſa* with the wills of the *Piſans*, ſhould inuade (for the ſuretie of that Citie) the frontier of the *Florentins*, with deuiſe to paſſe further as occaſion would preſent. Theſe preparations ſmothered hithervnto, beginning nowe to burſt out into light, the *Florentins* feared muche of the diſpoſition of the *great Capteine*, both for that they knewe that the time for the which *Aluiano* was interteined in the Spaniſh pay remeined yet till the next Nouember, and alſo for that they could not beleeue that *P. Petruccio* would enter into newe enterpriſes without his conſent, ſeeing the ſaid *Petruccio*, neuer ſatiſfying the French king of the ſummes of money which he promiſed, and hauing often times abuſed him in other properties, depended altogether of the king of *Spayne*: Beſides, the ſuſpition of the *Florentins* was augmented in this, that (fearing the Lorde of *Plombin*, which vas vnder the protection of the Spaniſhe king, to be aſſayled by the *Genovvaies*) *Conſaluo* had ſent to *Plombin* for his ſuretie a thouſand footemen, vnder the charge of *Nuguo de Campo*, and to the riuer of *Plombin* three ſhips, two galleis, with certeine other veſſels: which forces brought into a place ſo neare the *Florentins*, gaue them great occaſion to feare that they were not come to ioyne with *Aluiano*, as he himſelfe aſſured that they were promiſed: But the truth was, that the king of *Spayne*, after the truce made with the French king, gaue direction (for diminution of thexpences) that aſwell the regiment of *Aluiano*, as the bands of others which had bene limited, ſhould be reduced to a hundred launces: Wherevpon he taking occaſion to be greeued, did not onely refuſe to binde him ſelfe eftſones with newe othe, but alſo meinteined that he was acquited of the firſt, both for that he was not ſatiſfied of his paies paſſed, and alſo the *great Capteine* would not holde his promiſe to giue him after the conqueſt of *Naples*, two thouſande footemen to ſerue his turne agaynſt the *Florentins* in fauor of the *Medicis*: Laſtly the minde of *Aluiano* was trauelling, naturally deſirous of new things, and altogether impacient of thanquilitie and reſt.

The *Florentins*, for their defence agaynſt ſo violent ſtormes, had recourſe to the French king, who was bounde by the capitulations of protection to defende them with foure hundred launces: they ſent to him to refurniſh them with two hundred,

but he, beeing more caried with couetousnes of money, then with regarde to the prayers of his friends, or compassion of his auncient confederates, aunswered, that he would giue them no succours, if first they made him not satisfied of the thirtie thousande duckets which were due to him by thobligation of protection: And albeit the *Florentins* made many humble requests and suites, that he would yet temporise and expect a litle, alleaging how muche they were aggreeued with intollerable expences necessarie for their defence: yet being more caried with couetousnes, then with reason or indifferencie, he persеuered obstinately in his deliberation, in so muche as he whom they most suspected, and had most offended, ministred more to their helpe and safetie, then he of whom they seemed to be best assured: & to whom they had done greateſt pleasures, finding least safetie where they reappoſed moste confidence, and greateſt perill where they iustly expected their protection: for the *great Capteine* desiring that the tranquilitie of *Italie* should not be troubled, eyther becausе he would not should be broken the practises of peace begonne of newe betweene the two kings, or for that he nourished some deuise to appropriate to him selfe the kingdome of *Naples*, vsing thoccasion of the death of the Queene, and the sedes of future discord betwene the father in lawe & the sonne: he vsed all diligence to induce *Aluiano* to reenter into the pay, and commaunded him as a vassall & souldiour of his king to make no further proceeding (beeing nowe gone to *Petillano* to obey the Popes commaundement to dissolue his companies, or rather to go out of the Churche dominions) vpon payne of depriuation of thestates which he had in the kingdome of *Naples*, bearing a value in yerely reuenue of seuen thousande duckets: he signified to the *Pisans*, whom a litle before he had secretly receiued into the protection of his king, and also to the Lorde of *Plombin*, that they should not receiue him: And he causеd to be tolde and offred to the *Florentins*, that he was content they should haue the seruice of his footemen that were within *Plombin*, whome he ordeined to be commaunded by *M. Anthonio Colonno* their capteine: he sent also to *P. Petruccio*, that he should in no wise support *Aluiano*, forbidding to followe him *Lovvys* sonne of the *Counte Petillano*, *Frauncis Vrsin*, and *Iohn de Cery*, who were in his pay: But notwithstanding all these inhibitions, *Aluiano* with whō were *Iohn Levvys Vitelli*, *Iohn Conrad Vrsin*, three hundred men at armes, and fiue hundred footmen of good resolution, passed alwayes further though slowly, (they of *Sienna* furnishing him with vittels) he came at last by the coastes of *Sienna* into the playne of *Scarlina*, a towne subiect to *Plombin*, and a little dayes iourney from the frontiers of the *Florentins*: here came to him a messenger expresly from the *great Capteine*, to cōmaund him eftsones that he go not to *Pisa*, nor offende the *Florentins*: To whom he answered, that he stoode in his libertie, and had election to doo what he list, for that the *great Capteine* had not holden promise with him. From thence he went to lodge neare to *Campilla*, a towne of the *Florentins*, where was occupied a light skirmish betweene him and the *Florentin* bandes that were assembled at *Bibona*: he came afterwards vpon the territorie of *Cornia* betweene the confines of the *Florentins* and *Sugeret*, but with plotts and hopes very vncertayne, finding euery day increase of greater difficulties, both for that there came no vittels to him from *Plombin*, and also *Iohn Paule Baillon* and the *Vitelli*, who were gouerned according to the trayne and issue of affayres, fayled to refurnishe him with suche bands of footemen as they had promised: he sawe in *P. Petruccio* a disposition wandring, and his fauors more doubtfull then before: neither was he assured that the *Pisans*, for feare to disobey the *great Capteine*, would receiue him: For which reasons, ioyned to the continuall solicitation

Consaluo aydeth the Florentins.

tion that was vſed to recouer him, wherein the hope was ſomuche the greater, by howmuche he refuſed no more to reſt contented with an hundred launces: he retyred to *Vigualo*, a towne apperteining to the L. of *Plombin*, giuing out a brute that he taried there to expect the laſt reſolution from *Naples*: But the *Piſans* hauing in the meane while condiſcended to receiue him into their towne, he iſſued out of *Vigualo*, where he had remayned ten dayes: and earely in the morning of the xvij. of Auguſt he appeared with his armie in battel aray, a mile beneath *Campilla*, hauing an intention to bidde battell to the *Florentin* armie, whiche was gone to incampe there the day before: But they hauing aduertiſement by well aſſured eſpials comming fugitiue from the campe of *Aluiano*, leauyed their campe the ſame night, and retyred vnder the walls of *Campilla*, where *Aluiano* ſeing an impoſſibilitie to aſſaile them but to his great diſaduantage, he turned to the way of *Piſa* by the tract that draweth to the tower of *S. Vincent* fiue myles from *Campilla*: And of the other part, the bands of the *Florentins* led by *Hercules Bentiuolo*, who (by thexperience he had of the countrey) deſired nothing more then to fight in that place by reaſon of thopportunitie of his ſeate, tooke the way that goeth from *Campilla* to the ſayd tower of *S. Vincent*, holding it better to aduenture the battayle in a place ſo fauourable by many aduantages, then by temporiſing, to make his enemie ſtrong by his proper commodities. Here *Hercules* ſeuered the light horſemen into two bandes, the one folowed the armie of *Aluiano*, charging alwayes vpon his tayle & arearegarde, and the other went before to affront thenemie, holding the ſame way by the which the *Florentin* armie came after: they being comen to the tower before the bandes of *Aluiano*, and being taken vp in skirmiſhe with thoſe that came firſt, by whom they were eaſily repulſed, retyred toward their armie or maineſtrength, which was now comen within halfe a myle, where bringing tidings that the moſt part of thenemies had already paſſed the tower, *Hercules* marching lightly, arriued iuſtly vpon their tayle harde by the ruines of the tower of *S. Vincent*, where their men at armes and footemen had made head: and when he was in full and abſolute paſſage, he charged them reſolutely on the flanke with the moytie of his armie, making them bende after he had enterteyned the feight a good ſpace of time. In this firſt aſſault their footemen were ſo broken and chaſed euen to the ſea, that afterwards they neuer made head: But the horſemen which were withdrawen a bowſhut beyonde the diche of the towre of *S. Vincent* towards *Bibbona*, being reaſſembled, aduaunced eftſones their enſignes, and keping themſelues in a cloſe and ſtrong aray, charged with great valour the regiments of the *Florentins*, and with the ſame vertue repulſed them euen to the diche: by reaſon whereof *Hercules* cauſed to marche on the reſidue of his people, and drawing thither from all partes the whole body and ſtrength of tharmie, the feight became furious there for a good ſpace of time, the victorie as yet inclining to no part: *Aluiano* did in that action both the office of a ſouldiour and a capteine, bearing two eſtockados in his face, and laboured paynfully to driue his enemies from that place, which if he had wonne, he had ſtande in great poſſibilitie of the victorie, for that he had eyther turned to him thaduauntages that fauoured his enemies, or at leaſt made the place indifferent without reſpect of parcialitie, leauing things to the triall of vertue and fortune: But *Hercules* who many dayes afore had giuen him ſelfe aſſurance, that if the battell were performed in that place, the victorie would fal on him, with induſtrie cauſed to be planted vpon the brinke of the tower diche ſixe falconets which he brought with him, with the which he began to batter the campe, who not hable to ſuſteine the furie of thartillerie, began now to ſhake and fall to diſorder: In

ſo much as practiſing thoccaſion with the which he had alwayes promiſed himſelfe the victorie, he ſet vpon them furiouſly in many places with the whole forces of his armie: his light horſemen skoured towardes the ſeacoaſtes, with his men at armes he occupied the high wayes, and his infanterie or footemen executed along the playne by the wood, euery one ioyning vertue to his fortune, and with a generall induſtrie made the ſucceſſe of that day happie, for that their furie running through the campe of thenemies, they put them eaſily to the chaſe, *Aluiano* ſauing himſelfe with muche a do with a very fewe of his lighteſt running horſes flying with him to *Montrotondo* in the countrey of *Sienna*: all the reſidue of his people were almoſt taken and ſtripped betweene the tower of *S. Vincent* and the ryuer of *Cecina*, hauing loſt all their enſignes: onely ſuch as eſcaped from the generall calamitie of this battell, were a fewe horſemen, who founde more ſafetie in the ſwiftnes of their horſes, then in their proper vertue or fortune of the day. This was the ende of the commotion or ſtirre of *Bartlemevv d Aluiano*, which expreſſed more apparances and greatnes by the practiſes that were made of long time, and by his braue behauiour full of furie and threatnings, then by his forces or any other ſtable fundation which his enterpriſe had: A ſucceſſe common to ſuche who commit their doings wholly to fortune, and do reape for the moſt parte the ſame iſſue that doth the mariner betaking his ſayles to the winde, which driueth his ſhippe not whither he woulde, but whither the winde ſhoueth her. *Hercules Bentiuolo* and *Anthonio Iaconino* campemaſter, riſing into courage with the felicitie of this victorie, ſignified to the *Florentins* both by vehement letters and meſſengers well inſtructed, that it were good to ioyne action to thopportunitie, and approche the walles of *Piſa*, beeing carefull afore to furniſh with diligence all thoſe things that might be neceſſarie to take it. They confirmed their deuiſe with all thoſe ſortes of hopes whiche men in good fortune do vainely weene, not remembring that in fortune there is nothing more certaine, then that in all things ſhe is vncertayne: They hoped, that for that the eſtate of the *Piſans* was enuironed on all ſides with great difficulties, being nowe more deſolate then before for the depriuation of the ſuccours of *Aluiano*, and ioyning withall that all things ought to giue place to the reputation of conquerers: they thought they ſhould eaſily carie it: interteyning withall a certeine intelligence with certeine of the townesmen in *Piſa*. But the magiſtrate of the ten, called *il Magiſtrato de dieci*, appoynted director of the matters of warre, calling a counſell with his other Citiſens communicantes by cuſtome in affayres of importance, that deliberation was with one conſent reproued by generall voyce: for that they conſidered that in the *Piſans* was ſtill recontinued their auncient reſolution and obſtinacie, and that being men of ſo long time experienced and trayned in warre, the name or reputation of the victorie which they had had agaynſt others, would not be ſufficient to vanquiſh them, their forces being no way diminiſhed by it: Rather it ſtoode them vpon according to thexamples of tymes paſt, to ſet vpon them with a reſolute force, which men of warre did onely feare. Beſides, their counſell was full of apparant difficulties, for that the citie of *Piſa* enuironed aſwell as any towne in *Italie* with moſt firme wals rampired and fortified, and withall defended with bodies actiue and reſolute, could not be forced but with a great and puiſſant armie compounded vppon ſouldiours not inferiour to the *Piſans* in valour, which yet would not be ſufficient to carie it by aſſault or ſhort ſiege: and therfore more neceſſarie to encampe in the places about it for many dayes, to thende to approche it with more ſuretie, ſearching out aduantages, and rather tyring and wearying them, then to ſuppreſſe them by force or violence:

The Florentins debate vvhether they ſh ould beſege Piſa.

lence: That the ſeaſon wherein they were was contrarie to thoſe things, not beeing hable ſodaynely to erect an armie of footemen, of other bodies then ſuche as ſhould be leauied in haſt: And much leſſe to approch it with any intention to make long aboade there, both for the inclemencie of the ayre corrupted with the windes of the ſea, whiche beeing become peſtiferous through the vapours of the pooles and mariſhes, were harmefull to armies, as was well experienced when *Paule Vitelli* encamped there: And alſo for that the countrey of *Piſa* beginneth from the moneth of September to be ſubiect to raynes, whiche, by reaſon of the baſeneſſe or lowneſſe of the place do ſo ouerdrowne it, that it takes away all oportunities for an armie to remayne there: That in ſuche an vniuerſall obſtinacie there coulde be no aſſured foundation reappoſed in practiſes or priuate intelligences, for that ſuche things beeing for the moſte parte eyther diſſembled or ſubborned, or at leaſt managed by perſons vnhable to execute that they promiſe, bring with them ſo many imperfections, that the fruite of thexpectation will not aunſwere the tyme that is taken to enterteine them: Beſides, notwithſtanding there had bene no publike fayth giuen to the *great Capteine*, yet *Proſper Colonno* (but of him ſelfe) almoſt vnder their ſecrete conſent had ſignified and promiſed, that for that yeare there ſhould be made no approche with artillerie to the walles of *Piſa:* In whiche regarde they ought to holde for certayne, that aſwell for that diſdayne, and for the promyſes he had many tymes made to the *Piſans*, as alſo for that this ſucceſſe of the *Florentins* was nothing profitable for his affayres, he woulde oppoſe himſelfe agaynſt this enterpriſe: A matter very eaſie for him to doo, for that he might in fewe howres put into *Piſa* the Spaniſhe bandes of footemen which were at *Plombin*, as he had oftentimes aſſured them to doo when ſoeuer there was preparation to beſiege them: That it were better to vſe thoccaſion of the victorie, there, where albeit the profite were leſſe, yet thinges without all compariſon ſhoulde bee founde of farre more eaſie action, and yet not without a notable profite: That there was not one that had more oppoſed, nor dyd more continually reſiſte their enterpriſes: not one that had more hindred the recouerie of *Piſa*, nor more procured to chaunge the preſent gouernment then *Pandolffo Petruccio*: That he had ſtirred vp the Duke *Valentynois* to enter in armes vppon their landes: That hee had beene the principall author and guyde of thenterpriſe of *Vitellozze*, and of the rebellion of *Aretze:* That by his counſell and ſolicitation, the *Genovvaies* and *Lucquois* were ioyned with the eſtate of *Sienna* to ſupporte the *Piſans:* That it was he that had induced *Conſaluo* to take the protection of *Plombin*, to entermeddle with thaffayres of *Piſa*, and to make intruſion into the matters of *Tuskane*. To bee ſhorte, that there was none other that had beene author or fauourer of this burſting out of *Aluiano:* That it was agaynſt hym that they oughte to turne their armie, and to pyll and ouerrunne all the countrey of *Sienna*, where woulde bee no reſiſtaunce: That by the reputation of their armies, there might happen agaynſt hym ſome commotion in the Citie, wherein he had already manye enemyes: at the leaſte that they weare not to wante occaſion to occupie anye place of importaunce in that countrey, whiche they mighte holde in counterchaunge, or as a pawne to haue agayne *Montpulcian:* wherein they hoped by this reuenge to doo that which hitherto coulde not bee accompliſhed with benefites and pleaſures, that *Pandolffo* hereafter ſhoulde not bee ſo ready to offende them: That afterwardes in the ſame manner, they ſhoulde make incurſions into the countreys of *Lucquois*, beeing

very harmefull to leaue them ſo long expected: Laſtely, that by theſe meanes there was hope to drawe ſome honour and profite of the victorie gotten, where if they went to beſiege *Piſa*, there was to be reaped no other thing then expences and diſhonour. Theſe reaſons, albeit they were alleaged with common accorde, yet did they nothing abate the deſire of the people (which for the moſte parte runneth more guyded by will then by reaſon) crying to plant the campe afore *Piſa*, and beeing blinded with a ielous opinion they had taken of long tyme, that the recouering of *Piſa* was nowhit pleaſing to many of the principall Citizens for many ambicious reſpects. In this ſentence *P. Sodererin Gonſalonier* beeing no leſſe colde then the reſidue, calling a great councell of the people, with whome they had not bene accuſtomed to communicate in matters of that nature, asked if they were of opinion that the campe ſhoulde go afore *Piſa*, wherevnto euery one aunſwering affirmatiuely, wiſedome was ſurmounted with raſhnes, the authoritie of the better ſort giuing place to the will of the greater parte. And therefore there were preſent directions to make prouiſions with a celeritie incredible, euery one hauing deſire to preuent no leſſe thexpected ſuccours of the *great Capteine*, then the daungers of the reynie ſeaſons, in ſo muche as the ſixt day of September the armie approched the walles of *Piſa* with ſix hundred men at armes, ſeuen thouſande footemen, and ſixteene Canons, with many other Artilleries of execution, the campe beeing pitched betwene *Santa Croce* and *San Michele*, in the ſelfe ſame place wherin the Frenchmen had encamped before. And as the artilleries were ſodenly planted in the night, ſo they battered the day folowing in great furie, all that was betweene the gate *di Calci* and the turret of *S. Frauncis*, where the walles make within, an angle: and hauing from the ſonne ryſing, (when thartillerie beganne to playe) tyll the xxj. howre brought to the earth more then thirtie fadomes of wall, there was enterteyned where the ruine was moſte, a hotte skirmiſhe, but to very little profite, for that there was not throwen downe ſo great a quantitie and ſpace of wall as had beene neceſſarie in a towne, where the men preſented them ſelues to the defence with their auncient valour and hardyneſſe: therefore the morning followng, to thende to make a greater opening of the wall, they beganne another batterie in a place a little remoued (that place of the wall which aforetymes had bene battred by the Frenche, remeining betweene the one and other battrie,) and after they had caſte downe ſo muche of the wall, as was thought ſufficient, *Hercules* ſought to aduance the footbands which were in battell to giue a rough aſſalt both to the one and other breach, where the *Piſans* trauelling according to their cuſtomes, the women no leſſe venterous then the men reſolute, had during the batterie drawne a rampier with a ditche afore. But there was not in Thitalian footebandes whiche had bene leauyed in haſte, neyther that action nor that ſpirite that was to force ſuche a reſiſtaunce: for that enſigne of footemen to whome by lotte apperteyned the firſte aſſalte, beginning to refuſe through cowardiſe to go to the walles, neyther thauthoritie of the Capteine, nor preſence of the ſuperintendent of *Florence*, neyther the regarde of their proper honour, nor the honour common of the men of ſeruice of Italie, were ſufficient to vanquiſhe their feare, nor to ſhewe valour in an action ſo muche importing: thexample of whome, finding imitation and place in the reſidue that ſhoulde haue followed them, all the regimentes retyred to their lodginges, hauing done no other thing then (by leauing thinfanterie of *Italie* infamous through all *Europe*) defyled the felicitie of the victorie obteined agaynſt *Aluiano*, and defaced the reputation of the Capteine and Campemaſter

The Florentins armie afore Piſa.

ſter whiche was greate on the behalfe of the *Florentins*, if, content with the glory they had gotten, they coulde haue moderated their proper fortune. When the ſouldiours were ónce retyred to their lodgings, there was made no more doubt to leauie the campe, chiefly for that the ſame day ſix hundred Spaniſhe footemen of thoſe that were at *Plombin* were entred *Piſa* by direction from the *great Capteine:* So that the day following the *Florentine* armie retyred to *Caſcina*, drawing with them more diſhonour then eyther prayſe or profite, prouing in them ſelues that auncient tradition of the elders, that follie and raſhnes haue no ſocietie with wiſedome, nor fortune, or aduenture any communitie with good counſell, ſince all thoſe things are referred to a doubtfull iſſue, that are done by will and not by reaſon. Within fewe dayes after, there entred into *Piſa* fifteene hundred ſpaniſh footmen, who, becauſe the ſeruice had no neceſſitie of them, after they had in vayne giuen an aſſault to the towne of *Bientina* at the incitation of the *Piſans*, continued their nauigation into *Spayne*, whither they were ſent by the *great Capteine*, for that the peace was already eſtabliſhed betweene the Frenche king and *Ferdinand* king of *Spayne*, to the which (all difficulties that earſt hindred it, beeing nowe remoued, as both the regarde of the honour of the Frenche king, and the feare to make tharchduke his enemie) the death of the Queene of *Spayne* had giuen perfection: for that both the French king, enuying muche ſuche a greatneſſe of tharchduke, deſyred to diſappoynt his purpoſes. And alſo the king of *Spayne*, beeing aduertiſed that tharchduke diſdayning the laſt will of his mother in lawe, had determined to take from him the gouernment of the kingdome of *Caſtilla*, was conſtrayned to make his ſtay vppon newe alliaunces: for this cauſe the mariage was agreed vpon betweene him and Lady *Germana de Foix* ſiſters daughter to the French king, with condition that the king ſhoulde giue her in dowry that part of the kingdome of *Naples* that apperteined to him, the king of *Spayne* bynding him ſelfe to paye him within ten yeeres ſeuen hundred thouſande duckets in recompence of expences, and to indue the newe maried Lady with three hundred thouſande duckets. This mariage beeing ratified and accompanied with the peace, it was agreed that the barons of the faction of *Anioyv*, and all ſuche as had followed the Frenche parte, ſhould be reſtored without any payment into their libertie, countrie, eſtates, dignities and goods, and reeſtabliſhed in the ſame condition and degree that they were in the day that the warres beganne betweene the Frenche and Spaniſhe, whiche they accompt to be the day that the Frenchemen ranne to *Tripaldo*: That all confiſcations made by the king of *Spayne*, and by king *Federik*, ſhould be holden for cancelled and voyde: That the prince of *Roſſana*, the Marquis of *Bitonto* and of *Geſualdo*, *Alphonſo* and *Honorio* of *S. Seuerin*, with all the other barons which were priſoners to the Spaniſh in the kingdome of *Naples*, ſhould be deliuered: That the French king ſhould no more intitle him ſelfe king of *Ieruſalem* and *Naples:* That the homages and fealties of the barons ſhould be made according to the conuentions aforeſayde, and that in the ſame maner thinueſtiture ſhould be demaunded of the Pope: That in caſe the Queene *Germana* ſhoulde dye in mariage without iſſue, her part of dowrie ſhoulde be transferred to *Ferdinand*, but if he dyed firſt, it ſhoulde reuert to the crowne of *Fraunce:* That king *Ferdinand* ſhould be bounde to ayde *Gaſton* Earle of *Foix* and brother to his newe wife, to conquere the kingdome of *Nauarre*, which he pretended to apperteyne to him, & which was poſſeſſed with a title royal by *Katthern de Foix*, & by *Iohn* her husband ſonne to *Monſr d'Albert:* That the French king ſhould conſtraine the widow of king *Federik* with her two children

Peace betwene the French king and king of Spayne.

that were with him, to go into *Spayne*, where ſhould be aſſigned to her a competent portion to liue: And if ſhe refuſed to depart, then the king ſhould commaund her to iſſue out of his realme without making any further allowance to her or to her children by way of pention, or other meane to releeue them. That neyther one of the parties ſhould enterpriſe any thing, agaynſt thoſe whom any of them ſhould name: and they named ioyntly in Italie the *Pope*, and the French king apart named the *Florentins*: That for ſtrengthning of this peace, there was ment to be made betweene the two kings a perpetuall confederation for the defence of their eſtates, wherevnto the king ſhould be bounde with a thouſande launces, and ſix thouſande footemen: and *Ferdinand* with three hundred launces, two thouſande *Iennytairs*, and ſix thouſande footemen. After the peace was made and publiſhed, wherin the king of *Englande* promiſed obſeruation for both the parties, the Barons of *Aniovv* who were in *Fraunce*, hauing taken their leaue of the king, went almoſt all with the Queene *Iermana* into *Spayne*, the king vſing towards them at their departure a very ſmall gratulation of their ſeruices paſt. *Iſabell* the widowe of *Federike* hauing her leaue, went to *Ferrara*, refuſing to put her children into the power of the Catholike king. In this towne of *Ferrara* (*Alphonſo* the ſonne of *Hercules* beeing nowe ſucceeded to the Dukedome) there hapned vpon the ende of the yere, a ſtraunge and tragicall accident: ſuche one as had ſome ſimilitude with the barbarous actions of thauncient *Thebanes*, but for farre more lighte occaſions, if thunbridled furie of loue be leſſe, then the burning ambition and deſire to reigne: The Cardinall *Hypolito d' Eſte*, louing feruently a young mayde his kinſwoman, who for her parte was no leſſe amarous of *Don Iulio* naturall brother to the Cardinall, and confeſſing her ſelfe to the Cardinall, that that which aboue all other things made ſo vehement her affection to his brother, was, the ſweete aſpect and beautie of his eyes: Loue is a Lorde of the worlde, and aboue all naturall impreſſions hath a tyrannicall ſubiection ouer the creatures whom he poſſeſſeth: for the Cardinall enuying the communitie of his brother, turned his loue into ielous furie, and ſetting eſpiall ouer *Don Iulio* when he ſhould go out of the towne on hunting, ſet vpon him in the fielde with a crewe of tormentors prepared to miſchiefe, whoſe violent handes the Cardinall in his owne preſence, ſuffred to thruſt out the eyes of his brother, for that they were the companions of his loue: An action no leſſe infamous to the Cardinall, then intollerable to all humanitie, and which afterwards trayned with it many occaſions of ſeditious and Ciuil quarrels betweene the brethren. Suche was the ende of the yere a thouſande fiue hundred and fiue.

An horrible act of a Cardinall.

The ende of the ſixt booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

Many treaties are made. Pope Iulio the seconde takes the gouernment of Bolognia. The Genovvaies rebell agaynſt the French king. The king of Aragon meeteth vvith the French king, and communicateth vvith him. The dyet is holden at Constance. The king of Romaines demaundes passage of the Venetians to go take the Crovvne at Rome, he inuadeth their lands, and aftervvards maketh truce vvith them.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE historie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

THESE were thaccidents of the yere a thouſande fiue hundred and fiue, whiche albeit left apparant hopes that the tranquilitie of *Italie* would recontinue (the warres for the quarrell of *Naples* being nowe quenched:) yet (ſuche is the mutabilitie of worldly affaires) there began to appeare in other places, ſeedes of newe innouations and chalenges tending to many ciuill calamities: for *Philip*, which nowe tooke vpon him the title of king of *Caſtillo*, and was no leſſe diſcontented that ſuche a kingdome was gouerned by his father in lawe, inclined to thincitation of many Barons, and prepared him ſelfe to paſſe into *Spayne* agaynſt his will, pretending, as the trueth was, that the late Queene had no power eyther to diſpoſe or to preſcribe lawes, or to bequeath the gouernment of the kingdome after her death. The king of *Romains* alſo taking ſtomack by the greatnes of his ſonne, ſolicited to paſſe into *Italie*. And laſtly the Frenche king, albeit the yere before he was muche diſcontented with the Pope, for that he had diſpoſed and inducted the benefices whiche were voyde by the death of Cardinall *Askanius* and others, in the duchie of *Millan*, without his participation: And for that alſo in the creation of other Cardinals, he had refuſed to call the biſhop of *Achx* nephewe to the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, and the biſhop of *Baieux* nephewe to *Monſr Trymouille*, being earneſtly ſolicited by the king, who in thoſe regardes had cauſed to ſequeſter the frutes of the benefices which the Cardinall *S.P.ad Vincla* & others of the Popes amitie, poſſeſſed in theſtate of *Millan:* yet the king on the other ſide, holding both ſuſpected and feared the greatnes of *Cæſar* and his ſonne, iudged it neceſſarie not to nouriſh occaſions of reuenge, but to reenter into reconcilement with the Pope, to whom after he had releaced all the ſequeſtrations, he ſent in the beginning of this yere the biſhop of *Siſteron* thapoſtolicall *Nuncio* to negociate with him many plotts and offers agaynſt the *Venetians*, to whom he knewe the Pope could not but continue to beare an yll will with a hatred redoubled for the deſire he had to recouer the townes of *Romania:* An humor which the Pope did ſo muche the more diſſemble, by howmuch vntill that day he had proceded in al things ſo tractable & reſpectiue, that euery one tooke occaſion to maruell greatly, that he, who in his eſtate of Car-

Sedes of nevv vvarres.

dinall had bene alway full of immoderate and aſpiring thoughtes, and who in the time of Popes *Siſtus*, *Innocent*, and *Alexander*, had bene many times thinſtrument to trouble *Italie*, expreſſed now that he was become Pope (an eſtate for the moſt part adminiſtred with ambition and troubleſome imaginations) to be more eaſie and abated in courage, then did well beare thambicious profeſſion which he had alwayes made to the contrarie, not making any ſhowe or demonſtration to remember olde iniuries, or to ſeeme to be like to him ſelfe: So dangerous is diſſimulation in the perſons of great men, whoſe authoritie and place ſhadowing their diſpoſitions, defends all things from blame, though they haue nothing vnworthy of reprehenſion: for the intentions of the Pope were farre other wayes, then agreed with the propertie of his actions, for that hauing a determination to ſurmount the former opinion that was had of him, and to do more then was expected, turned all his wittes, deuiſes, and labours, (contrarie to the cuſtome of his auncient magnanimitie) to heape vp a wonderfull maſſe of treaſure, to thende that to the will he had to kindle the warre, might be ioyned alſo the meane and power to ſuſteine it. And finding in that time, that he was furniſhed with ſufficient treaſures and money, he beganne euen then to diſcouer his thoughtes aſpiring to right great things, ſuffring nothing to ſtay thexecution of that whiche he had pretended with ſo great ſtudie, ſecrecie, and hope. Therefore the Biſhop of *Siſteron* being receyued and hard with a gladnes agreable to the nature of his deſire, was diſpatched and ſent backe agayne with diligence, to ſolicite betweene them a new reunion and amitie: wherein the better to diſpoſe the minde of the king and the Cardinall *d'Amboyſe*, he promiſed by writte whiche the ſayde *Nuncio* caried with him, the dignitie of Cardinall to the Biſhoppes of *Achx* and *Bayeux*, forgetting nothing that he thought might further theffect of thoſe ambitions which he had nouriſhed with ſo great care and trauell of mynde. And yet notwithſtanding in ſo great a heate and vehemencie of forwardneſſe, he entred oftentimes into many doubtes and difficulties, for that eyther for a certayne hate he had conceyued agaynſt the Frenche king at ſuche time as he fledde into *Fraunce*, eſchewing thambuſhes of Pope *Alexander*, or for that it much diſcontented him to be drawen as it were by compulſion by the power and importunitie of the French king, to transferre to the Cardinal of *Amboyſe*, the legation of the kingdome of *Fraunce*: or laſtly, for that he ſuſpected leaſt the ſaid Cardinal (whoſe behauiours tended directly to the Popedome) not hauing patience to tarie for his death, would not ſeeke to aſpire to his place by wayes ſiniſter and extraordinarie: In regarde of which impreſſions (more troubleſome for the ſuttletie of the man, then that there was reaſon he ſhould feare ſo farre) made him oftentimes wander in diſpoſition, determining not wholly to ioyne with the Frenche king, and yet without his coniunction, he knew it was impoſſible that at that tyme any thing of conſequence ſhould ſucceede with him: For which reaſons he ſent (on the other ſide) to *Piſa*, *Baltaſar Blaſquo* a *Genovvay*, capteine of his galleis, with commiſſion to arme two lighte Galleis which Pope *Alexander* had cauſed to builde there: but it was thought that it was to this ende to be more ready to deliuer *Genes* from the gouernment of the Frenche, in caſe the king who yet remayned vexed with the reliques of his diſeaſe, ſhould happen to dye.

Diſſimulation very daungerous in the perſons of great men.

Thus matters hanging in ſuche an eſtate of ſuſpence, the firſt action of this yeare 1506. beganne by thembarking of king *Philip* to ſayle out of *Flaunders* into *Spayne* with a great armie by ſea: And to reduce his going to a more facilitie and ſafetie (for he feared leaſt his father in lawe by the ayde of the Frenche, woulde hinder

King Philip ſaileth out of Flaunders into Spayne.

hinder his passage) he practised the Spanishe subtelties, and agreed with him to leaue vnto him the managing and pollicie of the moste parte of affayres, and that they shoulde take in common the title of king of *Spayne*, according to thexample in the Queenes tyme: and lastely, that the reuenues and tributes shoulde be deuided in an order certayne and indifferent. By reason of which accorde, his father in lawe, notwithstanding he was not assured of thobseruation, sent him into *Flaunders* many shippes to furnishe his voyage: with the which, hauing embarked his wyfe and *Ferdinand* his seconde sonne, he tooke his course into *Spayne* with forwarde windes, whiche, within two dayes turning cleane contrarie, after his nauie had runne a daungerous fortune, and made a wearie resistaunce agaynst the furie of the sea, his shippes were caste vpon sundrie coastes of *Englande* and *Brittaine*, his owne person with two or three shippes beeing dryuen with manyfest perill vppon *Englande* into the hauen of *Southhampton*: whereof *Henry* the seuenth then king of that Nation beeing aduertised, sent to him with speede many Barons to doo him honour, and desire him to come to his Court, then at *London*: A request whiche *Philip* coulde not denie, the king of Englands demaunde beeing no lesse honorable, then his owne estate full of necessitie and nakednesse. He remayned in the Court of *Englande*, vntill all his Nauie was reassembled and eftsoones rigged, making in the meane whyle betweene them newe capitulations: wherein albeit *Philippe* in all other things helde him selfe vsed as a king, yet in this one thing he complayned, that he was constrayned as a prysoner, to consent to redelyuer into king *Henries* handes the duke of *Suffolke*, whome he helde prisoner within the castell of *Namur*, and whome the king of *Englande* desyred muche to haue in his power, for that he quarreled the tytle of the Crowne, pretending the righte of the kingdome to apperteine to him: onely the king of *Englande* assured *Philip* by the fayth and worde of a king, that he woulde not put him to death, which he did as iustly perfourme as he had honorably promised, keeping him in prison so long as he lyued, and afterwardes was beheaded vnder the reigne and cõmaundement of his sonne. King *Philip* sayled afterwardes with a more happie nauigation into *Spayne*, where almost all the Barons flocked to him, bringing in their countenaunces apparaunt signes of gratulation and gladnes of his comming, and in their mindes assured resolution to aduaunce him: In so muche as his father in lawe, who was not strong ynough of him selfe to resist him, and lesse confidence that in the Frenche promises was any suretie of foundation, seeing him selfe almost abandoned of euery one, and the articles of the firste accorde disallowed, and finding withall a very harde and paynefull accesse to his sonne in lawe, was constrayned to agree to new conditions, such as were offred to him, nothing respecting the former: wherein notwithstanding they proceeded not rigorously for the good nature of *Phillip*, but muche more for the perswasions of those which had shewed themselues great enemies to *Ferdinand*: for that beeing in continuall doubt, that by his wisdome and authoritie, together with the facilitie of *Philips* disposition, he would not get better fauour, & in the end winne gouernment with his sonne, they solicited as much as they could his departing out of *Castillo*. It was accorded, that *Ferdinand* should giue ouer the gouernment which his wife had left to him by testamẽt, together with al that he could pretend in that right, & that he should spedely depart out of *Castillo*, with promise to returne no more: That *Ferdinand* shoulde possesse the kingdome of *Naples* as his owne, notwithstanding there were that alleaged that it apperteined to *Philip*, for that it was conquered with the armes and power of the

King Phillip caste by casualtie of sea vpon the coastes of Englande.

Philip promiseth to redeliuer to king H. the duke of Suffolke.

Capitulations betwvene Ferdinand & Philip.

kingdome of *Castillo*: which was the same reason (& happly more iust) by the which *Ferdinand* was wont to pretende the sayde realme to apperteine to him, as being wonne by the treasures and forces of the state of *Aragon*. The tributes of the yles of *India* were reserued to him during his life, together with the three great mastershippes of *S. Iames*, *Alcantara*, and *Calatraua*: It was also agreed that he should take euery yere xxv. thousand duckets of the reuenues of the Realme of *Castillo*. Assone as this contract was resolued and passed to publication, *Ferdinand*, whom hereafter we will call eyther the king Catholike, or the king of *Aragon*, went foorthwith into *Aragon*, with intention to passe by sea to *Naples* with all the diligence he might, not so muche for the desire he had to see that kingdome, and to reestablish it, as to remoue the *great Capteine*, agaynst whom since the death of the Queene, he had conceyued many suspitions, eyther that he aspired to transferre to him selfe the kingdome, or at least that he had inclinations to giue it rather to *Philip* then to him: So ielouse is the condition of imperie and dignitie, that agaynst those for the most part is most possibilitie of suspition, whose vertue hath best deserued in confidence and fidelitie. But by so muche lesse had the king of *Aragon* occasion to reappose in him, by howmuche more he had founde him alwayes intractable to leaue *Naples*, from whence as he had often sommoned him in vayne to returne into *Spayne* (whiche he excused and delayed alleaging many impediments,) so he feared that if he went not thither in person, he should not easily remoue him from the gouernment, notwithstanding since the last contract, king *Philip* had charged him to transferre wholly hereafter all his obedience to the king of *Aragon*.

The condition of imperie & dignitie ielous.

In this time the French king, beginning to ryse somewhat into health, was trauelled with many, diuers and contrarie thoughts: for, both he was discontented with the *Venetians*, disdayning them since the times of the warre of *Naples*, for the desire he had to recouer that whiche was of thauncient appurtenances of the duchie of *Millan*, and for an opinion that through diuerse accidentes, their power and greatnes might sometimes hurt him, which, among other respects, had induced him to make confederation with the king of *Romaines* and *Philip* his sonne: And on the other part, the discending of the king of *Romains* into *Italie* was nothing agreable to him, knowing that he prepared to furnishe his iourney with very strong forces: A matter which he feared more then afore, for the power which he might put to king *Philip* (succession to suche a greatnes) specially beeing in doubt that whilest he was in *Englande*, he did not contract with the king there certayne newe and straite allyaunces: And for that also one of the principall occasions for the which he had entred confederation with them, was ceassed and cut off by the peace made with the king Catholike, by reason of the which he had dissolued & left there all his thoughts and impressions touching the kingdome of *Naples*. But whilest he stoode wauering in this varietie and incertentie of minde, thembassadours of themperour *Maximilian* came to signifie to him their maisters deliberation to passe into *Italie*, and to sommon him to giue order for the fiue hundred launces which he had promised to furnishe in his fauour, and to performe the residue of his worde touching the restoring of the banished men from the state of *Millan*, and to put him in remembrance lastly to aduaunce payment of the money which should be due to him within fewe monethes. To these demaundes albeit the French king had no great will to condiscende, yet he made semblant of the contrarie, neuertheless onely for the regarde of suche as for that time required but wordes, expressing howe muche he desired that tharticles of accorde should be executed, offering for his parte in due season a readie

Imaginations of the French king.

readie accompliſhment of all thinges he was bounde vnto: onely he refuſed with many excuſes to aduaunce the money. On the other parte, themperour reappoſing alſo as little in the will of the French king, as he did in his, and deſiring vehemently to paſſe to *Rome*, chiefly to take the crowne imperiall, and to chooſe afterwards his ſonne king of *Romains*, ſtudied in the ſame time by what other meanes he might atchieue theffect of his expectations. Therefore both he ſolicited the *Svvyzzers* to knit with him, who, after wany councels and diſputes among them ſelues, determined to obſerue thalliance which yet remayned two yeres, with the French king: And alſo he demaunded paſſage of the *Venetians* through their lands, who beeing loath for their own particular to graunt him paſſage with an armie ſo mightie, (the offers alſo of the French king inciting thē to ioyne with him to let his paſſage) tooke courage to aunſwere him in tearmes generall: and the French king, ſhowing himſelfe openly eſtraunged from the confederation made with him and with *Phillip*, gaue in mariage the Lady *Clauda* his daughter, to *Frauncis* Lorde of *Angueſme*, to whom belonged the ſucceſſion of the Crowne after his death without iſſue male: he made as though he had bene drawen to that action, by the importunities of his ſubiects, hauing aforehande ordeined for that effect, that all the courts of Parliament and principall townes of his kingdome, ſhould ſende Embaſſadours to beſeeche him as in a matter moſt profitable to the Realme, ſince the hope to haue iſſue male diminiſhed in him dayly more and more. This he ſignified with ſpeede to king *Phillip* by expreſſe Embaſſadours, excuſing him ſelfe that he had no power to reſiſt ſo great a deſire of his whole realme and communitie of his ſubiects. Beſides theſe, he had ſent bandes of men to the ſuccours of the duke of *Gueldres*, to turne *Maximilian* from paſſing into *Italie*, who of him ſelfe had left and giuen ouer thoſe cogitations: for that vnderſtanding that *Launcelet* king of *Hungarie* was very ſicke, he drewe neare the confines of that kingdome according to an auncient deſire of his father, to make him ſelfe king for the right which he pretended to it: for *Launcelet*, otherwiſe called *Ladiſlao*, king of *Hungaria* and of *Boeme*, ſonne of *Albert*, which was brother to themperour *Federik*, dying many yeres before without ſonnes, the peoples of *Hungaria*, who pretended that their king dying without heire maſculine, the ſucceſſion of the next in bloud could haue no place, had choſen for their king (hauing regarde to the merites and vertues of his father) *Mathyas*, he who afterwardes to the great reputation and glorie of ſo little a kingdome, vexed oftentimes the mightie empire of the Turkes: He, to auoyde in the beginning of his reigne, warre with *Federike*, agreed with him to take no wife, to thend that after his death the kingdome might diuolue to *Federike*, or to his children: which albeit he did not obſerue, yet he died without iſſue, and for all that *Federike* had not thaccompliſhment of his deſire, for that *Thungarians* choſe of newe for their king, *Launcelet* king of *Polonia*, by occaſion whereof, newe warres being eftſones rayſed agaynſt them by *Federike* and *Maximilian*, they agreed at laſt (the Barons of the kingdome taking a ſolemne othe) that whenſoeuer *Launcelet* ſhould dye without iſſue, they ſhoulde receiue *Maximilian* for their king. In ſo much as he then aſpiring to this ſucceſſion, after he was aduertiſed of thinfirmitie of *Launcelet*, he drewe neare to the borders of *Hungaria*, leauing behinde him for that time all his thoughts for *Italie*.

But whyleſt thoſe things were debated betweene the Princes of beyonde the Mountes with ſo great diuerſitie: the Pope, knowing that without the aydes of the French king, he could not moleſt the *Venetians*, and hauing leſſe patience that the yeres of his Pontificacie ſhould ſo paſſe away and conſume without profite or ho-

The Pope deuiſeth to vvin agayne Bolognia.

nour, prayed the French king to helpe him to recouer to the obedience of the Church the cities of *Bolognia* and *Perouſa*, which belonging of antiquitie to the Sea Apoſtolike, were nowe tiranniſed, the one by *Iohn Paule Baillon*, and the other by *Iohn Bentiuolo*, whoſe predeceſſors in the tymes of ciuill warres, riſing from priuate Citiſens to be chiefe of a faction, after they had chaſed or ſlayne al their aduerſaries, were not onely become abſolute Lordes of the Cities, but alſo ſtoode not reſtrayned by any other thing to take the title of lawfull Princes, then for the regard which they had to the Popes, who in the one and the other citie reteyned ſomewhat more then the ſimple name of Lordſhip, for that they tooke a certeyne part of the reuenues, albeit very little, and ordeined gouernours in the name of the Churche, who ſerued rather as ſhadowes and apparances, then to rule or commaunde (the power and deliberation of all things of importance reſting in the authoritie of others:) But the towne of *Perouſa*, either for his more nearenes to *Rome*, or for other occaſions, was longer time enterteined in thobedience of the Church, then *Bolognia*: for that citie did oftentimes chaunge in thaduerſities of Popes, ſometimes beeing gouerned in libertie, ſometimes oppreſſed by the Citizens, ſometimes ronning to thobedience of ſtrange Princes, ſometimes reduced to thabſolute ſubiection of Popes, and laſtly returning in the time of Pope *Nicholas* the fifte, vnder the rule of the Church, but with limitations certaine, and ſuch communion of authoritie betwene the Pope and them, that with tract of time the name and demonſtration of things remeining onely to the Popes, theffect and ſubſtance of the pollicie & gouernment reſted wholly in the power of the *Bentyuoles*: of whom, *Iohn Bentyuole* who commaunded for the preſent, hauing by litle and litle drawen all things to him, and embaſed thoſe mightie families which had bene contrarie to his elders and him in the firſt ſtabliſhing of his tyrannie: and being alſo greeuous for thinſolencies and intollerable expences which his foure ſonnes made, (an occaſion making him hatefull almoſt to euery one) ruled nowe more by crueltie and armes, then with clemencie and affabilitie, leauing very litle place to equitie and innocencie. But the Pope was moſt of all puſhed forwarde to this enterpriſe by a burning humor and deſire of glorie, wherein he had determined (albeit vnder the ſhadowe of pietie and zeale to religion) to reconquer to the ſea Apoſtolike, all thoſe places, of what nature ſoeuer, that had bene vſurped vpon the Church: And in this inclination to vſe the ſworde he had a particular motion to recouer *Bolognia*, for a hatred newely kindled agaynſt *Iohn Bentyuole*, for that in the times of his aduerſities when he durſt not remayne at *Rome*, and ſeeking ſafetie in *Cento* a towne of his Biſhoprike in *Bolognia*, he was driuen to ſteale away by night, hearing a brute publiſhed at randome, that there was a reſolution to apprehende him priſoner at the inſtance of Pope *Alexander*: So infinite is malice in her operations, that what heart ſhe hath once embraced, ſhe neuer ceaſſeth to ouercarie by degrees, tyll a reuenge be executed, and that for the moſte parte in a qualitie farre aboue the nature and merite of the offence. And (as was well expreſſed in the humours of this Pope) malice in wiſe men hath no ſodaine apparaunce, but riſing with their greatnes of place and calling, into more furie and rage, the blowe comes ſo muche the more redoubled, by howmuche the matter hath bene nouriſhed with tract of time, not fayling to execute aſſone as opportunitie doth offer. This requeſt of the Pope was to the good lyking of the king, who tooke it for an apte occaſion to keepe him in his amitie: for knowing howmuche it did preiudice his affayres, that the Pope had alliaunce with the *Venetians*, he beganne to growe into feares that he woulde ſodaynly reuolte, holding him alſo

Malice is infinite in her actions.

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in ſuſpition to haue communitie in a certayne practiſe which *Octauian Fregoſo* had made to depriue him of the iuriſdiction of *Genes*. Beſides, he eſteemed *Bentyuole* (albeit he was vnder his protection) more inclined to *Cæſar* then to him: To theſe doubtes he adioyned alſo the diſdayne which he had agaynſt *Iohn Paule Baillon*, for that he had refuſed (notwithſtanding he was poſſeſſed of the foureteene thouſande duckets) to go and ioyne with his armie beeing vpon the ryuer of *Garillan*, together with his deſire to offende *Pandolffe Petruccio*, vnder an occaſion to ſende men into *Tuskane*, for that he had both fayled to pay him the money he had promiſed, and alſo had wholly followed the fortune of the Spaniards. So that he made ready offers to the Pope to ayde him, and the Pope for his part, gaue him the writts of election to Cardinals for the biſhops of *Achx* & *Bayeux*, with power to diſpoſe of the benefices in the duchie of *Millan* in the ſame fulneſſe that *Lodovvyke Sforce* had vſed before. Theſe practiſes beeing reſolued and concluded by the ſolicitation of the Byſhop of *Sisteron* newly indued with the Archbiſhoprike of *Achx* the onely and immediate interpoſer betweene them, yet the execution was not ſo ready, for that as the Pope deferred for certayne monthes to put thenterpriſe to action, ſo it hapned in that meane while that *Maximilian*, who hauing begonne the warre agaynſt the king of *Hungarie*, had eſtraunged his thoughts from *Italie*, made nowe a newe peace with him, renewing thaccorde touching the ſucceſſion, and returned into *Auſtria*, making ſignes and preparations as though he would eftſones paſſe into *Italie*: And deſiring that the *Venetians* ſhould not oppoſe agaynſt his intention, he diſpatched foure Embaſſadours to aduertiſe that ſtate, that he was determined to go to *Rome* to take the Imperiall crowne, deſiring them to giue him libertie of paſſage together with his armie: he aſſured them to march through their regions without greeuing them or theirs in any ſort: And deſired, by proteſtation, to be vnited with that common weale, wherein the meane might eaſily be founde, not onely with ſuretye, but alſo with augmentation and exaltation of both the parties, couertly inducing vnder this perſwaſion that it woulde make for their common profite to conſpire together agaynſt the Frenche king. The *Venetians*, after they had long debated in counſell, returned a very gracious anſwere, expreſſing how muche their commonweale deſired to be conformable to his will, and to ſatiſfie his requeſtes in all things which they might without their proper preiudice, which in that caſe could not be neither greater nor more euident, for that the regions of *Italie* being made deſperate by ſo many calamities which they haue ſuffred, were drawen into an vniuerſall mutinie at the onely brute of his diſcending with ſo mightie an armie, ſtanding generally reſolued to take armes to cut off occaſions and oportunities of newe troubles, and that the Frenche king was to do the like for the ſuretie of theſtate of *Millan*: That by that meane, his comming into *Italie* with an armie diſplayed, was no other thing then to giue occaſion to the communalties of *Italie* to leauie armes to make mightie reſiſtaunce agaynſt him: An action of no little importance and daunger agaynſt them, for that if they ſhould conſent to his paſſing, all the potentates and powers of *Italie*, together with the French king, would iudge of them none otherwiſe, then of ſuche as had not eſteemed of the common benefite in reſpect of their proper intereſtes: That it would be more aſſured for all, and in the ende moſte honorable for him, comming to an act pacificable and agreable to euery one, to paſſe diſarmed into *Italie*, where thimperiall maieſtie showing himſelfe no leſſe gracious and affable, then mightie and terrible, ſhould finde an vniuerſall fauour with all regions, peoples, and communalties: That he ſhould (to his perpetuall glorie) beare

the honorable reputation to be the protector of the tranquilitie of *Italie*, proceding to his coronation in the same forme which his father and many his renowmed predeceſſors obſerued afore him, in which courſe they were and would vſe to him, all thoſe oblations, obſeruances, and offices which he could deſire.

Theſe apparances of armes and other things practiſed by *Cæſar*, were the cauſes that the Pope reſolued fully to execute the enterpriſe of *Bolognia*, and had ſent to ſommon the Frenche king to his promiſe, was friendly aduiſed by the king to haue regarde to the eſtate and diſpoſition of things, and conſidering well of the nature of times, to deferre the action of the enterpriſe to an other ſeaſon, leaſt the vntimely breaking out of ſuch an accident did not onely bring all *Italie* into commotion, but proue preiudiciall euen agaynſt his proper intentions: for that he feared leaſt in this action he ſhould kindle agaynſt him the minds of the *Venetians*, who had alreadie ſignified to him that they were reſolued to take armes for the defence of *Bolognia*, if the Pope would not firſt indue them with the graunt of thoſe patronages and rightes of *Faenza* which apperteined to the Church. But the Pope, who of nature was impacient and ſodayne, ſought out ſtill all the meanes he coulde, by the which (notwithſtanding all difficulties and impediments) he might aſpire to that he deſired: Wherein he proceeded with moodes furious and violent, calling together into the conſiſtorie all the Cardinalls, afore whome deducing in forme of a languiſhing complaynt, how iuſtly he was touched with deſire to deliuer from the handes of tyrantes the cities of *Bolognia* and *Perouſa*, members ſo muche importing the ſea Apoſtolike, he ſignified that he would aſſiſte the enterpriſe in perſon: he aſſured them, that beſides his owne forces, he ſhould be ayded by the Frenche king, by the *Florentins*, and many other potentates of *Italie*, and that God that was perpetually iuſt, would neuer leaue abandoned ſuche as with ſo holy intentions ſoughte to reeſtabliſhe and reſtore the Church. Aſſone as this deliberation was publiſhed in *Fraunce*, it ſeemed ſuch a matter to be laughed at to the king, that the Pope ſhould promiſe him ſelfe a ſuccor of his people without intelligence or communitie with him, that making it a ieſting talke at his table, and impoſing withall vpon the Pope his notorious dronkenneſſe, he ſayd it could not be but the Pope was well bewitched with wine: not diſcerning as yet that that ſodayne deliberation did conſtraine him, either to come to manifeſt controuerſie with him, or els to giue him of his men agaynſt his will. But the Pope, not expecting any other reſolution, iſſued out of *Rome* with fiue hundred men at armes, and ſending afore *Anthony dal Monte* to ſignifie his comming to the *Bolognois*, with direction to commaunde them to make prouiſion to receiue him, and to beſtowe in the countrey fiue hundred French launces. He marched ſlowly, hauing determined not to paſſe *Perouſa*, tyll he were well aſſured whether the French bandes woulde come to his ſuccours, foreſeing nowe thoſe inconueniences which the immoderation of his minde would not afore ſuffer him to diſcerne in his heate and furie. *Iohn Paule Baillon* occupied with no ſmall feares of his comming, by the counſell of the duke of *Vrbin* and other his friends, & vnder their aſſuraunce went to meete the Pope at *Oruietto*, who receyued him into grace and fauor, after he had wholly ſubmitted himſelfe to his diſcretion, with promiſe to folowe him in perſon with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, and alſo to render vp into his handes the fortreſſes of *Perouſa* and *Perouſin*, and the garde of the city, giuing for obſeruation his two ſonnes in oſtage to the duke of *Vrbin*: Vnder this cõpoſition the Pope entred without any ſtrẽgth into *Perouſa*, being in the ful power of *Iohn P. Baillon* to make him priſoner with all his court and trayne, if he woulde haue

The Pope vvill go in perſon to the enterpriſe of Bolognia.

haue made founde throughout the world in a matter of ſuch greatnes and weight, that diſloyaltie, which had already made his name infamous in things more inferior and of farre meaner qualitie. At *Perouſa* the Pope gaue audience to the Cardinall of *Narbona* ſent to him from the French king, to perſwade him to put ouer and deferre the enterprice till another time, and to proteſt the kings excuſes, in that (contrary to his deſire) he could not ſend him men, for that, by the conſiderations for *Cæſar*, & the great ſuſpitions he had of his doings, it was not cõuenient for him to leaue diſarmed the duchie of *Millan*. This embaſſage albeit it ſtirred vp in the Pope many ſhowes of perplexities and alterations, yet his wiſdome helde his affections ſuppreſſed, and making no apparance that he had any inclination or will to chaunge aduiſe, he began to leauie newe bandes of footemen, and reincreaſe all his prouiſions: And yet many beleued, that what by the difficulties that appeared, and the eaſynes of his nature to be appeaſed vpon yelding or ſubmiſſion, if *Bentyuole* who offred by his Embaſſadors to ſende in his foure ſonnes, had diſpoſed himſelfe to come to him in perſon according to the example of *Iohn Paule*, he had founde ſome tollerable forme for his affaires: But whileſt he ſpent time in temporiſing (the aſpect & eſtate of his buſines making him irreſolute) or, as ſome ſay, whilſt he was holden in ſuſpence by the cõtradiction of his wife, he had aduertiſement that *Monſr de Chaumont* had receiued direction from the French king to go to the ſuccors of the Pope in perſon with fiue hundred launces: An ayde which albeit the king (in the abſence of the cardinal *Amboyſe*) had no inclination to ſende him, yet the Cardinal returning to the Court, vſed perſwaſions to holde the king firme in his promiſe, hauing not only made voluntary offers in the beginning, but alſo by many degrees ſince, had as it were vrged the Pope to vſe the ſeruice of his men: The cardinal had power to make the king change aduiſe, whervnto he was ſo much the more eaſily induced, by howmuch the demõſtrations of *Maximilian* began now to waxe colde according to his cuſtome, & the Pope alſo (ſomewhat to leaue the king ſatisfied) was content to make promiſe, not by writing, but in the mouth of his holynes & honor, that he would not moleſt the *Venetians* for the townes of *Romagnia*: And yet notwithſtanding the pope, not able to abſteine from diſcloſing what a ſetled deſire he bare that way, going from *Perouſa* to *Ceſena*, he tooke the waye of the mountaine, for that if he had marched along the plaine, he ſhould haue bin conſtrayned to paſſe vpon the lands of *Rimini*, which the *Venetians* held. Aſſone as he was come to *Ceſena*, he admoniſhed *Bentiuole* to depart frõ *Bolognia* vnder moſt greuous cenſures & paines ſpiritual & temporall, ſtretching thẽ out againſt al ſuch as ſhould holde any conuerſation or confederacie with him: And receiuing intelligence in this place, that *Monſr de Chaumont* marched with ſix hundred launces & three thouſand footemen, all payed of the Church treaſures, he tooke corage, & recõtinued his way without deferring. And turning from the waies & territories of *Faenza* for the ſame reſpects he refuſed *Rimini*, he tooke the way of the mountaine, notwithſtanding it was troubleſome & full of incõmodities: and ſo drawing along the townes which the *Florentins* poſſeſſed beyonde *Thappenin*, he went to *Ymola*, where his armie aſſembled: wherin, beſides many bands of footemen which he had leauied, were foure hũdred men at armes in his pay, an hũdred & fifty led by *Iohn Paule Baillon*, an hundred lent by the *Florentins* vnder the guide of *M. An. Colonno*, an hundred lent by the duke of *Ferrara*, many bands of Eſtradiots leauied in the kingdome of *Naples*, & two hũdred light horſmẽ brought thither by the Marquis of *Mantua*, deputie lieftenant of tharmie. At *Bolognia* on thother ſide, *Bentyuole* & his faction omitted no preparatiõ that might reſpect their ſuretie, nor forbare to arme

all thoſe bodies which they eſteemed to carie abilitie to their defence, hoping that if they were not defended, at the leaſt they ſhould not be offended by the French: for that the king beeing called vpon to ayde them according to the contract of protectiō, had anſwered, that albeit he could not with armes oppoſe againſt thenterpriſe of the Pope, yet he woulde forbeare to miniſter eyther men, or other nature of ayde agaynſt them: An aunſwere wherein they tooke great comforte and confidence to bee hable with eaſe to reſiſte the armie Eccleſiaſticke: But all their hope was turned into feare by the comming of *Monſr de Chaumont*, who, albeit as he marched, had made diuers aunſwers to their people, yet the ſame daye he arriued at *Caſtelfranco* vppon the territories of *Bolognia*, (beeing the ſame daye wherein the Marquis of *Mantua* with the Popes regimentes made him ſelfe Lorde ouer the Borough of *Saint Peter)* he ſente to ſignifie to *Bentyuole*, that the kyng foreſeeing not to fayle of that he was bounde vnto by the capitulations of protection, had an intention not onely to make ſafetie and preſeruation of his goodes, but alſo to procure him ſuche further grace and fauour, that reſigning to the Church the gouernment and pollicie of the Citie, he ſhoulde with ſuretie remeine in *Bolognia* with his children, ſo that within three dayes he ſubmitted him ſelfe wholly to
" the obedience and commaundements of the Pope: Neceſſitie is mightie to bende
" thoſe hartes that are inuincible agaynſt all other meanes, and men compounded of
" humors tranſitorie and frayle, beare their ordinarie mutations of minde and coun-
" ſell, according to the alteration of occaſions and accidents. For, *Bentyuole* and his ſonnes, who with great threatnings afore had publiſhed to all the worlde their hableneſſe and diſpoſition to defende them ſelues, became nowe chaunged in reſolution and courage: and not remembring with what vpbraidings they had exclaimed agaynſt *Peter de Medicis*, for that without effuſion of blood he had forſaken *Florence*: made anſwere that they would referre themſelues to his arbitration, beſeching him to be a meane that at the leaſt they might obteine conditions tollerable. Therefore beeing now come to the bridge *de Rene* three myles from *Bolognia*, interpoſing with the Pope, he made an agreement that it ſhould be lawfull to *Iohn Bentyuole* and hys ſonnes, with *Geneure Sforce* his wife, ſafely to go out of *Bolognia*, and remeine in the duchie of *Millan* in any place at their beſt lyking and election: That it ſhoulde be lawfull for them eyther to ſell or carrie away from *Bolognia*, all their goodes moueable, and not to be moleſted for their immoueables which they poſſeſſed with iuſt title. By the benefite of which accorde ratified and confirmed, they departed with ſpede and ſecuritie out of *Bolognia*, hauing obteined of *Monſr de Chaumont*, to whom they gaue twelue thouſand duckets, a very large ſafeconduit, with promiſe ſubſcribed, not onely to ſee obſerued all that is conteined in the articles of protection, but alſo that he and his familie ſhould continue in ſurety in the duchie of *Millan*. Aſſone as the kinred of the *Bentyuoleis* were departed, the people of *Bolognia* addreſſed with diligence their Embaſſadors to the Pope, to put into his hands the abſolute iuriſdiction of their citie, to demaunde pardon and abſolution of the Cenſures, and to require order that the Frenche ſhoulde not enter into *Bolognia:* But they beeing of nature inſolent, coulde hardly beare to be regulated, ſpecially in a tyme when their owne ſtrength and common fortune of the armie fauoured their intentions, they made their approches to the walles wyth an vniuerſall diſpoſition to enter: but the ſtrong reſiſtaunce of the people, compounded of a reſolute valour to defende their libertie, kept them from executing vpon the walles, & compelled thē to encampe neare the bulwarks betwene the gates of *Saint Felix* and *Saragoſſe* vpon

the

the channel which drawing from the riuer of *Rene* passeth throw *Bolognia*, and from thence is nauigable to *Ferrara*: belike they were ignorant that it was in the power of thinhabitants of *Bolognia* by plucking vp a sluce of the channell that entreth the Citie, to drowne all the countrey about: their ignorance in a matter so needefull of consideration, brought sodaine incommodities vpon them, for that the people of *Bolognia* raising the sluse, the channell that afore was swelled with water, brake out and ouerflowed the lowe places where were encamped the French bands, who leauyng their artillerie in the water, and muche of their baggage, retyred in great tumult and disorder to the bridge of *Rene*, where they remeined till the Pope entred into *Bolognia*, which was on *Saint Martins* day, confirming his entrie with all pompe and ceremonies Pontificall. Thus fell into the power of the Church with a great felicitie of thinhabitants, the citie of *Bolognia*, which with good right beareth name & reputation amongst the most noble and flouriſhing cities of *Italie*, aswell for thinfinitie of the dwellers, as for the fertilitie of soyle and oportunitie of situation. And albeit the Pope did institute new magistrates by the example of antiquitie, leauing in many things great signes and apparances of libertie, yet, touching the effect, he brought it wholly to the obedience of the Church, expressing many honorable liberalities in releasing diuers exemptions, wherin he made himselfe mighty in thopinion of the people, and (vsing the like in al other cities) he labored to allure the multitude to an amitie and liking of the Church gouernment. He gaue to *Monsr Chaumont*, who returned immediatly to the duchie of *Millan*, eight thousand duckets, with ten thousand to be distributed in liberalities amongst his regiment, and he cõfirmed vnder Bul subsigned the promise he had made before to create Cardinal his brother the bishop of *Alby*, And yet (turning all his wittes & studies how he might annoy the *Venetians*) to leaue quicker motions in the French king & Cardinal *Amboise* to ayde him, he would not at that time publish Cardinalls the bishops of *Achx* & *Bayeux*, according to the solicitatiõs that were made, & writts which were already subscribed.

About this tyme the king of *Aragon* passed by sea into *Italie*, and embarking at *Barcelonia* there came to him a gentleman from the great Capteine, who offred him selfe prepared to receyue the king, and giue him all obedience: To whome in recompence of his fidelitie and merites, the king ratified not onely donation of the duchie of *Saint Ange* which king *Federik* had giuen him, but also al his other profites which he possessed in the kingdome of *Naples*, amounting to twentie thousand duckets in yerely reuenue, together with the office of great Constable of the kingdome, and promise to be great maister of *Saint Iames*, both subsigned vnder the kings owne hande. The king embarking at *Barcelonia* with no lesse contentment of the present, then better hope hereafter, was honorably receiued with his wife, in all the ports of *Prouence*, according to the French kings commandements, and with the same oblation and reuerence was welcomed into the hauen of *Genes*, where he was expected by the *great Capteine*, who was gone thither to mete him, not without thadmiration of many, for that not onely the popular sort, but euen the Pope him selfe nouriſhed an opinion, that aswell for his disobedience past, as for the present suspitions whiche the king had in him, he would passe into *Spayne*, fearing to stande in the presence of the king. The king of *Aragon* departing from *Genes*, remeined many dayes at *Portofino*, both for that the winde was contrarie, and also he helde it not conuenient to be farre from the shore with his light galleis: Whileſt he soiorned at *Portofino*, he was aduertised that king *Phillip* his sonne in lawe, young in yeeres, and well disposed in body, had chaunged this life for a better within the towne of *Burgos*:

The great capteine confirmed in the duchy of S. Ange.

The death of king Phillip.

his infirmitie was a feuer raging with violent motions, but of very fewe dayes continuance, hapning in the very ripenes and full reputation of his age, and in a seaſon wherin he was lifted to his greateſt felicitie, as oftentimes is wonderfully expreſſed in the variation of fortune: neuertheleſſe the king, in whom it was beleeued that for the deſire he had to recontinue in the gouernment of *Caſtille*, would eftſones turne ſayle to *Barcelonia*, kept on his firſt way, and entred the port of *Caietta* the ſame day that the Pope marching to *Bolognia*, made his entrie into *Ymola*: from whence he was conueyed to *Naples*, and receyued into that Citie (which was wont to reioyce in kings of *Aragon*) with no leſſe magnificence, maieſtie, and honor of the Nobles, then vniuerſall deſire and expectation of the communaltie, for an opinion they had that vnder a king ſo glorious for the many victories he had obteyned aſwell againſt thinfidels as the Chriſtians, and no leſſe reuerenced for his high wiſdome and temperature of ſpirite, ioyned to the generall teapporte of his ſingular iuſtice, by the which he had guyded his Realmes in tranquilitie: he would alſo reſtore and releeue the kingdome of *Naples* of ſo many afflictions and oppreſſions, and reduce it into an eſtate peaſible and happie, with reſtitution of the portes which the *Venetians* helde there, to the great diſpleaſure of the whole kingdome. There came to him to *Naples* from all partes of *Italie* many Embaſſadors, not onely to congratulate and honor ſo great a prince, but alſo for many practiſes & occaſions, euery one beeing perſuaded that with his authoritie and wiſdome he would readdreſſe things, and giuing a new forme to affayres, he would be the eauen ballance and counterpeiſe for many matters: for that both the Pope, who helde himſelfe yll contented with him, for that he had hot honored him with legation and embaſſadors according to the cuſtome, ſtudied to kindle him agaynſt the *Venetians*, thinking that for the deſire to recouer the portes of *Povvylla*, he had reaſon to wiſhe their declination and embaſing. And the *Venetians* of the contrarie ſolicited for many good reſpects to be recontinued in his amitie: And alſo the *Florentins*, with the other peoples of *Tuskane*, negociated with him diuerſly for the regarde of *Piſa*, which this yere was leſſe moleſted then others with the incurſions of the *Florentins* (not hindring their harueſt) either for that they were weerie of the charges, or els that thexperience of the yere paſſed made them eſteme it a thing vayne and without fruite, knowing that the ſtates of *Genes* and *Lucques* had agreed together to ſupport that citie for one yere with a determinate and certaine charge, whervnto *P. Petrucci* had prepared them before, offring like portion of contribution on the behalfe of the *Siennois*: notwithſtanding on the other ſide (beeing a man diſſembled in all his intentions) he obteined of the *Florentins*, by diſcloſing theſtate of the negociation, and to thend to ſeperate himſelfe from the reſt, that the truce which yet continued betwene the *Florentins* and *Sienpois*, ſhould haue prolongation for three yeres, with an expreſſe couenant that it ſhould not be lawfull to the *Siennous*, nor to *Pandolffe*, to miniſter any ayde to the *Piſans*: with whiche excuſe forbearing to leauie any expenſes for them, he refuſed not to fauour them with all the counſels and actions he could in all other ſortes.

A cõtinuance of the hiſtorie of Iulio d'Eſte

About this yeere there hapned a newe and ſtraunge accident of the tragedie whiche had beene begonne before *Ferrara*: for *Ferdinand* brother to Duke *Alphonſo* and *Iulio*, whoſe eyes the Cardinall had violently cauſed to bee pluckte out (but by the readie helpe of Phiſitions were reſtored without loſſe of hys ſight:) conſpired together wyth the ſaide *Iulio*, the death of the Duke: *Ferdinand*, who was nexte in ſucceſſion after the Duke, was moued to thys conſpiracie by an aſpyring deſire to occupie that ſtate, the humour of dominion and

rule

rule carying him into diſpoſitions of bloud contrary to honor, nature, & humanitie: And *Iulio* embraced the treaſon with ſo muche the more affection, by howmuche he iudged that *Alphonſo* had not miniſtred ſufficient iuſtice to the wrong that was done him, being withall out of hope to be able otherwiſe to wreake his reuenge vpon the Cardinall. To theſe counſels they called as a partie, the *Counte Albertin Boſchet* a gentleman of *Modona*, with whom albeit they had wonne and corrupted certeine ſelowes of baſe cõdition gouerning much the perſon of *Alphonſo*, for that they were his fauorits in matters of ſport and delight, and had many times ſundrie oportunities to kill him: yet, being withholden by a certaine fatall timerouſnes, they let paſſe alwaies thoportunitie: In ſo much as (ſo it hapneth for the moſte parte when thexecution of conſpiracies is deferred) the treaſon being detected, *Ferdinand* with the other conſpirators were impriſoned, and *Iulio*, who was fled to his ſiſter at *Mantua*, was by the direction of the Marquis, ſent priſoner to *Alphonſo*, being aſſured by his promiſe and fidelitie, that he ſhould not be touched with death: But a little after the *Counte Albertin* being condemned iudicially, was quartered with the others that were founde guiltie, and the two brethren paſſed ouer to perpetuall priſon in the newe caſtell of *Ferrara*.

The death of duke Valentynois.

In this place of the hiſtorie it is not inconuenient to touch ſomewhat of thaudacitie and induſtrie of duke *Valentynois*, who being ſubtelly ſlyded downe by a corde out of the Rocke of *Medina de Campo*, fledde into the kingdome of *Nauarre* to king *Iohn* brother to his wife, where (to thende thiſtorie ceaſe to ſpeake any more of him) after he had remeined certaine yeres in baſe condition, the French king confisking both the duchie of *Valence*, & the penſion of twenty thouſand franks which he gaue him in ſupply of reuenue, & alſo would not ſuffer him to go into *Fraunce*, bicauſe he would do nothing that might diſcontent the king of *Aragon*, he was at laſt ſlayne by the conſpiracie of an ambuſh, commaunding ouer the men of warre of the king of *Nauarre* in the campe at *Viano*, a litle place in the ſayde realme.

The citie of Genes rebelleth.

Vpon the ende of this yere, for that the yere folowing ſhould not begin without matter of new warres, the *Genovvaies* rebelled againſt the French king, hauing no other incitation then of them ſelues, the matter taking his fundation not of any deſire to rebel, but rather of the ciuil diſcords, which caried men further then their former counſels and deliberations, rebellion being of a condition to encreaſe in occaſions, as the fire is redoubled in heat by the freſh matter which it embraſeth. The citie of *Genes*, a citie ſeated in a place moſt apt to cõmaund the ſea, if ſo great an oportunitie were not hindred by the peſtiferous poiſon of ciuil diſſentions, is not as many other great townes in *Italie*, ſubiect to one particular diuiſion, but is deuided into many partyes and factions: both for the relikes of the ancient quarrels betwene the *Guelffes* and *Gibelins* yet remeining there: and alſo for the ſedes of diſſention ſtil growing betwene the gentlemen and populars, by the which the whole nation of *Italie* hath bene much afflicted, but ſpecially many cities in *Tuskane* haue bene brought to extreme ruine: for, the communaltie not hable to beare the pride of the Nobles, bridled much their authoritie & power by many rigorous lawes: and amõgſt others, ſuffring them to cõmunicate with al other offices and honors, they excluded them particularly from the dignitie of Dukedome: a ſupreme eſtate whiche was giuen for life to any other that was choſen, notwithſtanding by thinconſtancie of that citie, fewe or none were ſuffred to continue in that place tyll they dyed, the ſeate of dominion beeing alwayes ielouſe, but moſte caſuall where it diuolueth by election, which by his proper ambition nouriſheth for the moſt parte a ſecrete ſub-

Rebellion increaſeth in occaſions.

The ſeate of dominion very caſual vvhere it diuolueth by election.

iection to alteration and fall. No leſſe great is the diuiſion betweene the families of the *Adorni* and *Fregoſi*, who from baſe condition and popular houſes, being riſen to the dignitie of *Capellaci* (ſo do the *Genovvaies* call ſuche as are aſpired to any great potentacie) contende together for the dignitie of duke, which for many yeres hath continued for the moſt part in one of thoſe two families: for the gentlemen of the *Guelffs* and *Gibelins*, not able to aſcende to the place for the impediment of the lawes, ſought to make it fall to ſuch of the populars as were of their faction: And as the *Gibelins* fauoring the *Adornes*, and the *Guelffes* the houſe of *Fregoſa*, tyme hath made thoſe two families more noble and mightie, then thoſe of whome afore they folowed their name and authoritie: So neuertheleſſe all thoſe diuiſions are ſo confounded, that oftentimes they that be of one part agaynſt the partie oppoſite, are in them ſelues deuided into diuers partes, and of the contrarie conioyned in one with thoſe that followe an other faction. This yere began to kindle betweene the gentlemen and commons, a debate, which breeding at the firſt vpon the inſolencies of certayne of the Nobles, and working by litle and litle the moſt part of the mindes of both the one and other ſide ill diſpoſed, it chaunged qualitie ere it were long, and of priuate contentions, conuerted it ſelfe into the nature and habite of publike diſcordes, eaſie ynough to kindle in cities ſo abounding in riches as did *Genes* at that time. Theſe quarels roaſe encreaſing ſo farre, that the people poſſeſſed with furie, drewe into tumult, and made violent ſlaughter of one of the families of *Oria*, with certaine other gentlemen: wherein offering all things to ſpoyle and ruine, they obteined in that mutinie more by force then free will of the Citie, that the day after it might be ordeined in the publike councels (wherein were aſſiſtant very fewe of the Nobles) that of thoſe offices whiche afore were diuided equally betweene the Nobles and commons, there might be hereafter diſtribution made of two partes to the people, and one onely reſerued to the Nobles: to which deliberation *Roctaber* guyding the citie in the abſence of *Phillip Rauaſtin* then gouernour for the king, conſented for feare of greater perils: neuertheleſſe the populars not beeing quieted for all this, but ouercaried with their mutinous humors, ſtirred vp within fewe dayes after a newe tumult, and put the noblemens houſes to ſacke: an outrage that compelled moſt part of the Gentlemen to abandon the citie, finding no eſtate of ſuretie in their naturall regions. Theſe mutations being eftſones ſignified to the gouernour, cauſed him to returne with ſpeede out of *Fraunce* to *Genes* with a ſtrength of an hundred and fiftie horſe, and ſeuen hundred footemen: But neither with his authoritie, his perſwaſions, his preſence, nor with his forces, coulde he reduce things to a better eſtate: ſo irregulate is a communaltie or multitude once drawen into mutinie, and their barbarous furie inuincible agaynſt all reaſon, order, or good preſcription: No, oftentimes he was compelled to apply him ſelfe to the will of the people, & making his authoritie rather to be plauſible to the multitude then to puniſh their mutinies, he paſſed ouer things with ſufferance, and obeyed the neceſſitie of the time, commaunding to retyre and returne certayne other trowpes that were appoynted to come after him out of *Fraunce*. Theſe beginnings gaue courage to the Commons to become more inſolent, and (as it hapneth often in Cities declined to ſedition) the gouernment, contrarie to the will of many of the beſt ſort of the Commons, fell almoſte abſolutely into the power of the dregges of the people, who in their furie created to them ſelues a newe magiſtracie or office of eyght men of the populars with a great authoritie: And they, the rather to keepe the whole incenſed by the dignitie of their name, were called Tribunes of the people: Theſe, vnder this forme

was

of pollicie, or rather apparant mutinie, occupied with armes the towne of *Spetie*, with certayne other townes of the ryuer of *Leuant*, whereof *Iohn Levvys de Fiesquo* was gouernour for the king. This gouernour complayned to the king of those insolencies, both in the name of the whole nobilitie, and for his particular interest, wherin he recommended to his maiestie the manifest danger to loase the iurisdiction of *Genes*, seeing the insolent libertie of the commons had caried them so farre, that besides other oppressions and harmes, they aspired (proceding directly agaynst thauthoritie of the king) to manage the townes of the riuer: That vsing expedition, there might be raysed remedies conuenient to represse so great a furie, seing it was as yet but in the nature of a popular warre, without the protection of any greater prince: where if he ioyned negligence to thopportunitie, and became slowe in leauying the prouisions that were necessarie, the euill would more and more resolue, and take with tract of time more firme roote, for that both thimportance of *Genes* was suche by sea and lande, that it would easily allure some forreine Prince to nourishe such a diuision, so hurtfull for his estate: And also the commons comming to knowe that whiche at the beginning was perhaps but in the qualitie of sedition, woulde in the ende chaunge habite and turne into rebellion, and so become a pray to any that would giue hope to defende it. But on the other parte, thembassadours sent to the king from the Commons of *Genes*, labored to iustifie the action, and to make their cause be found good: They declared that no other thing had disaltered the people, but the pride of the gentlemen, who, not contented with the dignities and honours conuenient to nobilitie, aspired to higher degrees, seeking to be redowted as Lords and Princes: That the people had long borne the yoke of their insolencies, but at last feeling outrages not onely in their goods and generall callings, but also in their persons & estates most priuate, their patience was nowe ouercome with the weight and violence of their pride: And yet albeit by these compulsions, they were no longer hable to conteine them selues: they were not for all that proceded to any other actions, then such as without the which their libertie could not be assured: for, seing the gentlemen communicated by equall part in the offices and iurisdictions, there was no possibilitie by the meane of courts and iudgements, to resist their tyrannie: And *Iohn Lovvys* commaunding ouer the townes of the ryuers, without the traffike whereof *Genes* stoode at it were besieged, there was no safetie for the commons to enterteine traffike and conuersation there: That the people had bene alwayes most deuout and faythfull to the kings maiestie, and that the mutations of *Genes* had in al tymes more proceeded of the ambition of the gentlemen, then infidelitie of the people: That they besought the king to pardon those offences, which during the heate of the contentions, certayne particulars had committed agaynst thuniuersall will and consent, and that he would confirme the lawe made for the distribution of offices, and suffer the townes of the ryuers to be managed vnder the name publike: Lastly, that by that meane, the Gentlemen enioying honorably their degrees and dignities, and the populars also possessing their libertie with suretie: and all things beeing reduced by his Maiesties authoritie into suche an estate of tranquilitie, they shoulde be bounde to honor perpetually the clemencie, goodnes, and iustice of the king. The king was muche troubled with these tumultes, eyther for that the licentious behauiours of the commons were suspected to him, or perhaps for the honorable inclination which the French do commonly beare to the name of gentlemen: In so much that he could haue bene disposed to haue punished the authors of these insolencies, and reduce all things to their first degree, sauing that he feared least if

he ſhould vſe ſharpe remedies, the *Genovvaies* would haue recourſe to *Cæſar*, whoſe ſonne was not yet dead. For which cauſe, making conference of things, more according to the neceſſitie and conſideration of the time, then agreable to the eſtate and merite of their doings, he determined to proceede with clemencie and tolleration, and therefore called into pardon and forgiuenes all their offences they had cõmitted, and ratified their newe lawe for diſpoſing of offices, ſo farrefoorth as they would put into his hands the townes of the ryuers which they occupied: Wherein the better to incline and diſpoſe the people, he ſent to *Genes* doctor *Michaell Riccio* a baniſhed man, to perſwade the Commons, that they were better to vſe and embrace thoccaſion of the kings clemencie, then (adding to their faltes, contumacie and hardned obſtinacie) to driue him to proceede agaynſt them with ſeueritie: But diſcretion hauing no ſocietie with raſhnes, nor follie any cõmunitie with wiſdome, their minds ſeemed to ſtande blinded with immoderate ambition and couetouſnes: for the people and tribunes (notwithſtanding the lawfull Magiſtrates were of the contrarie opinion) would not onely not render the places they occupied (not accepting the ſoftnes and tractabilitie of the king) but riſing into thoughtes of worſe nature, they determined to aſſayle the borough of *Monaco*, whiche *Lucian Grimault* poſſeſſed, eyther in regarde of a common hatred borne againſt all gentlemen of *Genes*, or els for that the borowe is of great importance for the citie, hauing his ſituation vpon the ſea in a place of great conueniencie: or at leaſt for certaine particular hatreds, ſince he to whome falleth the power and gouernment of that place, abſteineth very hardly from pyracies and robbing by the ſea, the ſituation giuing fauour and oportunitie to ſuche actions: or laſtly, becauſe (as they ſuggeſted) that borough apperteined rightfully to the common weale. In whiche regardes, notwithſtanding the importunities of the gouernour to the contrarie, they ſent thither many bands both by ſea and lande to beſiege it: the ſame driuing *Philip de Rauaſtin*, who knewe that he taryed there vnprofitably, and, by thaccidents that might happen, not without ſuſpition of daunger, to departe, and to leaue in his place *Roccabertin*. The king for his parte, diſpayring that temperaunce was vnhable to range things to a better forme, and iudging withall that if he ſhould conſent that they continued in that eſtate, it might be preiudiciall to his dignitie and ſuretie, and laſtly, fearing that if he gaue longer ſufferance to things, the danger would be ſo much the greater: he began openly to make preparations both by ſea and land, to reduce the *Genovvaies* to his obedience: which deliberation was the cauſe, that matters which were negociated betwene the Pope and him agaynſt the *Venetians*, were diſſolued and broken: Enterpriſes muche deſired by the king, who for the death of king *Phillip*, founde him ſelfe well deliuered of the ſuſpitions which he had taken agaynſt *Maximilian*: But muche more wyſhed for by the Pope, by reaſon of the townes which they occupied in *Romania*, and did diſpoſe of the Biſhoprikes vacant in their iuriſdiction, without any reſpect to the ſea Apoſtolike, and laſtly did intrude them ſelues into many things apperteining to the lawful authoritie of the Church. By reaſon whereof bearing a ſetled inclination to enterteine amitie with the king, he ſolicited him to paſſe into *Italie*, and to haue conference together, whervnto the king conſented, the Pope hauing afore in gratification of the kings requeſts, conſecrated Cardinals the Biſhops of *Bayeux* and *Achx*. But (the affections of Princes ſuffer alterations according to times and occaſions) the Pope vnderſtanding afterwards how the king had determined to take armes agaynſt the commons of *Genes* in fauour of the gentlemen, tooke it to great diſcontentment, for that hauing of long

Raſhnes hath no ſocietie vvith diſcretion.

time

time frowned vpon the gentlemen,he had alwayes borne fauor to the diſpoſitions of the people: wherein he made great inſtance to the king to be contented,without changing theſtate popular, to haue that citie in his obedience, and perſuaded him as much as he could to abſteine from armes, alleaging many reaſons,but chiefly the danger,leaſt by that meane ſome great alteration kindling in *Italie*,the warres which they had determined agaynſt the *Venetians*, were not cut off or hindred. The king bearing no inclination to theſe demaundes,the Pope,eyther ouerruled with anger or ſorowe, or els for that the olde ſuſpition of the aſpiring minde of the Cardinall *Amboyſe* did eftſones ſtirre in him,either by the naturall operation of himſelfe,or by the ſubtill ſuggeſtion of others (whiche made him feare that he were not reteyned by the king when they ſhould meete in one place) and perhaps aſwell for the one as the other occaſion: he publiſhed vppon the ſodayne in the beginning of the yeere 1507. agaynſt thexpectation of euery one, that he would eftſones returne to *Rome*, not for other reaſon then that the ayre of *Bologna* was contrarie to his health, and that his reuenues were much diminiſhed by his abſence from *Rome*. This alteration of counſell brought no little maruell to euery one,but ſpecially to the king,for that without occaſion he would leaue vnperfect the practiſes he had ſo much deſired to aduaunce,and breake of him ſelfe the enterviewe and conference which he had ſomuche required: and therefore calling into conſideration the eſtate and intricate diſpoſition of things, he labored what he coulde to draw him from that new counſell,and make him change opinion: wherein his paynes were more hurtfull to him then vayne, for that the Pope entring into a greater ſuſpition for the requeſt the king made,made eftſones an obſtinate confirmation of his firſt counſel,& departing from *Bologna* vpon the ende of February,he expreſſed how litle he could diſſemble the contempt he had conceiued agaynſt the king. Afore he iſſued out of the Citie, he ſet with vnfortunate ſignes the firſt ſtone of the caſtle which was made there by his commaundement,neare the gate which leades to *Ferrara*,in the ſelfeſame place where *Phillip Maria Viſcounte* duke of *Millan* had aforetime erected another with no leſſe yll fortune: And his newe anger agaynſt the Frenche king hauing in ſome ſort qualified his auncient hatred agaynſt the *Venetians*, and not minding to turne out of his right way, he determined to paſſe by the citie of *Faenza*, new controuerſies hapning from time to time betwene the French king and him, both for that he required that the familie of the *Bentyuoleis* might be expulſed the duchie of *Millan*, notwithſtanding they were referred to that habitation by his conſent: and alſo for that he would not render to the pronoterie, the poſſeſſion of thoſe benefices which he had promiſed by his proper accorde and conſent (ſo often preuayled more in him the contention of his minde & his wilfull election, then eyther reaſon or equitie:) Which diſpoſition the king labored not to appeaſe with any art or diligence, but ſtanding aggreued for ſo great a variation, and entring withall into ſuſpicion, leaſt (as the trueth was) he gaue ſecrete encouragement to the people of *Genes*, he forbeare not to threaten him openly, and to obiect with iniurious words, his infamous place and birth, the Pope beeing diſcended of a very baſe place, and trayned for many yeres in very vile eſtate. And reſoluing more and more in his firſt deliberation touching the affayres of *Genes*, he prepared his armie with great diligence to go thither in perſon, hauing well experienced by his former ſucceſſes in the kingdome of *Naples*,what difference there is to adminiſter a warre in proper perſon,and to recommende it ouer to the doing of Capteines.

Theſe preparations amaſed nothing the *Genovvaies* being buſie to take *Monaco*,

about the which they kept employed many veſſels and ſix thouſande men leauyed of the communalties and general multitudes of the countreis of *Genes*. Theſe bands were ledde and commaunded by *Tarlatin* a capteine of the *Piſans*, who, together with *Peter Shortlegge* and certaine vniuerſall ſouldiours, had bene ſent by them in fauor of the *Genovvaies*: And at *Genes*, as they perſeuered in their firſt offences, adding alwayes ſome newe tranſgreſſion, the capteine of the Caſtell, who till then had expreſſed no action, nor had not bene moleſted by the conſpirators, vpon the ſodain made many of the commons priſoners, and began to vexe the hauen and citie with his artilleries: This was eyther by the kings commaundement, or vpon his owne authoritie ioyned to a deſire to make pillage: by reaſon of which, *Roccabertin* conferring with the common danger of the towne, the priuate feare he had of his owne perſon, went his way, not whither he woulde (for extremitie leaues no libertie) but whither the neceſſitie of his fortune ſuffred him, the footebandes of the Frenche which were ſet to guarde the publike pallace, retyring into the Caſtell. A litle after, the ſiege which had remeined afore *Monaco* many monethes tooke ende and brake vp, the reaſon was, that ſuche as were encamped afore it, vnderſtanding that *Yues d'Alegre* and many gentlemen were at hande to ſuccor it with a ſtrength of three thouſande footemen of their owne pay, and certaine other bands which the duke of *Sauoy* had ſent, had leauyed the ſiege, hauing no corage to abide the armie that marched. Beſides, the brute ranne that the maine armie appoynted for the king, paſſed continually into *Lumberdie*: by reaſon whereof, thoſe men riſing into encreaſe of furie, who ought to haue bene the authors of better counſels, the commons that till that day had diſſembled with words the rebelliō which they had exerciſed in dedes, and neither forbearing to call vpon the name of the French king, nor once touching his Armes, nor remouing his enſignes nor banners out of the publike places, created Duke of *Genes* one *Paule de Noue* a ſilkedyer, a man for his vertues, of no merite, and for his birth and diſcending, of very baſe place and condition, declaring themſelues in this, manifeſt rebels, for that to the creation of Duke was ioyned a declaration that the citie of *Genes*, ſhould beare no ſubiection to any prince: The ſame ſo ſtirring the king to greater anger, together with the relation of the Nobles, that they had depoſed his Armories, and in their place had exalted the enſignes of *Cæſar*, that he redoubled the preparations which he had prouided afore: wherein he was alſo ſo muche the more kindled to reuenge and wrath, by howmuche *Cæſar*, at the perſwaſions of the *Genovvaies*, and haply by the Popes ſecrete ſetting on, had written to him that he ought not to moleſt *Genes* as a towne of the empire, offring ſo to labor that the people ſhould be ranged, and reduced to all thinges iuſt and reaſonable. The Duke and Tribunes were ſomewhat nouriſhed in their raſhe boldnes by certaine proſperous ſucceſſes they had had on the coaſt of Leuant: for, *Ierome* the ſonne of *Lovvys de Fyeſquo*, hauing reconquered *Rapallo* with two thouſande footemen and certayne horſe, as he went by night to ſurpriſe *Rocqua*, encountred the bandes that were ſent from *Genes* to ſuccour it: And whether it were by any diſaduauntage of the place, or for any other peculier reſpecte of feare or danger, he forbare to enterteine the skirmiſh, and without comming to ſhort weapons, he fell diſorderly to fleeing: Wherevpon *Orlandin* nephew to *Iohn Lovvys*, which was marched as farre as *Recquo* with an other regiment, did the like, hearing the noyſe of the chaſe. By this fortune the Duke and the Tribunes became more inſolent, and in thoſe glorying humors proceeded to beſiege *Caſtellaccio*, an ancient Caſtell which the auncient Lordes of *Millan* builded in the mountaynes aboue *Genes*, at ſuche

times

times as they were commaunders ouer that Citie, to ſerue as a helpe that thoſe companies which they ſhould ſende out of *Lumbardie*, might haue oportunitie to approche neare *Genes*, and ſuccour the caſtell, which conteining a very ſmall garriſon, they forced it and tooke it eaſily: for that the French bands that were there, yeelded vnder fayth to haue their goodes and life preſerued, whiche, according to the infidelitie of a commotion, was not obſerued, thoſe that were the executors of ſuche outrages returning to *Genes* with bloudy handes and great reioyſings, as tokens of their glorie and triumph. At the ſame time alſo they began to batter with their artilleries, the caſtell and the Church of *Saint Frauncis* ioyning to it, their fortune making them blinde agaynſt diſcretion and reaſon, as men more mightie in felicitie and chaunce, then in force or good experience. And albeit the king was already paſſed into *Italie*, and reenforced his armie continually to aſſaile *Genes* without delay: And the king catholike, notwithſtanding he wiſhed their conſeruation, would not ſhewe him ſelfe deuided from the French king, but furniſhed him with foure light galleys: And laſtly, albeit the Pope durſt not otherwyſe diſcloſe his intentions then in giuing them ſecret hopes, and that they were deſperately abandoned of all ſuccours, and had but onely three hundred footemen forreiners, not one Capteine or commaunder experienced in warre, and great lacke of munitions: yet were they reſolute and continued in their obſtinacie, reappoſing muche for themſelues in the ſtraites of their countrey, and that by the difficulties and ſharpnes of wayes and paſſages, they might eaſily lette thenemie for comming neare *Genes*: And as men eſteeming certeintie in the winde, they deſpiſed, in regarde of theſe vayne hopes, the admonitions of many, and ſpecially the counſels of the Cardinall of *Finale*, who accompanying the French armie, perſwaded them by many meſſengers and letters to offer vp themſelues to the kings will, giuing them hope to obteine pardon and conditions tollerable: But the armie marching by the way of the borough of *Fornaro* and *Serauallo*, the vanitie of thenterpriſes of the *Genovvaies* began to appeare, being not meaſured not layde out by men trayned in warre, but folowed with clamors and vayne braggings of a baſe and ignoraunt multitude: In ſo muche as the courages of men nothing anſwering in a preſent perill, to that whiche they had promiſed when they were without feare, ſix hundred of their footemen ſet to guarde their firſt ſtraites, being charged by the French men, fled cowardly, by whoſe example, the reſidue that kept the other paſſages, abandoned their places and retyred to *Genes*, leauing all the ſtraites open to the French, whoſe armie hauing paſſed ouer without impediment the toppe of the mountaynes, was now deſcended into the vale of *Pozzeuero* within ſeuen myles of *Genes*: A matter that did not a litle amaze and maruell the *Genovvaies*, for that contrarie to their vndiſcrete expectations, they ſawe their armie ſo hardie as to encampe in that valley frontyred with troubleſome mountains, and in the middeſt of the enemies countrey. At the ſame time alſo the kings nauie which conteyned eyght light galleis, eyght gallions, with many Fuſts and Brigantins, preſented themſelues before *Genes*, and from thence ſayled towards *Portouenere* and *Speitia*, purſuing the *Genovvay* nauie beeing ſeuen galleis and ſix barkes, which not daring to keepe the hauen of *Genes*, were withdrawen into thoſe places. From the valley of *Pozzeuero* the armie drew to the borowe of *Riuarola* two miles within *Genes*, and neare to the Churche of *S. Peter d'Arena*, which is ioyning to the ſea: And albeit as they marched, they mette in many places with diuers footebandes of the *Genovvaies*, yet they all being of one reſolution and poſſeſſed with one puſillanimitie of minde, fledde afore them, their feares being

greater then their daungers. This day arriued in the armie the perſon of the king, and was lodged in the *Abbey de Boshet* right ouer againſt the borough of *Riuarola*: he was accompanied with the moſt part of the nobles of Fraunce, with many numbers of gentlemen of the duchie of *Millan*, and with the Marquis of *Mantua*, whom not many dayes before the king had declared chiefe of the order of *S. Michaell*, and giuen vnto him the ſtanderd, which had not bene giuen to any ſince the death of king *Lovvys* the eleuenth. In the Frenche armie were eyght hundred launces (the king conſidering the difficulties of the countrey, had left the others in *Lomberdie*) a thouſande eight hundred light horſemen, ſixe thouſande *Svvizzers*, and ſix thouſand footmen of other nations. It is to be vnderſtãded that the *Genovvaies* (becauſe they would not leaue free that way which leades by the mountaynes to *Caſtellaccio*, and ſo to *Genes*, a ſhorter way then by *Saint Peter d'Arene*, and ioyning to the ſea) had builded a baſtillion on the toppe of the Mountaine called the promontorie hill, betwene the borow of *Riuarola* and *Saint Peter d'Arene*, from which baſtillion the way lay from *Caſtellaccio* by the backſide of the rocke. The armie then that lay encamped at *Riuarola*, marched the ſame day to the ſayd baſtillion: and on the other part, there iſſued out of *Genes* eight thouſande footemen, guyded by *Iacques Corſe* lieftenant to *Tarlatin*: for *Tarlatin* and the ſouldiours of the *Piſans* which were encloſed in *Ventimiglia* when the campe was leauyed from before *Monaco*, albeit they were reuoked by the *Genovvaies*, who for their conduction ſent them the ſhippe of *Demetrius Iuſtinian*, could not returne to *Genes* by lande for thimpediment of the French, nor by ſeas for that the windes were contrarie. But the French beeing nowe to iſſue and aſcende, diſcouered the footetroopes of the *Genovvaies*, who being aſcended to the mountayne by that ſide of the valley that leades to the baſtilion, and afterwards the moſt parte of them beeing diſcended, had made head aboue a rocke which is the halfe way of the mountayne: againſt whom *Monſr de Chaumont* ſent many gentlemen with a good ſtrength of footemen: The *Genovvaies*, aſwell for their oddes in numbers as the aduauntage of the place, made a valiaunt defence, and that to the great domage of the French, who making a cõtempt of their enemies, for that they were bandes compounded vpon artificers and people vniuerſall, went gallantly to charge them, without conſidering the ſtrength and ſituation of the place: And as *Monſr de Paliſſa* was hurt in the throate, but with no perill of lyfe, *Monſr Chaumont* ſeeking to driue them from thence, cauſed to be mounted on high two Cannons, which beating them in flanke, conſtrayned them to retyre to the mountaine, where the reſidue of their ſtrength remeined: The French folowing them in good order of warre, thoſe that garded the baſtillion (albeit for his ſeate and fortification, they might with ſuretie abide the Cannon) fearing leaſt vpon them and ſuche as were vpon the mountaine, might fall ſome of the French bandes, they left it abandoned to their great infamie, by meane whereof ſuche as from the rocke had begon to retyre towards the baſtillion, ſeeing their way was cut off, returned eftſones to *Genes* by diches and cauſies, leauing the ordinarie pathes, and loaſing in the retraict about three hundred bodies. Theſe ſucceſſes brought an incredible feare ouer all the Citie, which depending wholly vpon the willes of the inferiour multitudes, neither directed by counſels of warre, nor ruled by ciuill wiſdome, ſent two Embaſſadors to tharmie to ſolicite to render them ſelues vnder couenantes conuenient: They could not haue audience nor acceſſe to the king, but were referred to bee heard by the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, who made them anſwere that there was no diſpoſition in the king to accept them, if they did not make a free and generall offer of their liues and goods

The contentes of the French armie.

The firſt deſeate of the Genovvaies.

The Genovvaies ſende to ſolicite for pardon.

goods to the kings absolute discretion, sparing to intromit all motions of capitulations or couenants, they that in thoffence had not respected his maiestie, nor their fidelitie: But during the parley with the Cardinal (it is hard to moderate a multitude giuen ouer to mutinie) one part of the commons not inclined to reconcilement and peace, going out of *Genes* by heapes, displayed their ensignes with many other footbands, vpon the rocks and side of the valley which leadeth from *Castellaccio*: they approched within a quarter of a myle of the *Bastillion*, hoping to recouer it, and enterteining the skirmish for three houres with certen of the French bands that came against them, they retired at last to *Castellaccio*, neither reioycing in their fortune, nor leauing to their enemies any aduantage. Al which meane while, the king more fearfull of a greater stirre, then well assured of the conqueſt, remeined alwayes armed on horseback in a plaine betwene the ryuer of *Pozzeuero* and the place where the army was encamped, his minde wauering, and his expectation not satisfied: Neuertheles the night folowing the *Genovvaies*, whose counsels were now desperate, as the brute was common, that certain principals of the people had secretly conspired and compounded with the king euen from the time he entred *Ast*, And the commons ioyning to their declining condition, many complaints that they had bene abused: The Duke, with many of those that knewe that no submission was worthy of place, nor their faultes meete to be dispensed withall, together with all the regimentes of *Pisans*, departed to go to *Pisa*, leauing the citie to discretion, as themselues were driuen to folow their fortune: The morning following by the appearing of the day, the same Embassadors returned eftsones to the campe, and consented to giue vp the towne to the kings discretion, not hauing susteined the warre aboue eight dayes: A notable example of the ignorance and confusion of multitudes and people, who grounding their doings vpon fallible hopes & vayne expectations, are furious when the danger is farre of, and very irresolute when perill approcheth, not temperate in their counsels, irregulate in their actions, and for their common affections, moste dissolute and immoderate: The accord being made, the king with his armie approched neare *Genes*, the footmen being bestowed in the suburbes, who became almost intractable, specially the *Svvyzzers*, whom there was much to do to restrayne from entring the towne, and to make pillage of the goodes: So sweete a praye is the spoyle of a Citie, and so vnbridled is the mercenary souldiour that serueth but for his hyre, bearing for the moste parte very negligent respectes to equitie, order, or conscience. After this *Monsr Chaumont* entred into *Genes* with the moste parte of the other regiments, hauing first furnished *Castellaccio* with garrison: The *Genovvaies* deliuered vp to him all the armes aswell publike as priuate, whiche were immediately bestowed in the Castell, with three peeces of artillerie brought thither by the *Pisans*, and afterwardes reconueyed to *Millan*. The next daye beeing the xxix. of Aprill, the person of the king made his entrie into *Genes*, with all the companies of men at armes and archers of his guarde: And as he was alighted vnder a stately arche, holding in his hande a naked sworde, and himselfe all attyred in whyte garmentes, there appeared afore him the familie of the *Antyans* accompanied with many honorable Citizens, who falling at his feete with teares, sorrowe and submission, and all other argumentes of men offendours, the one of them in the name of the whole, after silence was graunted, besought the king in this sorte:

The rebels of Genes yeelde to the French king.

The Frenche king entreth as a conquerer into Genes.

We come not here vpon our knees (right merciful king) to debate the trāsgressions we haue done, but to offer our selues guiltie in as many faultes as it shall please you

The submissiō of the rebels of Genes.

" to heape agaynſt vs: our rebellion ſo late and apparant teſtifieth how litle we holde
" of innocencie, and our aggreeued minds ſhowe forth howmuche we are humbled
" by the remorſe and conſcience of our proper diſobedience: The innocent man
" findes words to ſpeake, but to the offendor it is harde to keepe a temperance in his
" tale, ſpecially where the greatnes of the fault exceedes the expectation of mercy
" or forgiuenes: None can better iudge of ſorowe then ſuch as are afflicted, nor any
" further of to ſpeake for pardon then the minds that ſtande heauily loaden with the
" burden of their proper tranſgreſſions: it takes away their libertie of ſpeaking, and
" makes them more aſhamed to confeſſe a faulte then to do it, confounding the na-
" ture of thoffence with the remorſe of conſcience that foloweth, which mans frail-
" tie can not ſuppreſſe: if we would be ſilent, our humilities yet ſpeake for vs, attyred
" with all thoſe demonſtrations of dolour which nature in any ſorte can diſcloſe in
" hartes deſolate and abandoned: And albeit (moſt Chriſtian prince) in the beginning
" of our commotions agaynſt our gentlemen, we may aſſure that moſt parte of the
" commons were chiefe actors, yet touching things that haue bene inſolently done,
" but chiefly the contempt and diſobedience to your commaundementes, they haue
" proceeded from the dregs of the moſt baſe and inferior ſorte of people, whoſe raſh-
" nes, the reuerent authoritie of the beſt ſorte of this citie could not reſtrayne: And
" therfore the puniſhment that ſhal be impoſed eyther vpon this towne, or vpon vs, it
" wil afflict the innocents, without hurting the authors or parties to ſo hainous tranſ-
" greſſions, who neither poſſeſſed of goods nor place in the citie, are not eſteemed
" with vs in the ſocietie of men, and much leſſe of Citizens, neither do they holde this
" wretched citie for their patrimonie and countrey: But our calamitie hauing no con-
" formitie with excuſes, our intention is not to alleage reaſons, but referring vs to the
" ſame iuſtice which we confeſſe we haue offended, we come accompanied with no
" other hope then ſuche as may yet remaine in the magnanimitie and mercy of ſo
" great a king, not reaſoning howfarre it may be ſtretched, but reappoſing ſimply in
" it, and moſt humbly beſeching the ſame, that as not long ſince the offenders of *Mil-*
" *lan* founde fauour in your eyes, you will alſo vſe the ſame propertie of grace and
" forgiuenes vppon this Citie, which within theſe few monethes was one of the moſt
" happieſt regions in the worlde, and nowe lyeth at your Maieſties feete the very ex-
" ample of all deſolation and miſerie: If the clemencie you vſed then ranne through
" the world, with reputation ioyned to a perpetuall glory of your name, it can not be
" leſſe honorable to confirme it now in this action, vſing equall pietie & compaſſion:
" you beare a title of right Chriſtian, which deriueth his beginning of Chriſt redee-
" ming mankinde, by whoſe example, clemencie & mercy are recommended to you,
" as next vnder him apperteining properly to your name and title: There are no faults
" ſo great which may not be eyther pardoned or excuſed, and for the offences we
" haue committed agaynſt your maieſtie, though in the reſpect of vs they are abho-
" minable, and for their owne nature hatefull, and in the iudgement of the worlde ir-
" reparable, yet can they not be more great, more vyle, nor more odious, then that
" your clemency is not ſufficient to qualifie them, nor beare ſuch intollerable reſpects
" as can not be ranged by your pity, bounty, & perpetual religion: your maieſty repre-
" ſenteth amongſt vs with your dignity & power, the image of the great God, and you
" are bound no leſſe to repreſent him with the ſemblance and ſimilitude of will and
" working, wherof there is not one more glorious, none more agreable, nor any that
" makes his name more wonderfull, then the action of mercy: In caſes of offence and
" treſpaſſe, by howmuch the fault is great & greuous, by ſomuch more religious is the

nature

nature that pitieth, but farre more worthy the clemency that forgiueth, ſince to fall and erre is familiar to frailty & humanitie, but to pardon and diſpence is a propertie inſpired of the liuing God. Theſe ſpeaches were folowed with the loude voices of euery one, crying, *Mercy, mercy*. But the king paſſed on without giuing any aunſwere, bidding them neuertheles to riſe, & deliuering his naked ſword which he held in his hand, he ſhewed ſome tokens of a mind more inclined to compaſſion then to crueltie: he aſcended immediatly to the great Church, where infinit flockes of women & children of both kindes, fell proſtrate at his feete, crying vpon his clemency and mercy with weping & wringing of hands, and other demonſtrations of humilitie, expreſſed alſo in their vniuerſall attyre of white. This was it that moſt moued the king, notwithſtanding the others were not without their particular impreſſions, In ſo much that albeit he was determined to depriue the Citie of all gouernment and authoritie, and to confiske the reuenues which vnder the name of *Saint George* belonged to many perſons priuate, and laſtly taking from them all forme and image of libertie, to reduce them into the ſame ſtate of ſubiection whiche he had done the townes of *Millan*, yet conſidering afterwards, that by this maner of proceeding, not only many innocents ſhould be puniſhed, but alſo the minds of the whole nobilitie eſtraunged, and that it would be more eaſie to him to gouerne with remiſſion and ſweetnes, then with rigor & ſeueritie, he reconfirmed the auncient gouernment, and left it in the ſame forme wherin it was before the ſeditions. And yet, to temper his mercy with ſome iuſtice, & ſomewhat to accõpany his clemencie with ſeueritie, he condemned the cõmunaltie in a hundred thouſande duckets for the penaltie of the offence, with aggrauatiõ of penalty of two hũdred thouſand duckets more, payable within a certen time, both to defray the charges he had ſuſtained, and alſo to edifie a Cytadell in the place where is the towre of *Codifa* not farre frõ *Genes*, and ſtanding vpon the ſea aboue that ſuburbe which leadeth to the valley of *Pozzeuoro* & *S. Peter in Arena*: which Citadell, for that it may commaunde the hauen and whole citie, is rightfully called the bridle: he ordeined alſo that they ſhould furniſh a greater garriſon then they were wont, & kepe continually armed in the hauen for his ſeruice, three gallies, & fortifie the caſtel & *Caſtellaccio*, he brake all the capitulations & couenants that had bin made afore betwene the citie & him, graunting to them againe al the ſame things, but in forme of priuilege, & not in nature of couenant charter, to thend he might alwayes ſtand in power to depriue them: he defaced out of their monies and coynes their auncient ſtampes, cauſing them for afterwards to beare his ſtanders and ſtamp in ſigne of abſolute ſuperioritie. To theſe actions was added the death of *Demetrius Iuſtinian*, who was beheaded, diſcloſing in his examination all the practiſes which the Pope had made, together with the hopes he had giuen thẽ: within fewe moneths after was beheaded *Paule de Nouo* lately made duke, who ſayling from *Piſa* to *Rome*, was betrayed by a pirate that had bene his ſouldier, and ſolde to the Frenche men: A death not muche lamented of any, for that aſpyring to his creation not by diſcent or merite, but by raſhe election, there was left to him no power to exerciſe the humors of a Prince: And to him ſelfe ſo much the leſſe greuous, by howmuche the ſhort continuance of his imperie cut frõ him thoſe delites which dominion do brede, loaſing with litle ſorow the thing which he had got with litle payne, and of the which his fortune gaue him no oportunitie to taſte the very firſt and greene fruites. After the king had ordeyned theſe things, ſolemnly receyuing of the *Genouvaies* an othe of fidelitie, and giuing pardon to all, except to three ſcore whom he committed to the diſpoſition of the law, he went to *Millan*,

disperſing immediatly after this conqueſt, his army, with the which continuing the courſe of victorie, he might eaſily haue oppreſſed in *Italy* whom he had liſted, all the potentates there ſtanding more in feare of his power, than any way prouided to reſiſt perils: But hauing regard to the ſtate of things, and promiſe he had made, he diſſolued his armie, the better to aſſure the Pope, the king of *Romains*, and the *Venetians*, who were not without feareful ſuſpitiõs, that his deſcending into *Italie* was for ſome other cauſe then to range the Rebels of *Genes*, & reduce the towne to a policie.

But nothing could appeaſe the fretting mind of the Pope, who taking al things in the worſt part, complained eftſones (not temperatly) of the king, as if it had bene by his meane, that *Annibal Bentiuole* with ſix hundred footemen leauied in the duchie of *Millan*, did aſſay in thoſe times to enter *Bolognia*, aſſuring that if he had preuailed in that action, the king would yet haue declared him ſelfe more agaynſt the ſtate eccleſiaſtick: Wherwith the Pope being wroth, notwithſtanding he had before with great difficultie publiſhed Cardinals the biſhops of *Achx* and *Bayeux*, he refuſed to raiſe to that dignity the biſhop of *Alby*, complaining chiefly that by *Monſr de Chaumont* his brother, the *Bentyuoleis* had ſuffrance to dwell in the duchie of *Millan*: yea (which was of greater conſequence) the Pope ouerruled indifferently with hate and ſuſpition (two violent paſſions in a minde placed in authoritie) when the king firſt publiſhed that he would reduce the *Genovvaies* to obedience by armes, ſignified by his *Nuncioes* & peculiar letters to the king of *Romains* & electors of thempire, that the French king prepared to paſſe into *Italie* with a moſt mighty armie, vnder cooller to reappeaſe the tumultes of *Genes*, which he might redreſſe with his authoritie, his intention being to oppreſſe the ſtate of the Church, and vſurpe the dignitie of the Empire. The *Venetians* alſo ioyned with him in this certificat, hauing the ſame feares of the cõming of the French into *Italie* with an armie ſo well addreſſed: which aduertiſements beeing cõmunicated with *Maximilian*, whoſe inclination embraſed naturally newe things, and being at thinſtant newly returned from *Flanders*, where he had practiſed in vayne to take the gouernment of his litle ſonne: he aſſembled in the towne of *Conſtãce*, the princes of *Germany* & the free townes (thoſe are called the free cities, which acknowledging by certen tributes & determinate payments thauthoritie of thempire, do gouerne thẽſelues notwithſtanding in al things by their own lawes, not ſeking to amplifie their territories, but to preſerue their libertie.) At this aſſembly appeared all the princes, barons, & cõmunalties of *Germany*, perhaps wyth more readynes & in greater numbers thẽ had bin ſene long time before in any dyot: for thither reſorted in perſon, al the electors & princes of *Germany* both eccleſiaſtike & ſecular, except ſuch as were reſtrayned by lawfull impediments, in whoſe places were ſent either their ſonnes, their brethren, or ſome very neare kinred to repreſent their perſonall preſence: All the free townes in like ſort ſent thither Embaſſadors, In which generall aſſemblie & aſpect of thuniuerſall body of *Germany*, *Cæſar* cauſed to be publikely read the Popes writ with many other letters ſignificatorie from diuers places, ſome of them expreſſing that the French kings intention was to aduaunce the Cardinall of *Amboyſe* to the ſupreme ſea of *Rome*, and to receyue of him the imperiall crowne. Theſe aduertiſementes breeding no ſmall murmure in the minds of the audience, ronne throwe the princes and barons with great varietie of iudgement, ſome of thẽ fearing in dede thambition of the king, but the moſt ſort diſdayning much ſo great an indignitie againſt the maieſty & crowne imperial, wherin as euery particular began to prepare himſelf to make knowne with words & ſpeches his opinion & affection, *Cæſar* cutting of that inclination by his authority, ſpake to them

The Pope and the Venetians incite the k. of Romains to make vvarre vppon the French king.

The dyot of Conſtance.

them in this sort: You see now (my Lords) what effects, the long patience we haue hithervnto vsed hath brought forth, what frutes are gathered of the final reckoning that hath bene made of my former complaints expressed in so many diots. And now your own eyes do behold that the French king, who heretofore durst not offer him selfe against any thing that apperteined to the sacred empire, but vpō occasiōs vrged and coollers very apparant, is now in preparation with an open force, not to protect our Rebels as he was wont, not to vsurpe any particuler place which reasonably apperteineth to the Empire, but, taking the oportunitie of the tyme, turning our patience into mockery, and forming an aduantage and occasion vpon our long setled negligence, he draweth his sworde to despoyle *Germanie* of thimperiall dignitie, so honorably gotten, and so long time continued by the vertue and vallor of our auncestors: he is not entred into this boldnes, by any coniecture or perswasion that eyther our forces are diminished, or his powers encreased, neither can he be ignorant by how much the region of *Germanie* is mightie aboue the nation of Fraunce, both in maiestie of imperie, in grauity of counsell, in agillitie of bodies, in multitude of Princes, in obedience of subiects, and generally without all comparison in valour of capteines, and resolution of souldiours, in moneys, in munitions, in disciplines and directions of warre with all other furnishmentes requisite to defende a violence and offende a proude enemie. But he is caried into this ambicious enterprise onely by a hope, that according to thexperience of things paste, we will still dwell in securitie and negligence, and that our proper dissentions and ciuill factions preuayle more with vs, then the prouocations of glorie, yea then the consideration of our particular safetie: he thinketh that the same respects for the which we haue suffred him to our common shame, to vsurpe the duchie of *Millan*, that he hath nourished in our owne bosomes our ciuill quarrels, and that he hath borne a defence and protection of our rebels of Thempire, feeding vs lastly with vanities and errors, as men gouerned by humours light and wandring: he hopeth that the same suffraunce, securitie, & solemne negligence, will likewise keepe vs lulled asleepe to endure that by him shoulde be rauished from vs the dignitie of thempire, and the glorie and felicitie of this Nation transported into Fraunce: it woulde be a thing lesse infamous to our common name, and to me in perticuler lesse greeuous and intollerable, if it were knowen to the world, that the power of *Germanie* were inferiour to the forces of *Fraunce*, or that in the *Almaines* were not continued the same vertue whiche in all ages, in all actions, and in all fortunes was founde to beare reputation aboue the valour of the Frenche: for the domage shoulde afflict me lesse then the infamie, since at the least, things shoulde not he imputed to our negligence and indiscretion, whiche might proceede eyther of the condition of tymes, or of the malice of fortune: What greater calamitie can happen? what miserie more, then to be reduced to these tearmes, eyther to wishe to be lesse mightie, or to make a willing election of a great domage, onely to auoyde (since otherwyse it can not be) the perpetuall infamie and dishonour of our name: the magnanimitie of euery one of you so many tymes experienced in matters particular, your resolute courage proper and naturall to this Nation: And lastely, the memorie of the auncient vertue and triumphes of our elders (the very terror heretofore of all other realmes & kingdomes) do giue me both hope and assurance, that in an action of so great importance, your inuincible mindes will be awaked and receyue new life and spirite: for here is nowe no question of the alienation of the duchie of *Millan*, nor of the reuolting of the *Svvizzers*, in which actiōs of so great cōsequence there was

Themperour speaketh in the dyot.

" made no great accompt of my authoritie, both in regarde of thaffinitie I had with
" *Lodovvyk Sforce*, and for the particuler intereſts of the houſe of *Auſtriche*: But now
" my Lordes, what excuſe may we pretend, what cooller or couerture may be giuen
" to our ignominie? What merite can we chalenge in the worlde, or what maieſtie
" can we holde at home, when it is euen nowe in queſtion whether the *Almains*, who
" ſtande poſſeſſed of the Romaine Empire, not by the hande of fortune, but by their
" proper vertue, and whoſe name and armes heretofore hath ſounded feare and ter-
" ror to moſte princes in Chriſtendome, ſhoulde nowe cowardly depoſe them ſelues
" of ſo great a dignitie, and remayning the perpetuall example of infamie, of the
" moſt auncient, moſt glorious, and moſt inuincible monarchie of men, to become
" the moſt reuerſed, moſt deſpiſed, and moſt diſhonored region that ſtandeth vnder
" the view & face of the skie: if theſe reaſons, if theſe intereſts, if theſe diſdaines will
" not moue you, what can be further obiected agaynſt your ſecuritie and negli-
" gence: if theſe reſpectes, if theſe contemplations of perill, infamie, and perpetuall
" ruine, can ſtirre vp no lyfe in you, what can be ſayde in more importunitie: what
" can kindle in you the ſeedes of the valour and reſolution of your elders, if your
" mindes be not inclined to the conſideration of theſe aduerſities: In ages and poſte-
" rities to come, with what ſorowe ſhall your children and deſcendants remember
" your names, if you leaue not vnto them the name of *Almaines* in the ſame degree
" of greatnes, authoritie, & reputation, wherin your fathers left it transferred to you?
" But let vs fall from thoſe ſortes of comfortes and perſuaſions, for that it is an office
" inconuenient in me, whom you haue lifted to the height of this place, to vſe ſuche
" libertie of wordes, but rather to recommende to you deedes and examples: I am
" determined to paſſe into *Italie*, vnder pretence to receiue thimperiall crowne, a ſo-
" lemnitie as you knowe more full of ceremonie, than of ſubſtance, for that the au-
" thoritie & dignitie Imperiall depend wholly vpon your election. But my principall
" intention is to breake the necke of the wicked purpoſes & plots of the French, and
" to chaſe them out of the duchie of *Millan*, ſeeing we haue no other ſuretie agaynſt
" their inſolencies. I hope there reſteth in none of you all any difficulty, to accompa-
" nie me according to your cuſtome with other Emperours going to be crowned,
" neyther doubt I, that carying with me your hartes and affections, ioyning withall
" your forces to mine, I ſhall not paſſe a iorney victorious, marching with ſuche fe-
" licitie as the moſte of the potentates and communalties in *Italie* will meete me as
" petitioners, ſome to confirme their priuileges, ſome to implore our iuſtice againſt
" the oppreſſions they ſuffer, and ſome to appeaſe with a deuout ſubmiſſion, the yre
" of the victor. I doubt not but the Frenche king will giue place at the firſt brute of
" our comming, that nation bearing yet in memorie, that being but yong and almoſt
" an infant, I brake with true valour and magnanimitie, the armie of king *Lovvys* the
" eleuenth neare *Guiguegaſte*, ſince which time that kingdome refuſing to make ex-
" perience of my armes, haue neuer fought with me but by ambuſhes and conſpi-
" racies: Conſider with that reputation and magnanimitie, which ſo long hath ly-
" ued inueſted in the name of Thalmains, whether it agreth with your honor, with
" your renowne, and with our common perill, in a caſe ſo extraordinarie, to make ex-
" traordinarie prouiſions. The glory and greatnes of our name, to the whiche this
" hath bene alwayes proper & peculiar to defende the dignitie of the Popes of *Rome*,
" and thauthoritie Apoſtolike, and which nowe are wickedly defiled by the ambition
" and impietie of the French king: calleth vs, I ſay, with the common decree of all
" *Germany*, to drawe our ſwords and turne our ſcepters to ſo holy, ſo iuſt, and ſo reue-

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rent a protection: It is an interest that is wholly yours, seeing I haue sufficiently acquited the duetie I owe, in making so readie assemblie of you, to lay afore you the common danger, vrging you with the example of my deliberation. The resolution of corage shall not want in me to cõmunicate with you in all daungers, and lesse shall you lacke the disposition of my person, accustomed of long time to endure paine and trauell, neither is my counsell in conducting a warre so insufficient, eyther by greatnes of age, or doubtfulnesse of experience, as, in this enterprise you may haue want of a leader worthy of so great an honor. And by howmuche you shall honor and set foorth the greatnes of your king with fulnes of authoritie, by howmuch you shall enuiron him with an armie mightie and appoynted, with so muche the more facilitie and your perpetuall glory, shall you be protectors of the libertie of the Churche of *Rome* our common mother, and leaue exalted to heauen, together with the reputation of the *Almaine* name, the Imperiall dignitie common to you all in greatnesse and amplitude, and particular onely to this nation in iuste office of protection.

This speache wrought marueilously in the mindes of thasistantes, beeing nowe ashamed that in the other dyots his complaintes founde no better passage and fauor: And as it is easie to set on fyre those mindes that are alreadie kindled: so euery one hauing a vehement disdayne, that by their negligence the maiestie of Thempire should be translated into other nations: they began with a great vnity, to treate vpon articles necessarie, holding it conuenient to leauie a most mightie armie, and of suche a sufficient appoyntment as (though the whole regions of *Italie* woulde oppose agaynst them with the Frenche king) to be hable to renewe and recouer in *Italie* the auncient rightes of Thempire, which had bene vsurped eyther by the disabilitie, or other infirmitie of the Emperours past: for so required the glorie of the name of the *Almains*: suche a preparation worthy thassemblie of so many princes and free townes: And that at last it was necessarie to showe to all the worlde that though in the willes of the *Almains* had remayned a long diuision, and their mindes not reconciled for many yeres, that yet the nation was not lesse mightie, nor their spirites depriued of that magnanimitie which in other worldes had made their aunceſtors terrible to all estates and principallities of men: by the meane of whose vertue, both there was diuolued in general to the nation of *Germains*, a liberal glorie with the dignitie imperiall, & in part particular, many noble personages had aspired to much greatnes and dominion, many of the best houses in *Italie* hauing by long prescription raigned in estates gotten by their valor. These things were begon to be debated with so great forwardnes and inclination, that it is manyfest no dyot to haue assembled of long time, wherein was exspectation of so great euentes, the multitudes perswading them selues vniuersally, that besides the strength of all the other reasons, the Electors with the residue of the Princes, expressed a more quicke readines to thenterprise, for a hope they had, that (for the minoritie of the children of king *Phillip*) the Imperiall dignitie which had succeſsiuely continued in *Albert*, *Federike*, and *Maximilian*, all three of the house of *Austriche*, woulde at last be passed into an other familie.

By these resolutions and agreementes, the Frenche king was induced to dissolue his armie immediatly after the action of *Genes*, both to take away thoccasion of so great a suspition, and to leaue euery partie satisfied of thintegritie of his intention, yea his owne person had eftsones repassed ouer the Mountes, had it not bene for a desire he had to speake with the king of *Aragon*, who prepared to returne into *Spaine*

altogether disposed to resume the gouernment of *Castille*, for that *Iane* his daughter was vnhable to so great an administration: not so muche for the imbecillitie of her sex, as for that by a superabundance of melancolie growen since the death of her husbande, she was become somewhat estranged from her vnderstanding, and also for the minoritie of the children common betwene king *Phillip* and her, wherof the eldest had not yet attayned ten yeres: Besides, he was pushed forwarde by the desires of many, whiche called him to that gouernment by a remembraunce that they had bene iustly gouerned, and that those kingdomes had florished vnder him by a long continuaunce of peace, the diuisions already begon amongs the great Barons, together with the manifest signes of troubles to come, muche encreasing this desire: But his comming was no lesse desired of his daughter, who, wandring in minde in all other actions, was neuertheless constant in this, that she desired the returne of her father, refusing obstinately agaynst the perswasions and importunities of many, to subscribe with her owne hande to any expedition, without whiche subscription, according to the custome of those realmes, the affayres occurrant had not their perfection. For these reasons, the king of *Aragon* departed from *Naples*, where he remeyned but seuen monthes, leauing vnsatisfied the great expectation that was had on him: not so muche for the shortnes of tyme whiche ronnes in a voluble motion without respect, nor for that it is harde to answere the conceptions of men which for the most part are inconsiderate and not measured with due proportions: as for the many difficulties & impediments that opposed against him, by reason wherof he did nothing deseruing memorie for thuniuersall benefit of *Italie*, nor any thing worthy of monument for the particuler profit of the kingdome of *Naples*: for suche was his desire to returne eftsones to the gouernment of *Castillo* (the principall piller of his greatnes) that he reserued no oportunitie to thinke of the affayres of *Italie*: onely he turned all his studies to deuise to keepe himselfe in amitie with the king of *Romains* and the French king, to thende the one vnder cooller to be grandfather to the little children of the dead king, and the other with thopportunitie of his power giuing corage to who woulde oppose agaynst him, shoulde giue no impediments to his returne: And the obligation wherein he was bounde by the treatie of peace made with the Frenche king to restore the estates that had bene taken from the Barons of *Aniovv*, and distributed eyther by couenant or by recompence to suche as had followed his faction, hindred him to redresse and gratifie the kingdome of *Naples*: for seeking not to estraunge from him, the mindes of his good seruauntes, he was constrayned to recompence those of *Aniovve* either with estates of equall reuenue (whiche he must buy of others) or with readie money (wherevnto his Courtes of faculties and treasures woulde not suffice) in which respects he was compelled not onely to raise improuementes vpon his reuenues, and to refuse, according to the custome of newe kings, to distribute grace and exemptions, and exercise any sorte of liberalitie: but also with the incredible complaynt of euery one, to taxe his peoples, who expected to be discharged of their intollerable burdens: the complaintes made by the Barons of both the one and other parte, were nothing inferiour, for that to such as were possessed, besides that they resigned their estates with yll will, necessitie made their recompences short and limitted, and touching others there was restrayned as muche as was possible, the benefite of restitution in all things, wherein hapned any difference, for that howe muche lesse was restored to those, by so muche lesse was the recompence of others. The *great Capteine* departed with him leauing behinde

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him a good will incredible, and a renowne nothing inferiour, of whom beſides his merites & prayſes in other times, his preſent liberalities then were moſt notorious, promiſing and diſpoſing giftes of great vallour, for the which he ſolde a great part of his owne eſtates, caring leſſe to make him ſelfe poore, then to fayle in ſuche an action of honor. But the king of *Naples* departed very yll contented with the Pope, for that demaunding thinueſtiture of the kingdome, the pope refuſed to giue it him, but with thoſe taxations and tributes wherewith it had bene giuen afore times to the former kings: he made inſtance that there might be made to hym the ſame diminution which had bene made to *Ferdinand* his couſin, and to his ſonnes and nephewes, demaunding thinueſtiture of the whole realme in his owne name as ſucceſſor of tholde *Alfonſo*, in which forme whileſt he was at *Naples*, he had receyued othe and homage, notwithſtanding in the capitulations of peace made with the French king, it was diſpoſed that touching the lande of *Lauora* and *Abruzza* the name of the Queene ſhould be ioyntly acknowledged. It was thought that the refuſall which the Pope made of the inueſtiture, was the cauſe that *Ferdinand* woulde not ſpeake with the Pope, who remeyning at the ſame time in the rocke of *Oſtia*, it was ſayde he taryed there to expect his paſſage: But how ſoeuer the truth was, the king of *Aragon* tooke his courſe to *Sauona*, where it was agreed that he ſhould haue enterview and ſpeache with the Frenche king, who ſtaying for that cauſe in *Italie*, was come thither from *Millan* aſſone as he vnderſtoode he had taken paſſage from *Naples*.

In this enterview and conference, the demonſtrations on all ſides were manifeſt, free, and full of confidence, and ſuche, for the libertie thereof, as in no memorie had bene ſene in any meeting or communication of like princes: for that other potentates, betwene whom were either priuate enuies, or auncient quarrels, were wont to meete with ſuch order, that the one was not in the power of the other, where this ſuffred neither reſtraint of cõpanies nor exceptiõ of place: for when the ſhips of the king of *Aragon* were within the hauen of *Sauoua*, the French king being in their ſeeming diſcended vpon the wal of the hauen, paſſed by a bridge of wood made for the nonce vpõ the poope in the galley of the king of *Aragon*, with a very ſmall trayne of Gentlemen, and without any gard at all: where, being receyued with a ioy agreable to the honor that was in him, and with a common gladnes of the king and Queene his neece, ſpending ſome time there in deuiſes of mirth and curteſie: they went out of the galley by the ſame bridge, and made their entrie on foote into the citie, hauing muche to doo to paſſe through the preſſe of ſo many multitudes of men and women as were drawen thither from the townes thereaboutes. The Queene went accompanied with her husbande on the right hande, and her vncle on the left, being precioufly attyred in ſtones of pryce, and other ſumptuous aray: The Cardinall of *Amboyſe* and the *great Capteine* marched after the two kings: After them folowed the yong Ladies and gentlemen of the Queenes court, all ſet forth with glorious ſhowes: And before and behinde were the courtes of the two kinges appoynted in an incredible pompe of riche and gorgeous ornamentes. With theſe companies the king and Queene of *Aragon* were conueyed by the French king to the Caſtell, which was appoynted for their lodging, hauing his proſpect vpon the ſea: that part or halfe of the towne which apperteyneth to it was appoynted for their trayne: And the French king was lodged in the byſhops houſes right agaynſt the Caſtell: A ſpectacle truely worthy of memorie, to ſee together two of the moſte mightieſt kings in Chriſtendome, not long afore cruel enemies, and now not onely

The kings of Aragon and Fraunce haue enteruiewu together.

reconciled and conioyned by parentage, but alſo ſetting aparte all ſignes of hatred, and memories of offences paſte, did euery one commit to the arbitriment of the other his proper life, with no leſſe aſſurance and confidence then if they had ben lineall brethren: A maner of behauiour which gaue occaſion to ſuch as were preſent to diſpute, whether of the two kings had ſhewed the greater confidence: Many referred muche to the fidelitie of the Frenche king, who was the firſt that put him ſelfe in the power of the other, hauing no other aſſuraunce then the bonde of fayth: And to the other was tranſferred a greater occaſion of ſhame, for that fayth was kept to him firſt, and it was a ſuſpition more likely that *Ferdinand* deſired to be aſſured of him, the better to eſtabliſhe him ſelfe in the kingdome of *Naples:* But the moſt ſorte gaue greater reputation to the confidence of *Ferdinand*, who exceeding thexample of the French king, put him ſelfe in his power, not for a moment or fewe howres, but for many dayes and long tyme. And hauing diſpoyled him of ſo great a kingdome, with ſo many harmes and domages to his peoples, and ſo late a ſlaunder of his name, he had to feare that the Frenche kings hatred was no leſſe mortall, then his deſire of reuenge iuſte: beſides, it was alſo to be doubted in whom was greater the profite of the diſloyaltie: for, to make the French king priſoner, *Ferdinand* could reape no great commoditie by it, ſince the eſtate of *Fraunce* is managed vnder ſuche a policie of lawes and cuſtomes, that to kepe the king reſtrained, could not muche diminiſhe the forces and authoritie of the kingdome: But there hanged other perils vpon the perſon of *Ferdinand*, for that if he had bin made priſoner, it was not to be doubted, that both for the minoritie of his heires that then were very yong, and the realme of *Naples* being to him a newe kingdome, and alſo for that his other ſtates, and ſingulerly the realme of *Caſtillo* were through many accidents diſordred amongſt them ſelues, the French king ſhould not haue receiued of long time any impediment by the power and armes of *Spayne*. In this enterviewe and honorable ſpectacle of great Princes, the conſideration of the *great Capteine* miniſtred not the leaſt occaſions to debate and common vpon: vpon him were occupied the thoughtes and eyes of euery one, no leſſe for the renowne of his naturall valour, then for the memorie of his many victories: Conſiderations which ſo entiſed the mindes and affections of the French men, that notwithſtanding they had bene ſo often vanquiſhed by him, & were wont to holde his name in common hatred, yet his very aſpect and preſence confirming the opinion and image of his vertue, tooke an other habite in the mindes of the Frenche, for that they coulde not be ſatisfied to beholde and honor him, making diſcourſe to ſuche as had not yet bene in the kingdome of *Naples*, ſometimes with what incredible celeritie and ſhifte of warre he inuaded in *Calabria* the Barons encamped at *Laine*, ſometimes with what patience and reſolution of mynde he endured ſo many difficulties and aduerſities, when in the middeſt of peſtilence and hunger he was beſieged in *Barletto:* ſometymes with what diligence and efficacie he kept reteyned the mindes of men, and amid a penurie and want of money enterteined long tyme his ſouldiours without pay: with what ſinguler valor he managed the battell at *Sirignolo:* and with what greatnes of courage, with what induſtrie of a ſouldier, and with what vnexperienced ſtratagemes amid ſo many difficulties, with an armie vnpayed, and farre inferior in forces, he kept his ground, and obteyned the victorie vpon the ryuer of *Garillon:* And laſtly, howe vigilant he had bene alwayes to embrace oportunities, and make his profite vpon the diſorders of his enemies: But that which drewe men into moſt wonder & admiration of him, was the excellent maieſtie of his preſence,

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the ſtately repreſentation of his words and geſtures, full of grauitie, affabilitie, and mildnes, equall to thoſe effects and actions which had always flowed from his right worthy and excellent vertues: aboue all the reſt, the French king, who deſired that he might ſuppe at the ſame table with *Ferdinand*, the Queene, and him, and by commaundement was placed neare to *Ferdinand*, was as it were rauiſhed with contemplation and deuiſing with him, finding in the action of his countenance and ſpeach, a confirmation of thoſe ſingularities and merites which he had afore expreſſed in ſo many worthy examples of his naturall valour and vertue: In ſo muche that in the iudgement of euery one, that day was no leſſe glorious to the *great Capteine*, then when he entred with his victorious armie into the citie of *Naples*, honored with all thoſe ceremonies of triumph which are wont to be exerciſed vpon conquerers. But as tyme noriſheth a lawe of diſſolution and forgetfulnes of things worldly and tranſitorie, ſo thoſe were the lateſt triumphant dayes of the *great Capteine*, for that departing no more out of the kingdome of *Spayne*, he had afterwards no meane to exerciſe his vertue, neither in warre, nor in things memorable for peace. The two kings had conuerſation together for the ſpace of two dayes, wherein were holden betwene them many diſcourſes both long and ſecrete, and Cardinall *de S. Praßida* the Popes Legate not admitted to that conference, nor honored but generally: but by that that might be comprehended by generall coniecture, and alſo by the manyfeſtation of things afterwards, they paſſed a reciprocall promiſe the one to the other to enterteine together a ioynt and perpetuall amitie and intelligence, and that *Ferdinand* ſhould labor to reconcile *Maximilian* and the French king, to thende that being all reunited, they might declare and proteſt quarrell agaynſt the *Venetians*: wherin, to expreſſe that they were no leſſe carefull for things cõmon, then for ſuch as concerned them ſelues in proper and particuler, they publiſhed an intention to reforme the eſtate of the Church, and to that ende to call a Councell: Neuertheles *Ferdinand* proceeded not with ſinceritie, but ſeeking to nouriſhe in that hope the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, who thirſted muche to be Pope, he lulled him ſo muche by that abuſing meane, that (with no litle domage to thaffaires of his king) he perceyued too late, and that by many ſignes and demonſtrations, what difference were betwene the words and works of that Prince, and what ſuttleties and euaſions were in his counſels. They communed together touching the cauſe of the *Piſans*, wherein the *Florentins* had enterteined negociation both with the one and other of them during the whole yere: for when the Frenche king prepared his armie agaynſt the *Genovvaies*, beeing diſcontented that the *Piſans* bare fauor to the rebellions of that people, and foreſeeing how muche it would be for the commoditie of his affaires to haue the *Florentins* to recouer that Citie, he gaue them hope, that aſſone as he had repreſſed the mutinies of *Genes*, he would conuert his armie to the deuotion of their ſeruice, expreſſing in that promiſe, as alſo appeared in the generall inclination of the Court, that the auncient good will which had bene aforetime borne to the *Piſans*, was for this occaſion turned into hate: But as euen the counſels of princes haue their variations & imperfections, ſo in their promiſes oftentimes is found litle certentie, bearing more regarde to the trayne and euent of tymes, then to accompliſhe the wordes they ſpeake: for the Frenche king hauing performed his enterpriſe vpon the *Genovvaies*, chaunged his determination with the *Florentins*, both for the ſame reaſons whiche made him diſmiſſe his armie, and alſo for that he would not offende the minde of the king of *Aragon*, who aſſured him that he would ſo diſpoſe the *Piſans*, that they ſhould willingly returne to thobedience of the *Florentins*, from

whom the Frenche king hoped by that meane to drawe no ſmall quantitie of money. To this the king of *Aragon* diſpoſed him ſelfe, but for many ſundry occaſions, and albeit it had bene more agreable to him that the *Florentins* ſhould not recouer *Piſa*, yet knowing that it coulde not be long kept without great expences and difficulties, and fearing withall leaſt they ſhould obteine it by the Frenche kings working, he hoped when he was at *Naples*, to haue bene able to induce the *Piſans* by his authoritie, to returne vnder honeſt conditions, to the obedience of the *Florentins*, who promiſed (ſo farreforth as the action were accompliſhed) to confederat with him, and to giue him within a certaine time, an hundred thouſande duckets: but not finding in the *Piſans* that conformitie and deuotion whiche he expected, to let that the gratification and recompence ſhould not remeine onely to the Frenche king, he then proteſted openly to the *Florentin* Embaſſadors, that if they ſhould attempt in any ſort to reconquer *Piſa* without his ayde, he would manifeſtly obiect his power agaynſt them, And the French king (to turne him from thoſe thoughtes which he had to manage that enterpriſe by armes) he enterteined cunningly with deuiſes full of varieties, ſometimes perſwading that he hoped to drawe them in the ende to ſome compoſition, and ſometimes he iuſtified that the *Piſans* were vnder his protection: A matter no leſſe falſe and contrarie, then his deuiſes were vayne and fabulous: for albeit the *Piſans* had made many ſolicitations to him, with offers to indue him with the abſolute iuriſdiction of their towne, yet enterteyning their requeſts with hopes, & keping his intentions diſſembled, he alwayes forbare to accept them, knowing what it was to take vpon him the protection of a warre populer and confuſed. But this matter being more particulerly debated in *Sauona*, they cõcluded that it were good & neceſſarie, the *Piſans* ſhould returne vnder the iuriſdiction of the *Florentins*, ſo farforth as either of thẽ might taſt of the profit: the ſame being the cauſe that the *Florentins* (fearing to ſtirre to much the minde of the king of *Aragon*) forbare to giue the ſpoyle that yere to the harueſt of the *Piſans*: an action wherein they had reappoſed a great hope, for that what by the want of vittels, and weaknes of forces in the towne, the *Florentin* ſouldiours ouerranne the whole coũtrey euen to their gates: And the peoples of the maine countrey, more mightie in numbers within the towne then the proper Citizens, greeuing muche to loaſe the fruite of their trauell for the whole yere, began to abate muche of their accuſtomed obſtinacie: Beſides, their generall cauſe was no more ſuccored by their neighbours as before, for that the *Genovvaies* ouergreeued with ſo many calamities, had no more the ſame thoughtes, *Pandolffe Petrucci* made wearie betweene importunitie and ſuſpition, founde alſo the charges intollerable, and they of *Lucquois*, albeit they miniſtred ſecretly to their wantes, yet their habilitie was no more ſufficient to beare out ſo great a burden, being for the preſent no leſſe heauie and intollerable, then in expectation, ielouſe and full of perill. The two kinges departed from *Sauona* the fourth day, with the ſame demonſtrations of concorde and amitie: the one tooke his courſe by ſea to *Barcelonia*, and the other returned by lande into *Fraunce*, leauing the other affaires of *Italie* in the ſame degree, but with a greater diſcontentment of the Pope, who taking of newe his occaſion vpon the ſtirre made by *Annyball Bentyuole*, had made inſtance by Cardinal *de S. Praſſida* to the king at *Sauona*, to deliuer vp to him as priſoners *Iohn Bentyuolo* and *Alexander* his ſonne, whom he kept reteyned in the duchie of *Millan*: he alleaged that ſince they had broken the contract made in *Bolognia* by thinterpoſing of *Monſr de Chaumont*, the king was at libertie and no further bounde to keepe his fayth, offring withall that if his maieſtie would ſatisfie

his

his desire, he would sende the Cardinall cappe to the Bishop of *Alby*. The king aunswered, that albeit he coulde discerne in them no sufficient apparance of fault or crime, yet for that he would somewhat bridle and restrayne their dispositions, he had kepte retayned many dayes in the Castell of *Millan*, *Iohn Bentyuolo*, but not finding good matter wherein they had offended, he ought to haue no lesse regarde to thinnocencie of the parties, then to his proper honour, vnder the which he stoode bounde to keepe his fayth: And yet to gratifie the Pope and leaue him satisfied of his inclination, he sayde he was disposed to suffer him to proceede agaynst them with curses and paynes, as agaynst the rebels of the Church, euen as he had endured without complaint that in *Bolognia* in the heate of that stirre, their Pallace was destroyed euen to the fundations.

The Dyot of *Constance* continued still with the same expectation of men wherewith it was begon, which *Cæsar* forgat not to nourish with diuerse sleightes and gallant wordes, publishing that he would passe into *Italie* so accompanied, that farre greater forces then the armies of *Fraunce* and all *Italie* ioyned together, shoulde not be hable to resiste him: And to geue greater value and authoritie to his cause (alwayes protesting that he had onely fixed in his intention the protection of the Churche) he aduertised the Pope and Colledge of Cardinalles, that he had declared the Frenche king rebell and enemie to the sacred Empire, for that he had descended into *Italie* to transferre into the person of the Cardinall of *Amboyse* the supreme dignitie pontificall, and to set vppon hys owne head the Crowne Imperiall, and lastly to dryue the whole Region of *Italie* into one seruile subiection: That he prepared to come to *Rome* onely to take the Crowne, and to establishe a common suretie and libertie: And lastely, that in regarde of hys Imperiall dignitie beeing protector of the Churche, and for hys proper pietie verye deuoute and desyrous to aduaunce the Sea Apostolike, it was not conuenient he shoulde tarie to be requyred or prayed, knowing well ynoughe that the Pope for feare of perill and harmes was fledde from *Bolognia*, and that the same feare kept restrayned both him and the religious Colledge from communicating their daungers, or sending to demaunde succours. Thus the matters whiche were treated in *Germanie* beeing by manye intelligences signified into *Italie*, and the brute that was spredde surpassing the truth of thinges, together with the generall preparations which the Frenche king made, beeing causes enforcing more credite and testimonie of the publike rumours, for that it was beleeued that he feared not without occasion: These thinges (I say) moued muche the myndes of euery one, some for desire of newe thinges, some for hope, some for feare, some for respectes generall, and some for their priuate and particuler interests: In so much as the Pope sente as Legate to *Maximilian*, the Cardinall of *Saint Crosse*, and the *Venetians*, the *Florentins*, with all other Potentates in *Italie*, (excepte the Marquis of *Mantua*) that were absolute and depended vppon them selues, addressed to hym messaungers speciall, eyther in the name of Embassadours, or vnder some other nature, euery one foreseeing for hys safetie according to the ielousie of the tyme. These thinges troubled muche the mynde of the Frenche king, being very doubtfull of the wyll of the *Venetians*, and more vncertayne of the disposition of the Pope, aswell for many reasons and experiences of things past, as especially that he had elected to this legatiō cardinal *S. Crosse*, in whom had remained an ancient and partiall inclination to further the greatnes of *Maximilian*. But touching the will of the Pope, muche lesse that it was manifest to others, seeing it was scarsly

knowen to him ſelfe: for, hauing his minde full of diſcontentmentes and ſuſpitions agaynſt the French king, ſometimes (to be at libertie from thoſe humors wandring and troubleſome) he deſired the comming of *Cæſar:* and eftſones the memorie of auncient quarels betwene the Popes & Emperours, diſaltered and amazed him, the ſame occaſions remayning, and the ſame propertie of ſpirits working: In which incertentie and frailty of minde, he deferred to reſolue himſelfe, expecting firſt what would be determined in the Dyot: And therfore proceding in tearmes generall, he had inſtructed the Legate to perſwade *Cæſar* in his name to paſſe into *Italy* without an army, offring to him greater degrees and proportion of honors then euer had bin done by any Pope at the crowning of Emperors. But a litle after (the counſels of men obey occaſions & times) the expectations that were had of the reſolutions in the Dyot, began to diminiſh: for when it was credibly vnderſtand in *Germanie*, that the Frenche king had diſſolued his armie immediatly after the victorie of *Genes*, his perſon alſo returning with the ſame fidelitie and obſeruation of promiſe ouer the Mountes, the heate of the Princes and peoples began to abate, and their fiery inclinations to reſolue to ſmoke and fume, the feare beeing ceaſſed that he came not to vſurpe the Popedome and the Empire. Beſides (as it often hapneth) publike reſpects fell not ſo ſtrongly in conſideration, but they were ouercaried with intereſts priuate, for that, beſides all other reaſons, there was a generall and auncient deſire in all *Germanie*, that the greatnes of Emperours ſhould not be ſo abſolute, as the other eſtates ſhould be compelled to obey them: And the French king omitted no diligence that might giue aduauncement to his cauſe, for that he ſent to *Conſtance*, men expreſſe, who forbearing all publike practiſe, but working ſecretly, laboured by the hydden fauours of the Princes that were his friendes, to appeaſe the mindes of the reſidue, purging thinfamies that had bene impoſed by teſtification and euidence of theffectes, ſince aſſone as he had ranged *Genes*, he did not onely diſperſe his armie, but alſo returned in perſon into *Fraunce*, with that ſpeede that was agreable to a perſonage of his greatnes: they affirmed beſides that he had not onely abſtayned in example and action from offending the Empire of *Rome*, but alſo in all confederations, contractes, or bondes, he did alwayes proteſt and except that he would be bounde to nothing that was contrarie to the rights of the ſacred Empire: wherein neuertheles they reappoſed not ſo much in theſe iuſtificatiõs, but that they labored with great diligence and many liberalities to abate the fierce mindes of the *Almains*
" with the engine of golde and ſiluer, wherof that nation is not a litle couetous: A bat-
" terie of no litle force to make breaches into the minds of moſt ſortes and properties
" of men, that beare more inclination to corruption then to vertue. The Dyot at laſt determined and brake vp the twentith day of Auguſt, in the which was agreed, after many diſputations, that there ſhould be deliuered to *Ceſar* to followe him into *Italy*, eight thouſand horſe, & xxij. thouſand footmen, payed for ſix moneths, and to furniſh the expences of thartilleries, with other charges extraordinary, ſix thouſand Florins of *Rhein* to be continued ſo long as the artillery was in ſeruice: the bands and regiments to be in the fielde & aſſemble neare *Conſtance* about the middeſt of October. It was publiſhed at that tyme, that they would happly haue furniſhed hym with a greater proportion of men and money, if *Maximilian* had conſented that thenterpriſe (alwayes vnder his gouernment and counſel) had bin managed wholly in the name of thempire, and that thelection of Captaynes had paſſed by order from thempire, and diſtribution of the places that ſhoulde bee conquered to bee made according to the determination of the Dyot: But *Maximilian* reteyning

ſtill

ſtill a ſingler ambition in this iorney, would admit no companion or communitie of name or authoritie (albeit all went vnder a generall title of the name of the Empire) and muche leſſe ſuffer that the rewardes of the victorie ſhould apperteine to any other then to him and his: in ſo muche as ſtanding better contented with the aydes they deliuered to him in this ſort, then to go better accompanied, with an authoritie aſſiſtant, there was made no other reſolution. And yet albeit it anſwered not the expectation that men had conceiued afore, yet ceaſſed not for all that the feare that was in *Italie* of his diſcending: for it was conſidered that the ſouldiers which his ſubiects would giue him, with ſuche as he would leauie of himſelfe, beeing ioyned to thoſe bands that were erected in the Dyot, he would come appointed with a very mightie armie, compounded of bodies reſolute and trayned, and furniſhed with ſundrie natures of artilleries: A matter ſo muche the more to be feared, by howmuche *Maximilian*, for the diſpoſition of his nature, and long exerciſe in armes, was very hable and ſufficient in martiall diſcipline, and could well beare, with the labour of his body and facultie of his minde, all aduerſities and difficulties whatſoeuer: A ſufficiencie for the whiche he merited more, and caried away greater reputation then had bene giuen to any Emperours many ages before. He labored beſides, to leauie and bring into his pay ten thouſande *Svvizzers*, whervnto albeit the Baylife of *Dion* and others ſent by the French king, did oppoſe & obiect with great inſtance in the Dyots of that nation, reducing to memorie thalliance cõtinued for ſo many yeres with the crowne of Fraunce, and eftſones lately confirmed by the king raigning, together with the many ſorts of profits which their peoples receiued by the conuerſation of *Fraunce*: And on the other ſide, they preferred their olde and ſetled quarels with the houſe of *Auſtria*, their greeuous warres they haue had with *Maximilian*, and laſtly what indifferent perill and preiudice the greatnes of thempire brought to them: yet all theſe notwithſtanding in the parliamentes & dyots of the *Svvizzers*, appeared a manifeſt inclination & deſire to ſatisfie the demaundes of *Cæſar*, or at the leaſt not to take armes agaynſt him, for that (as was ſuppoſed) they would not offend the generall name and ſtate of *Germanie*, which it ſeemed was intangled and ioyned to this action: For this reaſon many doubted that the Frenche king, if he were abandoned of the *Svvizzers*, or that the *Venetians* fayled to ioyne with him, being not furniſhed with a ſufficient ſtrẽgth of footmẽ to reſiſt the footbãds of thenemies, & hoping that the fury of *Thalmains* entring into *Italy* as a landflood, would vaniſh and diſſolue for want of money, would retire his army into townes, the likelihood wherof was alredy manifeſt in this, that with a wonderfull diligence he fortified the ſuburbes of *Millan* with many other places in the duchie of greateſt importance: In regarde of which alterations and preparations, the *Venetians* were trauelled in no leſſe perplexitie of minde then the other regions of *Italy*, and by howmuch their deliberations & counſels were of greateſt conſequence, by ſomuche more buſye, and greater were the paines and diligence that euery one tooke to haue them ioyne with him: for *Cæſar* from the beginning, had addreſſed to them three Embaſſadors of great authoritie, not only to ſolicite that he might haue free paſſage throw their dominions, but alſo to induce them to contract with him a ſtraiter alliance, wherein ſhould be agreed that they ſhould participate in the rewards of the victorie, proteſting to them on the contrarie, that it was in his power to accord to their preiudice with the Frẽch king, with the ſame conditions that ſo often had bin offred to him at diuers times. On the other ſide, both by his Embaſſadors, & the Orator of *Venice* that was reſident in his court, labored to perſwade thẽ to oppoſe with maine hand againſt the cõming of *Cæ-*

ſar as a matter of equal preiudice both to the one and other, offering for his part the ſeruice of all his forces, and to remayne their perpetuall confederate: But in thoſe dayes the ſenate was not contented that the tranquillitie of *Italie* ſhoulde be troubled, neither were they caried into humors of newe tumults, by the hopes that were offred to enlarge their dominions: for they had proued by a ſmarting experience, that the benefite and fruite of the conqueſt of *Cremona*, did not counteruayle the ſuſpitions and daungers wherein they had bene continually holden, ſince they had the Frenche king ſo neare a neighbour: They coulde willingly haue bene contented to be newters, but beeing preſſed with thimportunities of Themperour, they ſtoode in a neceſſitie eyther to refuſe or graunt him paſſage: if they refuſed him, they feared to be the firſt that ſhoulde be vexed: and in gratifying his demaundes, they offended directly the Frenche king, beeing expreſly forbidden in their reciprocall confederation, to graunt paſſage to thenemies of the one or other: And they were not ignoraunt, that beginning once to offende him, it woulde be great indiſcretion after *Maximilian* were paſte, to be ydle beholders of the iſſue of the warre, and expect the actions of two princes, wherof the one would be an enemie to the name of the Venetian, and the other hauing receiued no other pleaſure then libertie of paſſage, had no great occaſion to be their friend: Reſpects which wrought much with the Senate, that it was neceſſarie to ſticke openly to the one or other parties, but to whether of them, their opinions, for thimportance of the matter, were very differēt: And therfore, being no longer able to temporiſe in a cauſe ſo earneſtly laboured by thembaſſadors of both princes, they made it at laſt a councell matter in the Senate houſe of the *Pregati*, where *Nicholas Foskarin* vſed this forme of reaſoning:

The oration of Ni. Foſkarin.

If it were in our power to ſet downe a reſolution, by the which might be cōtinued the peace and tranquillitie of our commonweale amid ſo many conſpiring delibe-
" rations of theſe great princes: I am ſure there woulde be amongſt vs no varietie of
" opinion and counſell, and muche leſſe ſhould any hope or offers leade vs inclined to
" a warre of ſo greate expences and perill, as is lyke to be this whiche ſtandes nowe
" in preparation: But ſeeing in regarde of the reaſons and cauſes ſo often debated
" amongeſt vs in our late aſſemblies, there is no expectation to entertaine that com-
" mon tranquillitie: The principall reaſon wherevppon wee are to eſtabliſhe our de-
" liberation, is to conſider whether wee maye beleeue that betweene the Frenche
" king and king of *Romains* (diſpayring once of our amitie) maye bee contracted an
" vnion: or whether the hatreds betweene them bee ſo mightie and reſolute, as to
" lette them from ioyning together in one ſociable vnitie: for if wee were well aſſu-
" red of ſuche a daunger, it were to bee proued that wee oughte not to departe from
" the amitie of the Frenche king, bothe for that our forces beeing ioyned in good
" fayth and meaning with his for a common defence, wee ſhoulde eaſily protecte
" our eſtate, and alſo it woulde be more honorable to continue the confederation
" we haue with him, then by lighte euaſions to ſhyfte vs from it without euident oc-
" caſion: Beſides, wee ſhoulde enter with more recommendation and fauour of the
" world into a warre which ſhould beare the title and name of the protection of *Italie*,
" then to ioyne with thoſe armies and powers which we knowe manifeſtly to be lea-
" ued to ſtirre commotions and troubles. But if we ſet before our eyes the daunger of
" this vnion, I thinke it will not be denied that there is not great neceſſitie to preuent
" it, ſince it woulde bee more profitable aboue all compariſons to ioyne wyth the
" Emperour agaynſt the Frenche king, then to tarye tyll bothe the one and other
" bee vnited agaynſt vs. And albeit it is harde to iudge certaynely whiche of the

two

two will happen, for that it is a thing that not onely dependeth of the wyll of o- »
thers, but alſo is ſubiect to many accidentes & occaſions, which ſcarcely will leaue »
this reſolution in the power of thoſe that ought to execute it: yet, for that thexpe- »
rience of tymes paſte is a true inſtructor of thinges to come, and that matters that »
are to ſucceede can not bee comprehended but by coniecture, wee maye diſcerne »
that in this is more perill then profite, leſſe ſuretie then confidence, and an action »
whereof we ought to haue great ſuſpition and feare: for, as touching the king of »
Romains, it is not lyke that he ſhall finde anye greate impedimentes, conſidering »
with what feruent deſire he aſpyreth to paſſe into *Italie*, whiche he can not doo »
with any conueniencie or reaſon, vnleſſe he ioyne with the Frenche king or with »
vs: And albeit he ſoliciteth muche our alliaunce, yet if we refuſe him, who doub- »
teth but neceſſitie wyll driue hym to ſeeke confederation with the Frenche, hauing »
no other meane to accompliſhe his purpoſes. Touching the Frenche king, it ſee- »
meth there are farre greater difficulties for this vnion: but yet I holde them not »
ſuche, as vnder them wee maye promiſe to our ſelues anye ſuretie: for that he »
maye bee caryed to that deliberation by ſuſpition and ambition, two mightie mo- »
tions in the myndes of greate Princes, eyther of them in hys ſingler nature, bee- »
ing hable to dryue on thoſe thoughtes that are alreadie rayſed to dominion: he »
marketh well the inſtance that *Cæſar* maketh to enter vnitie with vs, and meaſuring »
(albeit with falſe weightes) our intention and deſire, he may doubt that the ſame »
ſuſpition that we haue, not to bee preuented by him, induceth vs to preuent »
hym, knowing alſo that wee haue good intelligence of thoſe thinges whyche ſo »
long tyme they haue conſulted together agaynſt vs: Laſtely, he maye feare that »
wee are allured by ambition, looking into the liberalities and offers that maye bee »
made to vs, and from this feare there can be no meane ſufficient to aſſure him, ſee- »
ing there is nothing that naturally breedes more ſuſpition then matters of eſtate: »
And beſides ſuſpition, he maye be dryuen on by ambition, hauing a deſire as wee »
knowe to the Citie of *Cremona*, wherevnto he ſhall be the more kindled by perſwa- »
ſions of the *Millanois*, and no leſſe for a thirſte to occupie all the auncient eſtates of »
the *Viſcountes*, whiche he pretendeth to be his inheritaunce aſwell as the Duchie of »
Millan: to theſe he can not hope to aſpire, if he firſt ſeeke not confederacie with »
the king of *Romains*, for that our common weale beeing mightie of it ſelfe, yf the »
Frenche king aſſayle vs alone or of his proper forces, it will alwayes ſtande in our »
power to ioyne with *Maximilian*: whiche thoughtes as they haue alwayes occu- »
pied his mynde, ſo in this it is alſo approued that he neuer durſt lyfte vp his hande »
to oppreſſe vs without that vnion, whiche beeing the dyrect lyne to leade hym to »
the marke he ſhootes at, why ſhoulde we not feare that in the ende he wyll be diſ- »
poſed to it? we are not aſſured from this feare by the conſideration that it woulde »
bee a reſolution vnprofitable to hym, for the conquering of two or three Cities, »
to bring into *Italie* the king of *Romains* hys naturall enemie, of whom in the ende »
he ſhoulde bee alwayes moleſted, and with whome he ſhoulde neuer haue friend- »
ſhippe but vncertayne, and yet ſuche as by this reaſon he ſhould be alwayes driuen »
to buye and enterteine with great ſummes of money: for that if he feare that »
wee will not ioyne with the king of *Romains*, he is to thinke that in preuenting vs, »
he ſhall not onely put him ſelfe out of daunger, but alſo ſhall ſtande in ſecuritie: »
And though he do not feare this vnion, yet he maye happly iudge it neceſſarie to »
confederate wyth hym, to delyuer hym ſelfe from the troubles and daungers »
whyche he maye ſuffer by hym, eyther by reaſon of the aydes of *Germanie*, or »

" by other alliances and occaſions: And albeit greater daungers maye happen to
" him if the king of *Romains* begin once to ſet foote in *Italie*, yet it is the common
" nature of men to feare moſte the daungers that be neareſt at hande, to eſteeme
" more then is neceſſarie things preſent, and to holde leſſe reckning then they ought
" of ſuch as are farre of and to come, ſeeing that to the ſame are referred many hopes
" of remedies, aſwell by the fauor of times, as benefite of accidentes: But be it that it
" were not profitable for the Frenche king to make this vnion, we are not aſſured for
" all that, that he will not do it: the mindes of men are ſubiect to many mutations,
" ſometimes altred by feare, & ſometimes blinded by couetouſnes: we know that the
" nature of Frenchmen is light, and ready to embrace any new enterpriſes, and whoſe
" hopes are neuer leſſe then their deſires: we are not ignorant, with what perſwaſions
" and offers (ſufficient to kindle any minde) the French king is ſtirred agaynſt vs by the
" *Millanois*, the Pope, the *Florentins*, the duke of *Ferrara*, and by the Marquis of *Man-*
" *tua*. It is not giuen to all men to be wiſe and forſeeing, no it is a gyfte that rarely diſ-
" cendes, and that but to a few, but who will prognoſticate what will be the delibera-
" tions of an other, let him (if he will not deceiue him ſelfe) not ſo muche conſider
" thoſe things which by ſimilitude and likelyhoode would make a wiſe man, as what
" is the ſpirite and nature of him that is to make the deliberation: And therefore if we
" will iudge of that the Frenche king will do, we are not to regarde ſo much what be-
" longeth to the office of diſcretion and wiſdome, as to conſider the naturall humors
" of the Frenche, light, wandring, and oftentimes accuſtomed to proceede more with
" furie and raſhnes, then with counſell or foreſight: We muſt conſider that the na-
" tures and inclinations of great Princes are not like to ours, neither ſo moderate in
" their affections, nor ſo eaſie to reſiſt their appetites as men priuate, for that by how-
" muche more they are accuſtomed to be honored in their kingdomes, & abſolutely
" obeyed, by ſo muche more are they made not onely imperious and inſolent, but al-
" ſo rayſing their will aboue reaſon or lawe, they can not endure not to obteine that
" which they holde for iuſt: and that ſeemes iuſt to them whiche they deſire, beeing
" perſwaded that they haue power to make plaine with a word both hilles and moun-
" tayns, to remoue all impedimentes, and to ſurmount the nature of things: yea they
" holde it a ſhame to reſtrayne their inclinations for any difficulties, and meaſuring
" commonly great things with the ſame rules wherewith they are wont to proceede
" in actions more inferior, their councels haue leſſe communitie with diſcretion and
" reaſon, then with will and arrogancie: vices whiche aboue all other Princes, haue
" moſt ſocietie and participation with the French nation: the ſame being confirmed
" with the late example of the kingdome of *Naples*, where the Frenche king induced
" by ambicion and indiſcretion, conſented that the moytie of the kingdome ſhoulde
" diuolue to the *Spaniard*, not ſeeing how muche he weakned his power (afore abſo-
" lute and ſupreme amongſt all the Italians) to bring into *Italie* another king equall
" to him ſelfe in authoritie, and nothing inferior in might. But why proceede we by
" coniectures in things whereof we haue a certeintie: we are not ignoraunt of that
" which the Cardinal of *Amboyſe* treated at *Trent* with *Maximilian* himſelfe touching
" the diuiſion of your eſtate: And we know wel ynough that to the ſame practiſe, they
" ioyned alſo a concluſion in the towne of *Bloys*, and the Cardinall going for the ſame
" cauſe into *Germanie*, brought backe the othe and ratification from *Cæſar*: And albeit
" I confeſſe theſe practiſes brought forth no effects in regarde of certaine difficulties
" that hapned, yet who can aſſure vs, that there will not be founde ſome meane to
" range or remoue thoſe difficulties, which haue bene impedimentes to their com-

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mon desire: since their principall intention remayneth alwayes one. These be the reasons that make me conclude, what necessitie we haue to consider with diligence, the imminent perils, the infinite charges, and perpetuall infamies, which on all sides do offer to darken and deface the auncient reputation and wisdome of this senate, if measuring vnaduisedly the condition of the affayres present, we suffer that an other put vs in feare, and come to inuade vs with those armes which be offred to vs for our suretie & augmentation of estate. Let vs consider (for the benefite of our countrey) what is the difference betwene mouing a warre to an other, & to exspect till an other inuade vs, to dispute how to diuide the estate of an other, and to temporise tyll the same perill fall vpon vs, and to be accompanied agaynst one onely, or to remaine alone agaynst many: for, if these two kings knit and drawe to conspiracie agaynst vs, they are sure to be followed with thassistance of the Pope, by reason of the townes in *Romagnia*, to haue many commodities from the king of *Aragon*, by reason of the portes of *Naples*, and to finde many friendshippes through all *Italie*, some seeking to recouer, and some to be assured: Lastly, beeing not ignorant howe mightily the French king hath conspired agaynst vs, and for so many yeres communicated with *Cæsar* to our preiudice: I thinke that if we arme our selues against him that hath sought to surprise and beguyle vs, muche lesse that we shall merite imputation, or be touched with the cryme of fayth breakers, but of the contrarie, the worlde will respect vs as fathers to our countrey, prouident, wise, and iust, and vpon his head shall be broken the brand of that perill and daunger, which euery one knoweth he kindled to haue consumed vs:

To the contrarie of this opinion, *Andrea Gritti* a personage of great valour and vertue, roase vp and reasoned in this sorte:

The oration of Andrevv Gritti.

If it were conuenient that in one selfe matter, the counsels and opinions of men might be referred to voyces doubtfull, I confesse my aduise shoulde haue no other reference, the present matter drawing on all sides suche varietie of reasons, that the nature and consideration of them leades me into confusion: But for that there is necessitie of resolution, which can not be made vpon foundations and suggestions incertaine, it behoueth vs, paysing well the reasons that impugne both the one and other, to embrace those which drawe neareste to a likenesse and similitude of trueth, and carie moste mightie coniectures: which when I distinguish and examine, I can not finde that the French king, neither for suspition to be preuented of vs, nor for desire of townes which earst apperteined to the duchie of *Millan*, will agree to bring the king of *Romains* into *Italie* agaynst vs: for the daungers and harmes whiche such an enterprise draweth with it, are farre more manifest and great, then the perils that may happen by our vnitie with *Cæsar*, or the profites that he may hope for by that resolution: seeing, besides the other natures of iniuries and hatreds betwene them, there is concurrance of dignitie and estates, A matter hable to set diuision betwene the best established freends among mortall men: In so muche as the Frenche king, calling into *Italie* the king of *Romains*, may be thought to do no other thing, then in place of a common weale peasible, and remeyning alwayes in good deuotion and friendshippe with him, to desire rather the neighborhood of a king ambicious, iniurious, and nourishing a thousande occasions to quarrell with him, aswell by reason of his authoritie and estate, as in regarde of disdaine and reuenge: Let no man say, because the king of *Romains* is poore, disordered, and vnfortunate, that the French king feares not his neighborhood, seeing that for the memorie of the auncient factions and inclinations of *Italie*, which remayne yet kindled in many places,

" and especially in the duchie of *Millan*, an Emperour of *Rome* can not haue so litle a
" nest in *Italie*, which will not spread and multiplie to the great preiudice and daun-
" ger of others, but chiefly on the person of this man hangeth greatest feares and ie-
" lousies, being a prince of high stomacke, of great conduit and experience in warre,
" and to whom may be ioyned thinterest of the children of *Lodovvik Sforce*, a readie
" meane to stirre vp the mindes of many: He may also hope to drawe to him in any
" action of warre agaynst the French, the powers of the king Catholike, though for
" no other respect, yet at least for that both their estates are to discende to one heire.
" The Frenche king is not ignoraunt, howe mightie is *Germanie*, nor howe easie it is
" to vnite eyther the whole or parte when the waye shall be made open in *Italie*, and
" the hope of pray and spoyle layde afore them: And we haue well seene what feare
" he hath alwayes had of the discending of the *Almains*, and the king of *Romains* howe
" poore and disordered soeuer he be, who if he were in *Italie*, it were not reasonable to
" thinke that he should haue with him any other thing then a warre full of perils and
" aduersities, and a peace yll assured, and yet dearely bought. It maye be he thirsteth
" to recouer *Cremona* and happly all the other townes, but there is no conformitie or
" likelyhood, that he will embrace a great daunger, to get a thing whose value is lesse
" then thaduenture: No, it is more credible that he will proceede in this case rather
" with discretion then rashnes, seeing by the consideration of the errors heretofore
" imposed vpon that king, we shall finde that they proceeded of no other infirmitie
" then of his great desire to make his enterprises with suretie: wherein I referre you
" to his examples in the actions of *Naples* and *Cremona*, being induced to make parti-
" tion of that kingdome, and to deliuer to vs the citie of *Cremona* for no other reason,
" then to make more easie the victorie of those warres: so that it is more credible that
" euen at this present he will rather follow his custome and wise counsels, then be ca-
" ried with aduises sodayne and rashe, seeing withall he remaineth not altogether de-
" priued of hope to accomplishe his expectations with the fauor of an other tyme, in
" more suretie, and with better occasion, whiche is a thing whiche mortall men are
" wont to promise to them selues easily, therror beeing lesse to promise a chaunge
" and reuolution of worldly affayres, then to perswade that they are alwayes firme
" and stable: neyther doth that much amaze me which is sayde, those two kings haue
" treated so often amongest them selues, for that it is a custome with the Princes of
" our time to entertaine one an other artificially with vayne hopes, and dissembled
" practises: which, for that in so many yeeres they haue brought foorth no effect, it
" can not be that they were other then fayre showes, fictions, and shadowes of things,
" or els nourished in themselues suche difficulties as they coulde not be resolued, the
" very nature of thaffayres resisting to take away the distrustes that are betwene them,
" without whiche fundation they haue no meane to come to that coniunction: So
" that I can not feare that for the couetousnesse of our townes, the Frenche king wyll
" throwe himselfe headlong into so indiscrete a deliberation, and muche lesse will he
" attempt an action so casuall for any suspition he hath of vs, for that besides the great
" knowledge and experience he hath of our intentions, hauing no want of perswasi-
" ons and occasions to leaue his alliance, the same reasons by the which we are assu-
" red of him, will enterchaungeably holde him assured of vs: for nothing can be more
" preiudiciall to vs, then the king of *Romains* to haue anye estate in *Italie*, no lesse for
" thauthoritie of thempire, ouer whose amplification and greatnes we ought alwayes
" to stande fearefull and ielouse, then for the ambition of the house of *Austria*, pre-
" tending interest to many of our townes, but moste of all for the neighborhoode of

Germanie,

Germanie, whose innundations can not but be too perillous for vs and our dominion, we bearing withall a brute to haue all our counsells rype and measured, and to erre more in beeing too harde and slowe, then to proceede with too much rashnes and credulitie. I denie not but things maye fall out contrarie to thopinion of men, for that worldly actions oftentimes drawe with them effects straunge, and farre aboue thexpectations and wisdomes of mortall men, and therefore who coulde set downe any warrant or suretie, were not of the least merite or commendation: but since that can not be done without entring into moste huge daungers and difficulties, we muste consider that oftentimes vayne feares are no lesse hurtfull then too great confidence and credulitie: if we enter confederation with the king of *Romains* agaynst the Frenche king, the warre muste necessarily be begon and continued with our moneys, which we must also aduaunce to furnish all his prodigalities and disorders, otherwise he will eyther accorde with the enemie, or retyre into *Germanie*, leauing vpon our shoulders the whole burden and perill of the quarrell: we muste susteine a warre agaynst a moste mightie king of *Fraunce*, Duke of *Millan*, Lorde of *Genes*, a prince enuironed with many regimentes of men at armes, & no lesse mightie in artileries and prouisions, and at the brute of whose payes and money will draw to him from all nations infinite bands of footemen. Besides, what hope of good succesſe can be nourished in this enterprise, seeing we can not but feare, that in all those of *Italie* which eyther pretende agaynst vs, or that we holde any thing of theirs, or at least stande ielouse ouer our greatnes, will not be a disposition to drawe into conspiracie agaynst vs, but especially the Pope, to whom, besides his disdaynes towards vs, the power of the Emperour in *Italie* will neuer be acceptable, for a naturall hatred that hath alwayes bene betwene the Church and thempire, the same making the Popes to haue no lesse feare of themperours in things temporall, then they haue of the Turkes in matters spirituall. And this coniunction happly may be more dangerous to vs, then the vnion which we feare betweene the king of *Romaines* and the French king: for that where is societie of many princes, which pretend to be equall, there commonly do kindle suspitions and debates, by which oftentimes it hapneth that those enterprises which haue bene begon with no small reputation, slyde easily into many difficulties, and lastly into dissolution and ruine: neither ought wee to make this a last consideration, that albeit the French king haue enterteined certeine practises contrarie to thalliance which we haue with him, yet we haue seene no effectes, by the which we may say he hath delte vniustly with vs, and therefore to leauie warre agaynst him, would be no other thing then to merite imputation of infidelitie and faythbreaking, on the contrarie whereof this Senate ought to buylde his principall fundation aswell for the honor as profite of the affaires which we haue euery day to manage with other princes: Neither can it be profitable to vs to nourish and continually augment this opinion, to seeke to oppresse dayly all our neighbours, and to aspire to the whole monarchie of *Italie*. I woulde in God, we had in times past proceeded more considerately, for almoste all the suspitions that at this present are heaped agaynst vs, haue no other beginning then that heretofore we haue too muche offended them, and it will not be beleeued that feare draweth vs to a newe warre agaynst the French king our auncient confederate, but rather that we are caried with certayne ambicious and couetous inclinations (ioyning with vs the king of *Romains*) to winne vpon him one parte of the duchie of *Millan*, as we wonne vpon *Lodouvike Sforce*, being ioyned with him: In which time if we had gouerned our selues more moderately, and not feared to muche suspitions vayne and

" light, neither ſhould the affayres of *Italie* ſtande preſently in ſuche trouble and alte-
" ration, neither we, in whom ſhould haue bene preſerued a renowne of greater mo-
" deſtie and grauitie, ſhould not nowe be conſtrayned to enter into warre eyther
" with this prince or that prince, more mightie then our ſelues: Into which nature of
" neceſſitie, ſeeing we are falne, it can not but be more to our wiſdome and profite,
" not to depart from the confederation we haue with the Frenche king, then ouerru-
" led with a vayne feare, or hope of benefites vncertayne and hurtfull, to embrace a
" warre, which alone and of our ſinguler power, we ſhould not be mightie ynough to
" ſupport, and in thoſe conſociates and aſſiſtantes which we ſhould haue, woulde be
" found more burden and charge, then aduauntage or profite.

Deliberation of the Venetians.

The opinions of the Senate were diuerſe in ſo great a varietie of reaſons: but in thende preuayled the memorie of thinclination whiche they knewe the king of *Romains* had long enterteined, to recouer vpon occaſion the townes holden by them, which he pretended to apperteine to thempire, or to the houſe of *Auſtria*: Their reſolution was to graunt him paſſage if he came without an armie, but comming armed with a power, they determined to denie him libertie to marche: And in the anſwere they gaue to his Embaſſadors, they ſeemed to perſwade, that that concluſion was made more by neceſſitie, hauing regarde to the condition of the time preſent, and confederation which they had with the Frenche, than by any diſpoſition or will to leaue him diſcontented for any matter: They alleaged that albeit they were conſtrained by the ſame confederation to ayde him in the defence of the duchie of *Millan* with a proportion of men expreſſed in the ſame: yet in this action they woulde proceede with a greater modeſtie, without exceeding in any ſort their limittes and boundes, and, except they were compelled to any action for the defence of *Millan*, they would not oppoſe agaynſt any other his aduauncement, according to the true meaning of their affection, who ſo farre as their power woulde ſtretche, woulde neuer fayle him with thoſe oblations and reuerences which became the Senate of *Venice* to beare to ſo great a Prince, with whom they neuer had any thing thē a perpetuall amitie and alliance: in commemoration whereof, they ſought not to enter into newe confederations and bonds with the French king, but deſired to communicate as litle as they could with the warres that ſhould be betweene them, hoping that *Maximilian* (not to increaſe his owne difficulties) would at leaſt leaue their frontiers in peace, & embracing their affections according to the ſimplicity & innocencie thereof, to turne his armies eyther againſt *Burgondy*, or the duchie of *Millan*. But as enterpriſes of high importaunce are full of imperfections, and drawe with them their proper impedimentes, ſo *Cæſar* beeing out of hope to ioyne with him the *Venetians*, many other difficulties began to fall vpon him, which albeit he labored to ſurmount with the greatnes of his ſpirite and conceptions, apte to promiſe him dayly more hopes then impedimentes, yet they delayed muche theffects of his reſolutions and purpoſes: for that, both of him ſelfe he had not ſufficient money to leauie his proportion of *Swvizzers*, and furniſhe the other expences neceſſarie for ſo great an enterpriſe, and alſo the treaſures that were promiſed to his ayde in the Dyot, were not ſufficient to furniſhe the leaſt part of the ſubſtance and body of the warre: And the fundation whervpon from the beginning he had layde his greateſt hopes, that the communalties & iuriſdictions of *Italie* would for terror of his name and comming, offer compoſition and contribution of money, grew euery day leſſe and leſſe: for, albeit in the beginning many ſhewed a certayne deuotion, yet the concluſions of the Dyot of *Conſtance* not anſwering thexpectation that was conceiued

ued that the enterprise should rather be of the whole Empire, and almost of all *Germanie*, then his owne in peculiar, and seeing happly into the mightie preparations of the French king, and the newe declaration of the *Venetians*, euery one remayned in doubt, not daring (in ministring to him things whereof he had most neede) to offende so greatly the French king: Neither were the demaundes of *Maximilian* such in the time when he was most feared, as with their facilitie they might induce men to administer to his helpe: for, according to his conditions, he demaunded muche of euery one, wherein his rates imposed vpon the duke of *Ferrara* (whome he pretended did owe to *Blanche* his wife the dowrie of his sister *Anne* dead many yeeres before) were excessiue, and his proportions to the *Florentins* no lesse intollerable, vpon whom the Cardinal of *Brexe*, managing his affaires at *Rome*, and hauing power to compounde with them, demaunded fiue hundred thousande duckets: which demaunde, for the immoderation thereof, was the cause that they resolued to temporise with him, till they discerned better what traine his affaires would take, and withall (foreseeing not to offende him) they protested excuses to the Frenche king demaunding men, which they sayd they could not accomplishe for thimpediments of the waste and spoyle to be giuen this yere to the *Pisans* in great preparation, and for that the *Genovvaies* and other neighbours beginning eftsones to administer newe succors, they were constrayned to stande continually prepared agaynst them. In these regardes, themperour fayling (contrarie to his hope) to haue his turne serued with the money of Thitalians (hauing onely six thousande duckets of them of *Sienna*) he made requeste to the Pope, that at the leaste he woulde suffer him to take the hundred thousande duckets whiche had bene afore leauied in *Germanie* vnder cooller to make warre vpon the Turkes, and beeing for that effect preserued in that prouince, they coulde not be conuerted to any other vse, without licence of the sea Apostolike: he offred him also, that where he could not satisfie his demaunde not to passe into *Italie* with an armie, that neuertheles, after he had restored to the duchie of *Millan* the children of *Lodovvike Sforce*, (the protection of whome he protested, both to make the peoples of that state more fauourable, and his passage more easie and lesse hatefull) he would go on to *Rome* without armes, to receiue the Crowne Imperiall, leauing all his bands in the duchie of *Millan*. But the Pope, in whom appeared no more affection to the one then to the other, refused also to satisfie him in this demaund, alleaging that in suche a condition and estate of affaires, he could not without his great daunger prouoke the armes of the French king agaynst him: And yet *Maximilian*, according to the propertie of his inclination beeing carefull, credulous, and quicke to execute all things of himselfe with paynes incredible, amidde so many difficulties forgate nothing that might enterteine the brute of his discending, and causing to marche thartilleries towards many places of the frontiers of *Italy*, he recontinued the practise to haue the twelue thousand *Svvizzers*, who demaunding many thinges, and propounding straunge exceptions, gaue him not any certayne resolution: he solicited the bandes that were promised him, and trauelling in person from one place to an other for diuers expeditions, he brought mens mindes into many confusions, their iudgementes varying more through all *Italie* then earst had bene seene in any other action: for in some the opinion of thenterprise was greater then euer, and others supposed it to bee already in an estate declining, which incertentie of minde was increased by him selfe, who being of nature secrete and particular, did seldome communicate his thoughtes with others, and to thende his intentions shoulde be lesse priuate in *Italie*, he had ordeyned that the Popes

Legate nor other Orators of *Thitalians* ſhould not followe his perſon, but keepe a parte in places remoued from the Court.

Now was come the day appoynted for the aſſemblie of *Thalmain* companies, of whō notwithſtanding there muſtred at *Conſtance* but a very ſmall crew, neither was ſeene any other preparations on his part, then remouing of artilleries, and ſtudying by what meanes he might recouer money: In ſo muche as beeing vncertayne with what forces, in what time, and on which ſide he would enter: ſuch as doubted him made mightie prouiſions in many places: ſome ſuppoſed he woulde make his entrie by *Friul*, and others thought he would marche by *Trent* into the countrey of *Verrona*, others iudged that comming by *Sauoy*, or by *Coma*, he would aſſayle the duchie of *Millan* hauing many of the exiles of that ſtate in his campe: others ſtoode in ſome doubt leaſt he would make ſome ſtirre on that ſide to *Burgondie*: In regarde of theſe feares, the French king ſent to the duchie of *Millan* many bandes of horſmen and footemen, and beſides other preparations leauyed for the defence of that ſtate, he diſpatched two thouſande fiue hundred Spaniſh footemen, vnder the fauour of the king Catholike, to whom *Cæſar* complayned greeuouſly of ſuche a ſufferaunce. *Monſr de Chaumont* doubting the fayth of the *Boromei*, ſurpriſed in the ſame time *Arona*, a Caſtell belonging to that familie ſtanding vpon the lake *Maior*: into *Burgondie* the king had alſo ſent fiue hundred launces, vnder *Monſr Trimouille* gouernor of that prouince: And to drawe away in many places the thoughtes and forces of Cæſar, he ſuccoured continually the Duke of *Guelders*, who moleſted the countreis of *Charles* the little ſonne of themperour. Beſides all this, he had ſent to *Verona Iohn Iacques de Triuulce* with foure hundred Frenche launces, and foure thouſande footemen, to the ſuccours of the *Venetians*, who had alſo ſent to *Rouera* the Counte *Petillano* with foure hundred men at armes, and many bandes of footemen, to thende to remayne there for the repreſſing of thoſe ſtirres that might ariſe towardes *Trent*: and to *Friul* were ſent eight hundred men at armes vnder *Bartlemevv Aluiano*, who long time before was entred into their payes. But the firſt daunger appeared on that ſide which was leaſt doubted, for that *Paule Baptiſta Iuſtinian* and *Fregoſin* exiles of *Genes*, ledde to *Caſuola*, a towne belonging to *Lodovvike Gonſagna* feodar of thempire, a thouſande *Almain* footmen, who marching ſecretly and with great diligence ouer the mountaynes and impaſſible places of the *Venetian* territorie, had an intention to go to *Genes*, after they had paſſed by the ryuer of *Po* along the mountaine of *Parma*: This expedition being doubted of by *Monſr Chaumont*, he diſpatched ſuddenly to *Parma* many horſemen and footemen, to giue impediment to thenemie, which ſo cut off all hope from *Thalmains*, to be hable to execute any thing agaynſt *Genes*, that they returned into *Germanie* by the ſame way, but not with the ſame diligence and daunger, for that the *Venetians*, reſpecting their common benefite, made a ſecret conſent to their retyring. There were at the ſame inſtant, many of the exiles of *Genes* in the towne of *Bolognia*, whiche driue the king into a ſuſpition, that this matter had bene wrought by the conſent of the Pope, of whoſe inclination and will, many other thinges put him in doubt, both for that Themperour was ſolicited to marche by the Cardinall *S. Croſſe*, notwithſtanding more of his proper motion and diſpoſition, then for any other occaſion: and alſo thexiles of *Furly* being by chaunce iſſued out of *Faenza*, and aſſaying one night to enter into *Furly*, the Pope complayned that it was a matter compact betwene the Frenche king and the *Venetians*. To theſe was added the conſpiracie of a Monke, who beeing priſoner in *Mantua*, had confeſſed that he had practiſed with the familie of *Bentiuole* to empoyſon the Pope,

and

and that he was solicited from *Monsr de Chaumont* to performe all his promises to the *Bentiuolei:* by reason whereof the Pope proceeding by examination in forme authentike, sent it to the king by *Achilles de Grassi* Bishop of *Pesera*, and afterwardes Cardinall, to make request that the trueth might be knowen, proceeding to the punishment of suche as should be found guyltie in so great a wickednesse: In so much as *Alexander Bentyuole*, beeing suspected more then the residue, was adiorned by the king to appeare and answere in *Fraunce* to such things as he was to be charged withall: with these actions and incertenties, ended the yere 1507.

But in the beginning of the yere following, the trauelling minds of them of *Bolognia*, no longer disposed to nourish their tranquillitie, drewe into conspiracie, and being ledde by *Annibali* and *Hermio Bentyuole*, who had intelligence with certayne young gentlemen of the familie of the *Pepolies*, with others of race and yeres equall, they approched vpon the sodayne, *Bolognia:* an enterprise not without perill, for that the conspirators to thende to lette in the residue, had occupyed the gate of *S. Mamola:* But as it is easie to represse a violence in the beginning, so the people taking armes in fauour of the state ecclesiastike, the young men abandoned the gate with more feare then vallour, and the *Bentyuoleis* retyred finding onely that safety in their aduenture. This inuasion rather abated then inflamed the mynde of the Pope agaynst the Frenche king, for that his Maiestie shewing great tokens howe muche it did discontent hym, commaunded *Monsr Chaumont* to be readie to succour *Bolognia*, and all that depended vpon it, in all necessities and occasions: he gaue order besides, that from thencefoorth the *Bentiuoleis* shoulde not be receyued into any parte of the duchie of *Millan:* by whiche restraynt, *Iohn*, one of the chiefest of them, dyed about that tyme of displeasure, for that muche lesse that he had bene accustomed afore he was expulsed *Bolognia* to feele the aduersities or bitter blowes of fortune, seeing he had beene the moste happie of all the other tyrantes of *Italie*, seruing a long time as an example of prosperous fortune: for, in the course of fortie yeres, during the which he commaunded as he woulde in *Bolognia*, muche lesse that he was touched with any heauie affliction, seeing in all that race of tyme he felte not so muche as the death of any his friendes: he had alwayes for himselfe and children, pensions, appoyntmentes, and great honours of all the Princes in *Italie*, beeing followed withall with this felicitie to escape easily out of all waightie and dangerous affayres: for all which graces & good succedings, he seemed (besides the conuenient situation of that Citie) to be principally beholding to fortune, for that according to common iudgement, he could not merit any thing by the propertie of his wit, or by his wisdome, and much lesse by any valour that was in his person.

Cæsar nowe minding no more to deferre the mouing of armes, dispatched a Heralte to *Verona*, to publishe his resolution to passe into *Italie* to take Thimperiall Crowne, and to require lodging for foure thousande horse: Whervnto the gouernors of *Verona*, hauing first communicated with the counsel of *Venice*, answered him, that if he would passe for no other occasion then to receyue the crowne, they would honour him with all the offices and obseruaunces they could, but they saw effects contrarie to his perswasions, hauing already brought and bestowed vpon their marches so great proportions of men at armes and artilleries: In regarde of which aunswere, measuring by thē the deuotion of others, *Maximilian* assone as he was come to *Trent*, to giue beginning to the warre, made a solemne processiō the fourth of February, which he assisted in person, hauing before him the Heralds of the Empire, & the Imperiall sworde naked, and in the ende of the solemnitie, his secretary *M. Lango*

afterwardes Biſhop of *Gurce*, being mounted into a high ſeate or theater, publiſhed in the name of Cæſar his determination to paſſe in warlike aray into *Italie:* he named him no more king of *Romains*, but Emperour elect, as are wont to be intituled the kings of *Romains* when they come to take the Crowne: And forbidding the ſame day that none ſhoulde iſſue out of *Trente*, after he had cauſed to be baked a great quantitie of Byskie, and made baskettes of wood, and ſent by the ryuer of *Adice* ſundrie boates and lighters loaden with prouiſions, he went out of *Trente* the nighte after a little before day with a thouſande fiue hundred horſe, and foure thouſande footemen: not of thoſe regimentes whiche were agreed to hym in the Dyot, but of the peoples of his Court and proper eſtates, taking the way that leades by thoſe Mountaynes to *Vincenſe*. At the ſame tyme the Marquis of *Brandebourgh* marched towardes *Rouero* with fiue hundred horſemen and two thouſande footmen of the ſame countrey bodies, with whom he returned the day after, with no memorie of other action then that he preſented himſelfe before *Rouero*, and demaunded in vayne to be lodged in the towne: But themperour elect being comen to the mountayne of *Siagne*, the foote whereof draweth within twelue miles of *Vincenſa*, after he had taken the landes of the ſeuen communalties (a people ſo named dwelling in the toppe of the Mountayne vnder many exemptions and priuiledges of the *Venetians)* and after he had filled vp many trenches whiche they had caſt for their defence, and to ſtoppe the waye, he cauſed to be drawen thither many peeces of artillerie. Heere it ſeemed that eyther his intention had imperfection, or his fortune was contrarie to the diſpoſition of the tyme, for, as mens mindes enterteined a wonderfull expectation of ſome good ſucceſſe, he retyred from this place the fourth daye after he departed from *Trente*, and returned to *Bolſana*, a towne further remoued from the confines of *Italie*, then *Trente:* wherein as it gaue occaſion to euery one to wonder at ſo greate an inconſideration, or rather inconſtancie: ſo, ſo weake a beginning reuyued eſtſones the myndes of the *Venetians*, in ſo muche that as they had already interteined many bandes of footemen, ſo they called to *Rouera* the Frenche companies whiche were at *Verona* with *Triuulce*, and beginning to make greater preparations, they ſtirred vp the Frenche king to do the lyke, who marching towardes *Italie*, ſente before an armie of fiue thouſande *Svvizzers* of his payes, and three thouſande payed by the *Venetians*, that Nation (for that *Maximilian* was not hable to miniſter paye to them) being ronne without any regarde to thintertainment of the Frenche: And yet after they were departed and payed, they woulde not go vppon the landes of the *Venetians*, alleaging for their reaſons, that they woulde not ſerue Cæſar in any other action, then for the defence of theſtate of *Millan*.

A greater ſtirre, but farre more wretched and vnhappie, as wherein was nouriſhed the beginning of greater thinges, was kindled in *Friul*, whither didde paſſe by the waye of the Mountaynes, and by Cæſars appoyntment, foure hundred horſe and fyue thouſande footemen, all bodies commaunded in his countrey of *Tiroll:* Aſſone as they were entred into the valley of *Cadora*, they tooke the Borowe and Caſtell, wherein was a verye ſlender garriſon, together with the Magiſtrate of the Venetians that was within, whiche beeing vnderſtande at *Venice*, they commaunded *Aluiano* and *George Cornaro* Superintendent remayning vppon the landes of *Vincentin*, to make ſpeedily to the ſuccours of that Countrey, and to keepe occupied the enemies on that ſide, they ſente towardes *Trente* foure lighte Galleys with certayne veſſelles of other nature: And at the ſame

time

tyme *Maximilian*, who was marched from *Bolſano* to *Brunech*, and turning to the waye of *Friul* for thoportunitie of the paſſages, and largenes of the countrey, ronne through certayne valleys more then fortie myles within the territories of the *Venetians*, with a ſtrength of ſix thouſand footmen leauied in thoſe quarters: and after he had takē the valley of *Cadora* which leadeth to *Treuiſa*, leauing behind him the borow of *Boſtauro* lately apperteining to the Patriarks of *Aquilea*, he tooke the borow of *S. Martin*, the borow of *Pieua*, & the valley which was kept by the *Countes* of *Sauorgina*, with other places adioyning: he performed theſe incurſions rather in the propertie of an inferior capteine, then in the perſon & maieſtie of a king, more contented with victories of meane perſons & places, then ſeeking after actions of importance according to thexpectation of his name & vertue: And after he had ſpēt ſome dayes in theſe trifling ſeruices, he cōmaunded his cōpanies to draw to *Treuiſan*, and returned himſelf vpon the end of February to *Iſpruch* to lay Iewels in paune, & make other prouiſions for money, wherof being rather a prodigal waſter, then a temperat diſtributer, no reaſonable quantitie could ſuffice to furniſhe the neceſſitie of his affayres: for that his wantes could not be ſatisfied with thabundance of things, ſince he meaſured not his ſufficiencie according to the nede of kind, but after the rage of his opinion & prodigalities. But vnderſtanding on the way that the *Svvizzers* had taken the pay of the French, he was not a litle diſcontented with them, and ſo went to *Vlma* a Citie of *Svvauia*, to induce that ligne to ayde him as they had done in times paſt in the warre agaynſt the *Svvizzers*: he made alſo vehement inſtance to the Electors, that the aydes promiſed in the Dyot of *Conſtance*, might be yet recontinued for ſixe monethes more, alleaging that the action of great enterpriſes require a long and deliberate time. And about this ſeaſon the regiments of the eſtates which were abyding at *Trent* to the number of nyne thouſande bodies aſwell footmen as horſmen, had battred the caſtell of *Baioquo*, and ranged it to diſcretion within three dayes: it ſtandes right ouer agaynſt *Rouero* on the right hande, vppon the high way that leades from *Trent* into *Italie*, and betweene it and *Rouero* which is on the left hande, runneth the ryuer of *Adica*.

Aluiano departed in great diligence to ſuccor *Friul*, and paſſing along the mountaines laden with ſnowes, he came in two dayes neere to *Cadora*, where exſpecting his trayne of footemen, who coulde not marche with the ſame ſpeede and ſwiftneſſe, he occupied a paſſage not garded by the *Almains*, by the which is made the entrie into the valley of *Cadora*: And as in a generall perill a litle comfort profiteth muche, ſo at the comming of *Aluiano*, the men of the countrey affected to the iuriſdiction of *Venice*, taking newe courage, commaunded the other paſſages of the valley by the which the *Almains* were to retyre: who ſeeing themſelues incloſed, and no hope of ſafetie but by the ſworde, and iudging by the diſpoſition of *Aluiano* that he woulde dayly ſtrengthen himſelfe, marched out agaynſt him in great furie: he refuſed not the offer of the feight, taking no leſſe courage in the oportunitie of the enemie, then in the innocencie of the quarrell, wherevppon beganne betweene both parties a moſte cruell feighte, wherein the *Almaines*, who fought with great rage, more for deſyre to dye glorioufly, then that there was hope to ſaue their liues, and caſting themſelues in a groſſe ſquadron, their wiues in the middeſt, made a valiaunt defence for certayne howres: but as in actions of battell, God oftentimes giues the victorie, not to thoſe that feight beſt, but to ſuche as he fauoreth moſt, ſo the *Almains*, not hable to make long reſiſtaunce, both for the numbers and vertue of thenemies, were in the ende vanquiſhed, more then a thouſande

Aluiano beeing ſent to ſuccor Friul, giueth the rout to the Almains.

of them remayning dead on the place, and the residue falling to be prisoners according to thaduenture and fortune of the fight. After this victorie *Aluiano* ioyning diligence and expedition to his felicitie, tooke the castel of *Cadora*, which he assalted on two partes, *Charles Malateste* one of the auncient Lordes of *Rimini* beeing slayne with a quarrell shotte out of a towre: And following still the streame of hys fortune and good succesſe, he tooke *Porto Nauona*, and afterwards *Cremonsa* situate vppon the height of a hill, and so discended to encampe afore *Goritia*, standing at the foote of the *Alpes* of *Iulyan*, strong by situation, and no lesse mightie by the munition it conteines, and hath a Castell of very harde accesse: and taking first the bridge of *Goritia*, and planting afterwards his artilleries before the towne, he caryed it the fourth day by composition, being in great necessitie of weapons, water, and vittells. After the towne was commaunded, the Castlekeper & companies within the Castell, eschewing their proper calamities by the examples of their fellowes, came to rendring after they had receyued foure thousande duckets. The *Venetians* erected there foorthwith many fortifications to serue as a bulwarke and brydle agaynst the Turkes, and to holde them in feare for passing the ryuer of *Lisonso*, since with thoportunitie of that place there might be easie impedimentes giuen to their retraites. From *Goritia Aluiano* marched to encampe before *Triesta*, a Citie at the same time muche molested by the sea, whiche he tooke easily, not without the discontentment of the Frenche king, who gaue counsell not to prouoke so muche the king of *Romains*: but for that it stoode vppon the gulfe of *Venice*, and by that reason very conuenient for their traffikes, they, made prowde by the prosperitie of their fortune, coulde not be discounselled to followe the course of their victorie: In so muche as after the action of *Triesta* and the Castell, they tooke *Portonon*, and afterwards *Finme*, whiche is a towne of *Esclauonia* in the prospect of *Ancona*, which they burned, for that it was the retraite of the shippes whiche woulde passe by the sea *Adriatique*, without paying the customes that were imposed: And afterwardes, passing the *Alpes*, they tooke *Possonia*, which is vpon the marches of *Vngrie*.

These were thenterprises that were done in the countrey of *Friul*: But on that side towardes *Trent*, the *Almain* armie whiche was nowe come to *Calliano*, a towne famous for the harmes of the *Venetians*, for that twentie yeeres afore *Ro. S. Seuerin* a notable Capteine of their armie was ouerthrowen and slaine, charged vpon three thousande footemen of the *Venetians*, left for the garde of the mount *Brestonia*, who notwithstāding they were sufficiently fortified, fled sodenly into the next mountain, fearing more then was necessary the peril that was farre of & doubtful, which made the *Almains*, scorning the cowardise of *Thitalian* footemen, ryse into more violent actions, burning many houses, and after they had reuersed many of their trenches and defences made in the mountaine, they returned to *Calliana*. By this succesſe, the Bishop of *Trente* taking stomacke according to the fortune of the time, went with an armye of two thousande footemen, appoynted with parte of the people that were at *Calliana*, to besiege *Riua Trente*, whiche is a great borowe standing vppon the lake of *Garde*, whither *Triuulce* had already sent a sufficient garrison: And after he had for two dayes battered the Churche of *Saint Frauncis*, and in the meane whyle made certayne incursions vppon the villages that are about *Lodrona*, two thousande *Grisons* seruing in the *Almaine* campe, fell into mutinie for a quarrell of small importaunce concerning their paymentes, and made pyllage of the vittailes of the campe: by reason whereof all thinges beeing in disorder, and moste of the bandes of the *Grisons* forsaken the campe, the remainder of

of tharmie conteyning ſeuen thouſande men, was conſtrayned to retyre, the ſame miniſtring oportunitie and courage to the *Venetian* regimentes to make inuaſions vpon the next villages, of whom as three thouſand went in trowps to burne certaine townes of the *Count d'Agreſte*, they were charged and broken by the Paiſantes, and three hundred of them cutte in peeces, not remembring that in matters of enterpriſe it is an office as neceſſarie to foreſee perilles to come, as to execute when occaſion is giuen. For the retraite of *Thalmains* whiche were before *Riue*, almoſte all the bandes beeing ſeparate, and the horſemen (conteyning a body of twelue hundred) beeing retyred from their lodginges of *Calliana* to *Trent*, the regiments of the *Venetians*, on Eaſterday morning aſſayled *Pietra*, a place within ſix myles of *Trent*: But aſſoone as the ſtrength that was within *Trent* iſſued out to their ſuccours, they retyred, and afterwardes aſſayled the Rocke of *Creſte*, which is a peece of importaunce, and yeelded before the ſuccors that came from *Trent* were ariued: the ſame beeing the cauſe that the *Almains*, hauing eftſones reaſſembled & reordeined their footemen, returned with a thouſande horſe and ſix thouſande footmen to *Calliana*, diſtant from *Pietra* the ſhotte of a Crosbow: And two hundred horſemen of the duke of *VVittenbourg* beeing gone from them, the *Venetians* with foure thouſande horſmen, and ſixtene thouſand footemen, came & encamped before *Pietra*, planting there a proportion of ſixtene peces of artillerie: *Pietra* is a Caſtel ſeated at the foote of a mountaine, on whoſe right hand the way leades from *Rouera* to *Trent*, and out of the ſame comes a very ſtrong wall conteyning in length the ſhot of a Crosbowe, and ſtretcheth euen to the ryuer of *Adice*, and in the middeſt of the ſame is a gate, of the which who is not maiſter, can hardly hurt *Pietra*. The two armies were within a myle one of another, and they both had before them the Caſtell and the wall, and on the one ſide the ryuer of *Adice*, and on the other the mountaines, and eyther armie hauing at their backes, places of ſure retraite: And for that the *Almains* had the caſtell and the wall in their power, they might when they liſte driue the *Venetian* armie to feight, which was impoſſible to the *Venetians*, who for that they were inferiour in numbers muche leſſe that they durſt commit things to aduenture, ſeeing they deuiſed onely to rayſe impediments that thenemies ſhould not carie the caſtell which was continually battered by their artilleries: But the *Almains*, in whom was indifferent the vertue of celeritie and courage, perceiuing one day that their artillerie was ſlenderly garded, gaue a furious charge vppon it, and putting to flight the footemen that garded it, they wonne with great valour two peeces, and drew them to their lodginges. This accident abated the ſtomackes of the *Venetians*, who nowe iudging it but loſte tyme to enterteine the action of *Pietra*, whiche had deuoured many of their peoples, brake vp and retyred to *Rouero*, and the *Almains* returned to *Trent*, where within fewe dayes after moſte parte of the armie disbanded and were diſperſed: and the regimentes of the Dyot, whiche neuer conteyned aboue foure thouſande (for all thoſe in ſubſtance that aſſembled at *Trent* and *Cadera*, were of the Countreys thereabout) returned to their houſes, their tearme of ſixe monethes beeing ended, by whoſe example alſo moſte parte of the footemen that were leauyed, brake vp the ſeruice and departed. *Maximilian* himſelfe who was much troubled in going from one place to another to leauie prouiſions & practiſes, could neuer be preſent at thoſe actions, but for that the Dyot of *Vlma* was referred to a time more conuenient, beeing confuſed in himſelfe with the multitude of affaires, and ſhame of his ſucceſſes, withdrew himſelfe to *Cologne*, not being acknowen for many dayes where he was: And being not ſtrong ynough, neither in men, munition, nor

money to reſiſt ſo great a ſtorme, hauing loſt al that he held in the countrey of *Friull*, with the other peeces affronting, he found himſelfe abandoned of all ſuccours, and in greater perill to be depriued of *Trent*, if in the Frenche bandes had bene any diſpoſition to ioyne with the *Venetian* armie: But *Triuulce*, who by the kings direction was reſolued rather to pacifie then to prouoke, woulde paſſe no further then was neceſſarie for the defence of the *Venetians*: holding it as iuſt and honorable in the office he had, to forbeare to afflict further themperour, as to protect the *Venetians*.

Truce betwene Maximilian and the Venetians.

Maximilian ſtanding thus abandoned, and deſyring by ſome meane to put himſelfe out of daunger, ſent, ſince the ouerthrowe at *Cadora*, one of his Gentlemen to *Venice*, to demaunde truce for three monethes, of which the Senate made no accompt, hauing no diſpoſition to make truce for leſſe then a yere, nor yet to giue any conſent, if the Frenche king were not comprehended in it: But his daungers ryſing in encreaſing for the loſſe of *Trieſta*, and his calamities altering thinges into worſe condition, the Biſhop of *Trent*, as of his peculier motion, perſwaded the *Venetians* to truce, alleaging by that meane and fundation, a readie poſſibilitie and expectation of peace: The *Venetians* aunſwered, that their minds were not eſtraunged from it, ſo farrefoorth as they were not alone in the action, but that there were libertie for the Frenche king to communicate: In ſo muche as after this beginning there drewe to conference together the Byſhop of *Trent* and *ſerentane* ſecretarie of *Maximilian*, and for the Frenche king *Triuulce*, and *Charles Geffray* preſident of the Parliament of *Millan*, and for the *Venetians Zacharia Contarin* Embaſſadour particularly appoynted for that action: They agreed eaſily for other conditions, ſeeing, as touching the time, they were reſolued that it ſhould laſte for three yeres, and euery one to reteine that he poſſeſſed at that preſent, with power to buylde and fortifie ſuche places as they commaunded. This onely was the difficultie, that the French would haue had a generall truce, wherein ſhould be comprehended ſuche confederates as euery one had out of *Italie*, and eſpecially the Duke of *Gueldres*, but the Agents of Themperor ſtoode obſtinately againſt it, for that he had determined the ruine of the ſayd Duke: They alleaged beſides, that the warre being managed wholly in *Italie*, it was neither iuſt nor neceſſarie to communicate of any other things then ſuch as touched *Italie*: wherein albeit the *Venetians* did what they coulde to haue ſatisfied the deſire of the Frenche king, yet ſeeing little hope to diſpoſe the *Almains*, they were contented to embrace the truce in ſorte as they had conſented, eſpecially for a deſire they had to deliuer themſelues of ſuche a warre which was nowe brought wholly vppon their eſtate, and no leſſe to confirme in their obedience by the commoditie of the truce for three yeres, the townes which they had conquered in thoſe ſtirres: They excuſed themſelues to the Frenche with theſe reaſons no leſſe true then iuſt, that neither the one nor the other of them beeing not further bound then for the defence of the matters of *Italie*, and their confederation beeing grounded therevpon, they had not to do to thinke vpon matters beyonde the Mountes, which if they were not bounde to defende with armes, they were not alſo bounde to deuiſe to aſſure them with the truce. Vpon this controuerſie *Triuulce* wrote into *Fraunce*, and the *Venetians* to *Venice*, whoſe Senate returned aunſwere, that if there could not be admiſſion of other conditions, that they ſhould at leaſt conclude the truce for *Italie*, onely reſeruing time and place for the Frenche king to enter: wherevnto albeit neither *Triuulce* nor the Preſident would not conſent, complayning greeuouſly that they woulde not ſo muche as tarie for the kings aunſwer, and that notwithſtanding the Preſident proteſted that a ioynt and common enterpriſe ſhould not be determined but by ioynt

and

and common consent, alleaging withall howe litle were respected the kings amitie and alliance, yet the *Venetians* forbare not to proceede and conclude with *Maximilian*, and the contract running simply in their proper names, they agreed that on the behalfe of *Maximilian* should be named and holden as comprehended and nominated, the Pope, the king Catholike, the king of Englande, the king of *Hungria*, and all the Princes and subiects of the sacred Empire in what place soeuer, together with all the confederates of *Maximilian* and the sayde kings and states of thempire, which should be named within three monethes: And for the *Venetians* were named the French king, the king Catholike, with all the confederates and friendes of the *Venetians*, of the French king, and king Catholike in *Italie* onely, whom they should likewise name within three moneths. Thus was the truce accorded the xx. day of Aprill, and with no lesse expedition ratified by the Emperour and the *Venetians*, by which meanes ceassed the warre, with great hope that the regions of *Italie* shoulde nowe returne to a perpetuall concorde and peace.

After armes were layde aside by the resolution and couenantes of this peace, it seemed to the Frenche king that the *Florentins* would haue declared themselues rather for Cæsar then for him, if Themperours affaires had had a more happie beginning: and knowing withall that that disposition proceeded of no other thing then of a desire they had to recouer *Pisa* in what sorte they coulde, and of a discontentment that without respecting they had bene alwayes at his deuotion, and in the seruices they had done him, he had not onely not fauoured them, neither with authoritie, countenance, nor armes, but also had suffred that the *Pisans* were succored by the *Genovvaies* that were his subiects: he determined in these regardes to deuise howe by some honest meane they might obteine that they desired: wherein for that (for the benefite of his former purposes) he woulde do it to his proper profite, and that he thought that feare would be a better meane then hope to drawe from them a greater summe, he dispatched *M. Riccio* to make complaint, first that they had sent men expresse to accord with Cæsar his enemie, that vnder cooler to giue the spoile to the *Pisans*, they had assembled a mightie armie, without hauing regarde to the conditions of the time, and his suspitions and daungers: that in so great a stirre and commotion which was prepared, they were neuer willing to expresse simply their intentions, wherin they gaue him iust occasion to doubt to what ende tended those preparations: And lastly, that hauing desired them to ayde him with their armies in so great perils, they refused it agaynst all confidence and expectation. All whiche notwithstanding, aswell for the perpetuall amitie which he had alwayes borne to their commonweale, as for the memorie of the good offices and obseruaunces they had done in tymes past for his seruice, he was very ready to pardon them all these newe iniuries, so farrefoorth, as to cut off all occasions that might eftsones trouble the tranquillitie of *Italie*, they would not hereafter molest the *Pisans* without his consent. To these complaynts the *Florentins* answered, that necessitie had induced them to sende men to Cæsar, not with any intention to couenant with him agaynst the king, but (if he passed into *Italie*) to assure their estate, which the king in the capitulation made with them woulde not be bounde to defende agaynst Cæsar, according to the testimonie of an expresse clause, bearing these wordes, *Sauing the rights of th'empire*: That he could not reasonably complayne of the armie leauied agaynst the *Pisans*, for that it beeing no greater then of custome, it ministred no iuste occasion of newe suspitions, and beeing assembled for no other effectes then (as in other times) to giue impedimentes to the harueste of the *Pisans*, there was no reaso-

nable cauſe of doubt, if mens iudgementes were as indifferent as the matter was innocent: That for ſuche a matter, and for the ſuccors which the *Genovvaies* & other neighbours gaue then to the *Piſans*, it was not poſſible for them to ſende their ſouldiours to the king, wherevnto albeit they were not bounde, yet for the deuotion they had alwayes borne to him, they woulde not haue ſtucke to haue done it, yea though they had not bene required: That they marueiled greatly at the kings deſire, that the *Piſans* ſhould not be moleſted, whome he had no reaſon to eſteeme or value with the *Florentins*, if he had any impreſſion of their actions agaynſt him in the rebellion of *Genes:* And that he could not iuſtly forbidde them to moleſt the *Piſans*, for that the confederation which they had made with him did ſo import and beare it. Vppon theſe beginnings they conſulted afterwardes to reduce *Piſa* vnder thobedience of the *Florentins:* wherevnto it ſeemed this did ſuffice, if order were giuen that neither the *Genovvaies* nor *Lucquois* ſhould ſuccor it in ſuche a neceſſitie of vittels and forces, that the *Piſans* durſt no more iſſue out of their towne: adioyning withall, for the loſſe of the harueſt, the yll diſpoſition of thoſe of the playne countrey, being in greater number then the Citizens: In ſo muche as it was beleeued that they coulde not holde out, if they receiued not from *Genovvay* and *Lucqua* certayne quantities of money, by meane of which ſuch as gouerned kept within *Piſa* certayne forreine ſouldiours, and diſtributing the reſidue to the young men aſwel of the towne as of the plaine countrey, they aſtoniſhed with the armes of thoſe, ſuch as deſired to accorde with the *Florentins*, keeping by that meane the towne in peace and free from mutinie. To this practiſe begon by the French king, was added thauthoritie of the king Catholike, ielouſe belike that without him ſuch a matter could worke no effect: and therefore aſſone as he vnderſtoode that *M. Riccio* was gone to *Florence*, he diſpatched alſo an Embaſſador, who going firſt to *Piſa*, encoraged them in the name of his king to take comfort and holde out: not for other reſpect, then that remayning wilfull and obſtinate to yeelde to the *Florentins*, they might be ſolde for a greater price. A litle after theſe enterſpeeches by conſent of both kings, were caried into the Court of the Frenche king, where, without any regarde to the protection ſo oftentimes promiſed, the king Catholike ſolicited with great importunitie the reſolution of that buſines, both for that he knewe that *Piſa* beeing not defended, would neceſſarily fall into the power of the *Florentins*, and alſo he had at that time no diſpoſition to entangle him ſelfe with newe affayres, and chiefly agaynſt the will of the Frenche king: for, notwithſtanding he had immediatly vpon his returning into *Spayne*, reſumed the gouernment of *Caſtillo*, yet he ſtoode not well confirmed in it, both for the ſeparate wills and inclinations of the Barons, and alſo they had not iuſtified his conſent in the name of his nephew: But after the cauſe of the *Piſans* had bene long debated in the court of *Fraunce*, diuerſitie of affections hindring the ſucceſſe: At laſt, for many difficulties which hapned, but principally for that both the kings ſought to appropriate to themſelues the price of the ſale of it, the practiſe was diſſolued without any forme of concluſion.

The ende of the ſeuenth booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE EIGHT BOOKE.

MOST of the Princes of Christendome dravve into league at Cambray against the Venetians, vvho being ouerthrovven by the Frenche king, render the tovvnes of the Churche, and make submission to the king of Romains. Pisa returneth to the obedience of the Florentins. The Venetians recouer the tovvne of Padua, vvhich is soone after besieged by Cæsar: Aftervvardes they make vvarre to the Duke of Ferrara. The Pope giues them absolution of the Church censures.

THE EIGHT BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE diuisions of *Italie* were not so tractable, as that they could be reconciled with little labour, nor the infirmities of the countrey so easie and priuate, as that they stoode subiect to be readdressed or recured with light medicines: But as it often hapneth, that in bodies repleniſhed with humors corrupt, the remedie that is applied to repurge the maladie of one parte, engendreth more daungerous infections: euen so the truce made betweene the king of *Romains* and the *Venetians*, in place of the vniuersall expectation of tranquillitie, brought foorth to the Potentates and Communalties of *Italie*, infinite calamities and cruelties of warre, farre exceeding the examples passed: for, notwithstanding the regions of *Italie* for fourteene yeres, had borne a perpetuall crosse of warres and mutations: yet, quarrells beeing oftentimes ended without effusion of blood, and battels and skirmishes falling for the moste parte vpon the straungers only, the peoples had lesse suffred then the princes, and the naturall regions muche spared from the bloudie miseries and actions of warre: But the gappe beeing opened to newe discordes in tyme to come, there followed throwout all *Italie*, and agaynst Thitalians themselues, a miserable trayne of many calamities and cruell accidents, infinite murders, sackings, destructions, and spoyles of cities, a libertie of warre no lesse offensiue to their friendes, then hurtfull to their enemies, and a lamentable violation of religion and all holy things, with lesse reuerence and respect, then if they were prophane and popular, the lawe and equitie of things being measured by the wils of the souldiours, and nothing iudged vnreasonable agaynst him that was hable to alleage authoritie, might, or will: fruites ordinarie following diuill discorde, and by so muche the more perillous and working, by how muche they happen in a second mutation, as all euils are more daungerous in a seconde degree then in the first. The cause of so many afflictions in a generall consideration was, thambition and couetousnesse of Princes, of whom many of them coulde not brooke any limitation of power, imperie, or kingdome: But if they be weighed in a particular consideration, they may be seene to take their beginning of the too rashe and insolent maner of proceeding of the *Venetians*, by occasion whereof were ceassed those difficulties

which till that time had holden in ſuſpence and impediments the French king, and Cæſar from agreeing together agaynſt them: of whome, the one beeing greatly kindled, they put him in diſpaire, and at the ſame time moued the other to no ſmall indignation, or at the leaſt gaue him meane to diſcloſe vnder an apparant coolour, that which he had long deſyred: for Cæſar, beeing netled by ſo many infamies and harmes receiued, loaſing part of his proper inheritaunce, in place to conquer the-ſtates of others, was not to omit any oportunitie wherein occaſion might be giuen him to recouer or repayre ſo great ſlaunders and loſſes: A diſpoſition which the *Venetians* vndiſcretly increaſed a newe, ſince the making of the truce: for that not ſparing to aggrauate his indignation no leſſe with vayne demonſtrations then worſe effects, they receyued into *Venice Aluiano* with publike pompe, almoſt reſembling a ceremonial triumph. And the French king, albeit at the beginning he gaue a certen hope to ratifie the truce that was made, yet expreſſing afterwardes the diſcontentment he tooke, he complayned of the preſumption of the *Venetians* to name him and include him as adherent, and prouiding for their proper tranquillitie, to giue him ouer and leaue him in the cares and trauels of the warre.

Theſe diſpoſitions of minde both of the one and the other, began to burſt out into ſpeedie and manyfeſt experience: for Cæſar hauing no further confidence in his proper forces, and leſſe expectation that the Princes or peoples of *Germanie* would take to heart the iniuries that had bene done to him, made as though he had a deſire to confederate with the French king agaynſt the *Venetians*, as the onely remedie to recouer eſtſones the honor and eſtates he had loſt: And the French king, following the courſe and oportunitie of the tyme, noriſhed the ſame inclination, the new diſdayne renewing in him the memorie of ancient offences receiued in the warrs of *Naples*, enterteining alſo a working deſire to draw out of their hands *Cremona*, & other townes of the auncient poſſeſſions of the dukes of *Millan:* Therefore to thende that in remouing the impediments of things inferiour, they might withall procede to thoſe of higher degree, they began to debate how to reſolue the quarels betwene tharchduke and the duke of *Gueldres*, whoſe ſafetie the Frenche king helde muche for recommended, for thauncient alliance and commodities he had receyued by him: The Pope did alſo communicate in this motion, ſtirring vp at the ſame tyme the French king agaynſt the *Venetians*, beeing, beſides the auncient indignations newly kindled and made hatefull agaynſt them for an opinion he had that by their meanes the exiles of *Furly*, who were retired to *Faenza*, had made a tryall to enter that Citie, hauing withall receiued into their dominions the familie of *Bentyuoleis* chaſed by the king out of the duchy of *Millan*. To theſe was added this imputation, that in many things they had borne ſlender regarde to the authoritie of the court of *Rome*, and of late experience had ſlenderly reſpected it in this, which troubled not a litle the Popes minde: the Pope had tranſlated the Biſhoprike of *Vincenſe*, vacant by the death of the Cardinall *S. P. ad Vincla* his nephew, to *Sixtus* his nephew alſo ſuborned by him into the dignitie of Cardinall, and to thoſe benefices. But the Senate of *Venice*, making ſmall reckoning of this collation, choaſe a gentleman of *Venice*, who, the Pope refuſing to confirme him, tooke boldnes to name him ſelfe Biſhop of *Vincenſe* of the election of the moſte excellent counſell of the *Pregati:* But the Pope beeing not a little kindled for theſe obſtinacies, diſpatched firſt to the king, *Maximus* ſecretarie to the Cardinall of *Narbona*, and afterwards the Cardinall himſelfe, who newly ſucceding the late Cardinall of *Achx* in his Biſhoprike, was called the Cardinall of *Achx*: They were willingly receiued and heard of the king,

and

and brought backe with them the deuise of many meanes and plottes to put in execution that which he desired both without themperour, and without any confederacie with him. But the Pope shewed a more inclination to complayne, then to determine any thing, for that on the one side, the vnquiet desire he had to make armes to be leauyed agaynst the *Venetians* troubled his minde, and on the other, he seemed fearefull to be constrayned to depende too muche of the greatnes of an other: but muche more was he moued by an auncient ielousie he had taken agaynst the Cardinall of *Amboyse*, in whose respect it seemed greeuous to him that the armies of the French king should passe into *Italie*: Besides, thaffaires of greatest importance were somewhat troubled by the late presumption of the Pope, disposing a litle before without the kings knowledge, the Byshoprikes of *Ast* and *Plaisance*, and withall, for that the king resisted the newe Cardinall of *S. P. ad Vincla*, to whom by the death of thother, the riche Abbey of *Cleruault* neere to *Millan* was transferred, to take possession of it: so irresolute was the Pope, wandring betwene feare and ambition, and so inconstant the Frenche king, obseruing to make his profite on the trayne & euent of things: for, albeit the Pope coulde not bee resolued amyd so many difficulties, yet in the end the French king and Cæsar, both applying with the course and oportunities of times, determined to communicate secretly together agaynst the *Venetians*, wherein for the better countenance and coolour to the action, and withall to giue perfection to those things that should be debated, there assembled in the towne of *Cambray* for Cæsar, the Lady *Margaret* his daughter Regent of *Flaunders* and of those other estates which were discended to king *Phillip* by the mothers right, assisted for the regarde of this action by *Mathevve Longo* a secretarie of great credite with Cæsar: And for the French king, was sent the Cardinall of *Amboyse*, followed with certayne other particulars, rather to furnishe his trayne, then to communicate in thaction: They caused to publishe a brute that these estates assembled to solicit a peace betwene tharchduke & duke of *Gueldres*, betwene whom they had set downe a truce for fortie yeeres: And keeping alwayes vnknowen from the *Venetians* the true occasion, the Cardinal assured by great othes to their Embassador, that his king would continue in the confederation he had with them, wherein also the Embassador of the king of *Aragon* folowed him, rather not denying then graunting, for that albeit that king was the first mouer of these conferences betwene themperour and the French king, yet hauing continuation afterwards without him, both the one and other of them, were perswaded that the prosperitie of the French king would be intollerable to him, and as touching the gouernment of *Castillo*, would holde for suspected the greatnes of Cæsar, and therefore his thoughtes in that action were not conformable to his words.

Thassembly of Cambray.

At *Cambray* things were resolued in very few dayes, without cõmunicating with thembassador of the king Catholike, till after the conclusion, which the tenth daye of December was solemnly confirmed in the great Church, with the othes of Lady *Margaret*, the Cardinall of *Amboyse*, and the Spanishe Embassador. In this publication they expressed nothing, but that there was established betwene the Pope and eyther of those Princes a perpetuall peace and confederation: but in Articles more priuate and secrete, were conteined clauses of right great importance, which being full of ambition, and wholly contrarie to the couenauntes whiche Cæsar and the French king had with the *Venetians*, were couered with a preamble full of great pietie, and affection to religion, as though the diuersitie of words were sufficient to alter and chaunge the effects of things. It was expressed in that preamble, that, for a

common desire to beginne a warre agaynst the enemies of the name of Christ, and thimpedimentes which the *Venetians* had giuen, occupying ambitiously the landes of the Church, which nowe they ment to remoue, to proceede with better consent and agreement to so holy and necessarie an expedition: And by the perswasions and counsels of the Pope, the Cardinall of *Amboyse* as his procurer, and with his authoritie, and as deputed and authorised by the French king, and by the personall solicitation of Lady *Margaret* assigned and authorised by the king of *Romains*, and as gouernes to tharchduke and thestates of *Flaunders:* And lastly by the consent of thembassador of the king of *Aragon* as fully appoynted by his king: they were resolued to make warre vpon the *Venetians*, euery one in his owne right to recouer the thinges they had vsurped vpon them, which for the Pope were *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Rauenna*, and *Ceruia:* for the king of *Romains*, *Padua*, *Vincensa*, and *Verona* apperteining to him in the name of Thempire, and the places of *Friul* and *Treuisan*, beeing percell of thinheritance of the house of *Austria:* for the French king were *Cremona*, *Quiaradada*, *Bresse*, *Bergama*, and *Crema:* and for the regarde of the king of *Aragon*, were the townes and hauens which had bene morgaged by *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*. Tharticles were these: that the French king was bounde to the warre in person, and to giue the first reall beginning the first day of the next Aprill, at what tyme also the Pope and the king Catholike should enter into the action: That to thende the king of *Romains* should haue iust cause not to obserue the truce that was made, the Pope should demaunde succors of him as of the protector of the Churche, and that after that the king of *Romains* should sende to him at the least a Capteine, and should be bounde fortie dayes after the French king had begonne the warre, to inuade thestates of the *Venetians* in person: That which soeuer of them should recouer that which apperteined to him, should be bound to minister ayde to the others, till they had made a full and sufficient recouerie: That they were all bound to defende one another, in case the *Venetians* offred to oppresse them for any places that were recouered, and not one of them in particular should compoũd or agree with the *Venetians* without a common consent: that the Duke of *Ferrara*, and Marquis of *Mantua*, and who els would pretend the *Venetians* to vsurpe any place of theirs, had libertie to be named in the league within three moneths: and being once named, to enioy all the benefits and fauours of the confederation in as full power and nature as the principalles of the same, communicating with the fulnesse of authoritie for the reconquering of those things that they had loste: That the Pope should sommon the *Venetians* vnder great paynes and curses, to make restitution of suche things as they occupied of the Church: That he should be iudge betweene *Bianca Maria* the king of *Romains* wife, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, touching the contention for an inheritance and succession of *Anna* her sister, and sometimes wife to the sayd Duke: That Cæsar should inuest the French king in the duchie of *Millan*, for him selfe, *Frauncis d'Angoulesme*, and to their issue males, for whiche inuestiture the Frenche should paye to him an hundred thousande duckets: That Cæsar and the Archduke should not during the warre and six monethes after, make any innouation agaynst the king Catholike for any respect of the gouernment and titles of the realmes of *Castillo:* That the Pope should exhort the king of *Vngria* to enter into the confederation: That euery one should name within foure monethes his confederates and adherentes, excepting expresly to comprehende the *Venetians* and the subiects freeholders of the confederates, and that euery principall partie in the contract, should ratifie all these articles within threescore dayes next following: To this vniuersall league was adioyned

ned the particular accorde betweene Tharchduke and the Duke of *Gueldres*, wherin was agreed that reſtitution ſhoulde be made of thoſe townes that were taken vppon Tharchduke in this warre, but not in lyke ſorte of ſuche as were taken vppon the Duke.

Aſſone as this newe confederation was concluded in this ſorte, (all things that concerned the *Venetians* being kept as ſecret as might be) the Cardinall of *Amboyſe* departed the day folowing from *Cambray:* the Biſhop of *Paris* and *Albert Pio Counte* of *Carpi* being firſt ſent to the king of *Romains* to receiue his ratification in the name of the French king: he made no delay to confirme al the articles with the ſame othe & forme of ſolemnities with the which it was publiſhed in the Church of *Cambray*, holding it but iuſt to ratifie the thing that ſo much tended to the confirmation of his eſtate and ſecuritie, as he helde it equall and reaſonable to iuſtifie that by publike approbation, which he had ſo long ſolicited by priuate deſire and intention: it is moſt certayne, that albeit the wordes of the publication bare, that thauthoritie of the Pope and king of *Aragon* did communicate in it, yet the confederation was made merely without their aſſiſtance and conſent: An action which Cæſar and the French king tooke wholly vpon themſelues, not doubting of the Popes and king of *Aragons* conſent, partly in regarde of their proper profite, and partly for that according to the eſtate and condition of things preſent, neither of them both durſt gainſay their authoritie, and particularly the king of *Aragon*, to whome albeit the Articles in their due conſtruction ſeemed both ielouſe and intollerable, for that fearing leaſt the greatnes of the Frenche king would encreaſe to muche, he preferred the ſuretie of the whole kingdome of *Naples* afore the recouering of one part which was holden by the *Venetians:* yet, expreſſing cunningly a readines diſſembled, and an inclination cõtrarie to the intentions of his mind, he made preſent ratification with the ſame ceremonies which the others vſed. But touching the Pope, he made a farre more doubt of things, wandring according to his cuſtome betwene a deſire to recouer the townes of *Romania*, ioyned to a diſdaine againſt the *Venetians*, and a troubleſome feare of the greatnes of the French king: he ſawe not howe dangerous it was to him for the power of Cæſar to begin to ſtretch farre in *Italie*, and therefore ſeeming that it was more for his profite to obteine by accorde part of that he deſired, then to recouer the whole by warre and ſword: He labored to induce the *Venetians* to render to him *Rimini* and *Faenza:* wherein he forgat not to laye afore them that thoſe daungers which threatned them by the vnion of ſo many Princes, would be of greater terror and importance, if he were concurrant with them in the confederation, as to whoſe authoritie and place it belonged to purſue them with armes ſpirituall and temporall: where, if they rendred the townes which they had taken vpon the Church ſince he was Pope, by which meanes he ſhould make a ioynt recouerie of honor & eſtates, he ſhould haue iuſt occaſion not to ratifie that whervnto he had no intereſt either in aſſiſtance, conſent, or authoritie: he debated with them that as the confederation communicating nothing with the holy and ſupreme authoritie woulde eaſily diſſolue and vaniſhe, hauing in it ſelfe many difficulties: ſo he ſayde it was not reaſonable they ſhould doubt that he would not vrge to thuttermoſt his authoritie and induſtrie to keepe repreſſed in *Italie* the power of ſtraungers, which brought no leſſe perill to the ſea Apoſtolike, then to their ſtate. In this perſwaſion he omitted nothing that might make aduaunced his cauſe, which he followed no leſſe with his authoritie and eloquence, then with liberalities and offers: Matters that moue not the leaſt in a caſe of perſwaſion, carying as they liſte

the minds of men affecting ambition or worldly desires. The Senat drew to counsel vpon this demaunde, some iudging it a thing of great importance, to separate the Pope from Cæsar and the French king, and others thought it an action vnworthy, and not sufficient to turne away the warre: At last, as in matters of debate and controuersie, opinion oftentimes commaundes reason, so the faction of suche as gaue the best counsell had caried it, had not bene the reasons and perswasions of *D. Treuisan* a Senator of great authoritie, and one of the procurers of the riche temple of *S. Marke*, an honor next to the dignitie of the Duke, of highest respect and reputation in the common weale of *Venice*: he discoursed with reasons ful of efficacie and authoritie, that it was an action contrarie to the dignitie & profit of that renowmed cõmon weale, to restore those townes which the Pope required, and that the estate of their dangers would neither much encrease or diminish for the coniunction or separation of him from the other confederates: for, albeit in the negociation of the accord they had vsed the Popes name, perhaps to make their cause seeme lesse dishoneſt, yet in effect they had agreed without him, hauing no necessitie of his consent and priuitie, and therfore would become neither the more colde nor the more hotte in the execution of things they had concluded: Of the contrarie, the armes of the Pope were not of that valor and importance, as to driue them to buy at so great a price the disposing of the same: seeing that albeit they should be assayled at one selfe time by the others, yet they might easily with a very slender garrison defende those cities which the regiments of the Church (the very dishonor of souldiers & men of seruice) were not sufficient to take of themselues, & much lesse import much as touching the substance of the warre: he sayd, that in the stirres and heates of temporall armes, men did litle respect either the reuerence or threatnings of armes spirituall, which they ought not to feare to be more able to hurt them in that warre, then they had done in many others, namely in the expedition agaynst *Ferrara*: In which the armes of the Churche coulde not let that they obteined not a peace honorable for them, and infamous for the residue of *Italie*, which with one vniuersall accorde, & in a time wherin it florished most with riches, power, and valour, was banded wholly agaynst them: And in reason & concordance of causes he alleaged, that it was not likely that the almightie & omnipotent God would suffer that the effects of his sueritie and his mercy, of his anger and his peace, should rest in the distribution and power of a man ambitious and proude, and by his subiection to wine, with many other dishoneſt & immoderat affections, would administer them not according to the consideration of iustice, & benefite of Christendome, but as he was pushed on with his vile, corrupt, and intemperat humors: Besides, he sawe not by what reason they might hope for a greater constancie of fayth in this Pope then in others his elders and predecessors, making for the most parte their authoritie subiect to their ambition, and their counsels alwayes running with the concurrance and course of times: Neither could he discerne howe they might be assured that the Pope hauing obteined *Faenza* & *Rimini*, would not knit with the residue to recouer *Rauenna* & *Ceruia*, hauing a minde specially watchefull ouer oportunities and occasions giuen: That the experience of his actions and examples past, proued in him no greater staye or stabilitie of fayth, then agreed with the custome of other Popes, who, to giue a coollour of iustice and equitie to those thinges they dyd, lefte ordeined amongst their other lawes, that the Churche, notwithstanding all contract, promise, and benefites receyued, might retract and directly impugne any bondes or obligations which the selfe prelates had made: He alleaged that albeit the confederation

Deliberation of the Venetians.

betwene

betwene *Maximilian* & the French king was made with a great vehemencie of disposition, yet the willes and intentions of the other confederates did varie and differ, the king Catholike being brought in by meanes compulsiue and extraordinarie, and the Pope well expressing signes of his accustomed doubtes and suspitions: And therfore the league of *Cambray* was not more to be feared, then the confederacie which the same *Maximilian* & king *Lovvis* had with the same importunitie treated aforetimes at *Trent*, & afterwards at *Blois*: for that many difficulties, which for their affinitie and nature, it was almost impossible to remoue or alter, did mightily resist thexecution of things determined: That for those reasons it touched the Senate in principal study, & diligẽce to deuise meanes to separat Cæsar frõ such coniunction: A matter of easie hope & expectation, no lesse for the respect of his nature and necessities, then for his auncient hatred agaynst the French: and beeing once deuided from it, the whole feares of the warre were taken away, for that the french king standing abandoned of his society and succors, would beare no more stomack to inuade them then he had done in times past: That in al publike actions the beginning ought depely to be considered, since afterwards it was not in the power of men to temporise or leaue of without dishonor and danger to their deliberations, wherin they had long consulted: That as their elders, so they by succession, had bene alwayes carefull in all occasions to augment their dominion, and with a discloſed & open profession to aspire to great things: A matter which made them hatefull to many, partly for feare, and partly for displeasure & disdaine of that they had taken from them: wherin albeit it hath bene perceiued long time before, that that hatred might engender some great alteration, yet, as they haue not for all that forborne to embrace thoccasions that had bene offred them, so it was not nowe a remedie to the daungers present, to beginne to leaue a part of that they did possesse, since it woulde rather kindle then quenche the humors of those that hated them, taking courage vppon their fearefulnes: And seeing it hath bene a perpetuall *Maxime* amongst the Potentates of *Italie*, that the *Venetians* neuer forsaked thinges that once were falne into their handes, who woulde not iudge that to breake nowe so honorable a custome, proceeded not of a laste dispaire to be hable to defende the perills that threatned: That whosoeuer began to giue place and leaue any thing howe little soeuer, was the first detector of the reputation and auncient honor of his common weale, which as it is a readie oportunitie to thaugmentation of daungers, so to that state that beginnes to decline, it is farre more harde to conserue agaynst the least perills that be, that which remaynes, then agaynst an other state, who caring to keepe his dignitie and degree, and making no signe to yeelde or giue place, conuertes his force readily against him that seekes to oppresse him: Vallour and courage reteine long those things that of themselues are weake and impotent: and as nothing doth more terrifie the enemie then to seeme to be resolute, so to holde faste that that hath bene gotten, is a cooler iustificatorie to enhable the tytle and interest of the thing: There can be no greater infamie to a prince or common weale, then by negligence or cowardise to lose that whiche their aunceſtors haue gotten with diligence and valour: That it was necessarie eyther to reiect valiantly those first demaundes, or in yelding to them, to looke to yeelde to many more, by which in short time is to be expected the absolute subuersion of their estate, and by consequent the irreparable losse of their proper libertie: That as their common weale both in the ages of their fathers, and in their dayes, had borne out many great warres agaynst the Princes of Christendome, of which they caried a glorious issue, for that they always shewed

one constancie and resolution of minde: so,in the present difficulties, notwithstanding they may seeme greater, may be hoped no worse succesſe, both for that their power and authoritie were greater,and also by experience that in warres managed in common by many princes agaynst one alone,the terrors are wont to be more thē theffects,for that after the first furies be abated & banished,there riseth diuersitie of opinion,which breedeth variation of faith and constancie,all things dissoluing with a naturall facilitie,that grow into their being with an inmoderate importunitie and fury:Lastly,that Senat was to hope,that besides the preparations & remedies which of their owne power they were hable to furnishe,God the most soueraigne & righteous iudge,would not leaue abandoned a cōmon weale bred and norished in a perpetuall libertie,and in whom did shine the very beautie and aspect of all *Europe:* and muche lesse would suffer to be oppressed with thambition of Princes vnder a false cooler to prepare warre agaynst the infidels, that citie, which in so great pietie and religion, had bene for many yeeres the very protector and defender of the whole common weale of Christendome. These reasons so wrought in the mindes of the most part,that according to thexample of the yere before,and being a thing fatal to that Senat,the worst counsell preuayled, contrarie to thopinions of many Senators of greatest wisdome and authoritie: In so much as the Pope, who had deferred the ratification till the last day, ratified the league, but vnder this expresse declaration, that he would not enter into any action of an enemie agaynst the *Venetians*, vntill the French king had begon the warre.

The Pope ratifieth the treatise of Cambray.

Thus the yere 1508. ended with many sedes of great warrs, & fundations subtelly laied of many dangerous accidēts & mutations, which be the wretched & ordinary traynes of ambition,diuision,& secret hates. About this time also thaffaires of the *Pisans* suffering of late many declinations,seemed dayly to diuolue more and more into harder &straiter tearmes: for,besides that the *Florentins* the sōmer before,had cut downe their corne,and with their men at armes made cōtinuall incursions vpon the townes adioyning,euen to the gates of *Pisa:* yet, the better to cut of all passage and traffike of vittels by sea,they enterteined in their pay the sonne of *Bardell* of *Portouenere* with certen proportions of vessels: by which impediment, the *Pisans* standing as it were besieged both by sea & land,and not hable by reason of their pouertie and afflictions,to refurnish themselues neither with vessels nor forrein souldiers, found themselues in great dispaire to holde out any longer,being very weakely succored by their neighbors. And yet as God seldome giueth so greeuous a sentence of thestate of mans mortalitie,as to deny al compassiō to men in miserie: so the *Genovvaies* & *Lucquois* owing pitie to the afflictions of their neighbors,consulted to conuey into *Pisa* certaine quantities of corne,which being fraughted in a great number of Barkes,folowed with two shippes of *Genes*, and two gallions,were transported to *Spetia*,& from thence to *Voreggia*, to thende they might be conueyed into *Pisa* with fourtene brigantins,and certen smal barkes,according to the direction of the *Pisans:* But the *Florentins* seking to oppose against this enterprise,as wherin consisted their hope or dispaire to get *Pisa* for that yere, they ioyned to the nauy they had alredy, a ship of *England*, happly riding in the roade of *Lyuorno*,with certein other fustes and brigantins: And to minister to the Nauy at sea with all the succours and preparations they could make by lande, they sent all the horsemen, with a great portion of the footemen which were hastily leauyed in the Countrey, along all those passages and shoares by the which the Nauy of thenemie might runne the course of *Pisa*, either by the mouth of *Arna*, or the ryuer called the dead Floodde entering into

A cōtinuation of the vvarrs of Pisa.

Arna:

Arna: The enemies ariued at the mouth of *Arna*, and the *Florentin* veſſels lying betwene the mouth and the dead ryuer, and the Landmen commaunding all the apte places, had planted their artilleries aſwell on this ſide as beyonde the brinke of the ryuer by the which they ſhould paſſe: In ſo muche as they ſeeing no poſſibilitie to paſſe further, retyred into the ryuer of *Genes*, with the loſſe of three brigantins laden with wheat. By thoccaſion of which ſucceſſe, the victorie ſeeming almoſt certayne for want of vittels, the *Florentins* to take away all oportunities for vittels to enter by the riuer, made a bridge of wood vpon *Arna*, which they fortified with baſtillions on both ſides the banks: And as when afflictions begin to fall, they thunder all at once, aduerſities hauing this in proper, not onely to oppreſſe, but alſo to depriue miſerable men of ordinarie comfort: ſo, in the ſame time, to cut of all ſuccours of their neighbours, the *Florentins* fell to compoſition with them of *Lucquay:* for, hauing aforetime, to repreſſe their inſolencies, ſent part of their footebandes that were within *Caſcina*, to ſacke the hauen of *Voregge* and the ſtorehouſes, wherein were many ſortes of ſilkes belonging to the marchantes of *Lucquay:* The inhabitants of *Lucquay* made timerous by thoſe rigorous exãples, ſent their Embaſſadors to *Florence*, where was accorded, that betwene both their common weales, there ſhould be a confederation defenſiue for three yeres, the *Lucquois* beeing namely and expreſly excluded from all power any more to ſuccor the *Piſans*. This confederation to be continued for twelue yeres further, if the *Florentins* ſhould recouer *Piſa* within a yere: and that during the tearme of this league, the *Florentins* (alway reſeruing the prerogatiue of their rights) ſhould not moleſt the ſtate of *Lucquay*, touching the poſſeſſion of *Pietra Sancta* and *Mutron*, A league opening the principall gap to the ruine of the *Piſans:* But that which was of greateſt importance to make eaſie the conqueſt of *Piſa*, was the capitulation which they made with the kings Catholike & French, which being ſolicited many moneths, had ſuffred many difficulties: for, the *Florentins*, by the experience of things paſt, feared leaſt it were a meane to draw from them a great quantitie of money, and yet the affaires of *Piſa* to continue in the ſame degree: and on the other part, the French interpreted that they deferred cunningly, in hope that the *Piſans* would make a willing reſtitution, their extremities beeing deſperate and nowe layde open to all men: The French king, vnwilling that they ſhould recouer it, vnles he did cõmunicat in the price, cõmaunded *Bardell* his ſubiect to leaue their pay, and to *Monſr Chaumont* to diſpatch from *Millan* ſix hundred launces for the ſuccors of the *Piſans:* which ioyned to other actions of feare and ſuſpition, occupied the *Florentins* with ſuch perplexities, that ceaſſing all difficulties, they entred couenant in this maner: That the French king & king Catholike ſhould giue no aide nor ſupport to the *Piſans*, & alſo to forbid that frõ no places of their ſubiection & obedience, nor likewiſe frõ any their confederats or others vnder their protection, ſhould enter into *Piſa* any ſuccors of vittels, money, munition or men, nor any other nature of releefe whatſoeuer: That the *Florentins* ſo farforth as *Piſa* were recouered within a yere following, ſhould pay to eyther of them within a certeine time fifty thouſand duckets: And that in the ſame condition there ſhould continue betwene them a league for three yeres, frõ the day that they recõquered *Piſa*. In conſideration of which league the *Florentins* ſhould be bounde to defende with three hundred men at armes the eſtates that they helde in *Italie*, receiuing in like ſort for their defence, of either of thẽ a proportion of three hundred men at armes. To this capitulation made in cõmon, it was neceſſarie for the *Florentins* to adde (without the priuitie of the king Catholike) newe bonds to pay to the French king vnder the ſame conditions and tearmes,

Contract betwene the French king, king of Spaine and the Florentins,

fiftie thousande duckets, promising withall fiue and twentie thousande more to the ministers of both the kings, of which the greateſt portion was to be distributed at the discretion of the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*. Theſe couenantes albeit they were heauie and costly to the *Florentins*, yet, in the opinion of men, they brought no lesse infamie to both the kings: the one for money abandoning the citie which many times he had assured to be in his protection, and which being willingly offred to him, the *great Capteine* had accepted in his name: And the other contrarie to the reputation of so many promises made to the *Florentins*, both solde for a vyle price the iuste libertie of the *Pisans*, and constrayned the *Florentins* to buy of him the power and sufferaunce to recouer that which iustly apperteined to them: So mightie now a dayes « is the force of golde and siluer, aboue the regarde to honor, honestie, or conscience: « And so weake is the resistance of Princes agaynst the working of that enchaunted « humor of couetousnes, the subuerter of all honor, equitie, and honest regarde.

The French king prepareth agaynst the Venetians

But the affaires of the *Pisans*, vpon whom all *Italie* was wont afore to turne their eyes, were in this time of slender consideration, for that the mindes of men depended on thexpectation of greater things: for, after the league of *Cambray* was ratified by all the confederates, the French king began to make great preparations: And albeit he vsed not as yet any protestations or threates of warre, yet matters beeing no longer hable to be dissembled, the Cardinall of *Amboyſe* in the presence of the whole councell, complained with vehement words to thembassador of *Venice*, for that that Senate, despising the alliance and amitie of the king, caused to fortifie the Abbey of *Cerreta* in the territories of *Crema*, wherin had bene of olde time a Castel which was rased by the capitulations of peace in the yere 1454. made betweene the *Venetians* and *Frauncis Sforce* newly duke of *Millan*, with couenaunt that the *Venetians* should in no time make fortresse there: to the capitulations of which peace, was referred in this and in many other things, the peace made betwene them and the king. But now the king being within fewe dayes after come to *Lyon*, his regimentes marched towards the mountes, and six thousande *Svvizzers* leauied and payed by him, prepared to discende at the same time into *Italie*: he obtained also of the *Genovvaies*, foure Carrakes, and of the *Florentins* fiftie thousande duckets, beeing his moytie which they should pay vpon the conquest of *Pisa*: And ioyning to the aydes of others, his owne succors, he leauyed vppon the duchie of *Millan*, (desirous to repossesse the townes which the *Venetians* helde) an hundred thousande duckets, besides the honorable deuotion of many particular gentlemen and free holders of that state, furnishing them selues with horses and armes, to accompanie the kings person in the warre.

The Venetiãs looke to them selues.

On the other side, the *Venetians* prepared in one common and resolute courage, to receiue and sustaine so great a warre, labouring with money, with authoritie, and with the whole countenance and body of their territories, to leauie prouisions worthy of so great a common weale: wherein their diligence was so muche the more importunate and resolute, by howmuch it seemed likely, that if they sustayned the first brunt or furie, the league of the Princes so yll composed and worse confirmed, would easily decline and dissolue: In which actions (to the glory of that Senate) was well expressed in those that afore had counselled in vayne to gouerne their good fortune modestly, the selfe same vehemencie of minde which had bene vttered by the others that had bene authors of the contrarie: for that preferring publike safety afore priuate ambition, they sought not the increasing of their authoritie in reproching to others their preiudiciall counsells, nor in obiecting agaynst the remedies

which

which were ordeined to the perils hapned by their indiſcreſſion: And yet conſidering that almoſt all the regions of Chriſtendome were banded agaynſt them, they ſommoned together all their wittes to breake ſo great a league, repenting euen now that they ſo lightly reiected thoccaſion to deuide the Pope from the reſt, hoping that he woulde not haue ſtirred, if onely they had made reſtitution of *Faenza:* In which regard, ioyned to the conſideration of their preſent condition and eſtate, they renewed with him the firſt negociation, and withall diſpatched meſſangers to Cæſar and the king Catholike, forbearing to make any practiſe with the Frenche king, in whom, what for hatred and other hindring reſpects, they had no hope of diſpoſition to conformitie: But the Pope had no power nowe to accept that whiche he had deſired afore: ſo vayne is the ſeconde offer of things that haue bene once refuſed: The king Catholike, though he had no want of will and inclination, yet he was vnhable to range the reſidue: ſo little power is left to him that is drawen into action by compulſion: And Cæſar poſſeſſed with a ſpirite of enuy againſt the name of *Venice*, would not onely not agree, but alſo diſdayned to vnderſtande with what nature of offers they tempted him, refuſing to ſee their ſecretarie whom they had ſent to him with very large commiſſions: In ſo much as beholding on all ſides nothing but a face of aduerſitie accompanied with a ſetled indignation of Princes, they diſpoſed all their deuiſes and ſtudies to defende themſelues by armes, enterteining frō all Regions great proportions of horſemen and footemen, and armed many veſſels to garde the ſhoares of *Romagnia*, and the townes of *Povvilla*, and to thruſt into the lake of *Guarda*, and ryuer of *Po*, with other places by the which they feared to be moleſted by the Duke of *Ferrara* and Marquis of *Mantua*. But beſides the threates of men, they were aſtoniſhed with many aduentures eyther fatall or accidentall: for, a ſmall barke which they had ſent to tranſport money to *Rauenna*, was drowned with ten thouſand duckets: the caſtell of *Breſſe* was ſtriken with lightning: and the houſe where lay the charters of their common weale called *Tharchiuio*, fell ſodenly to the ground with a wonderfull ruine: But that which moſt filled them with feare & perplexity, was at the ſame time, & in the very houre that the great Counſel aſſembled, a fire kindled eyther by chaunce, or by ſome ſecrete treaſon, in their ſtoare houſe called the *Arzenale*, euen in the rometh where was their ſaltpeter: which burſt out with ſuche furie, that notwithſtanding the concourſe of men labouring with an vniuerſall diligence to quench it, yet, what by the force of the winde and nature of the matter proper to nouriſh and encreaſe fire, it conſumed to aſhes twelue bodies of gallies, with a wonderfull quantitie of munitions. This was alſo added to their difficulties, that hauing enterteined *Iulio* and *Ranſe Vrſins*, and *Troillo Sauello* with fiue hundred men at armes, and three thouſande footemen, the Pope, with ſeuere commaundementes as being ſubiects of the Church, compelled them not to depart out of the towne of *Rome:* inducing them withall, to retayne ſtill fifteene thouſand duckets, which they had receiued in preſt for their payes, promiſing to abate ſo muche of the debtes which the *Venetians* ought to the ſea Apoſtolike, for the frutes which they had receyued of the townes of *Romagnia*. The cheefe care of the *Venetians* was to prepare and make themſelues ſtrong on that ſide by the which the Frenche king was to make his enterpriſe, but they heard not of him neither ſo ſoone as they looked for, nor ſo mightily as the opinion went: for that from the king of *Aragon*, notwithſtanding he had made great promiſes to the other confederates, appeared only brutes and demonſtrations according to his cuſtome, executing nothing that was of any conſequence: And Cæſar being gone into *Flaunders* to induce the ſubiectes

The ordenāce houſe of Venice on fire.

of his ſonne in lawe to make ſome contribution of money, it was beleued that he could not begin the warre ſo ſone as he had promiſed, beſides, it was ſuppoſed that the Pope hoping more in the victorie of others, then in his owne ſtrength, would be gouerned according to the proceedings of the confederates: It was not doubted that the French king would make his firſt action vpon *Guiaradada*, paſſing the ryuer of *Adda* neare *Caſcina*, and therefore the *Venetian* armie aſſembled at *Pontuique* vpon the ryuer of *Oglia*, the *Count Petillano* being their generall, and *Bartlemevve Aluiano* gouernour, and Commiſſioners in the name of the Senate, *George Cornato* and *Andrea Gritti*, gentlemen muche renowmed and honorable, aſwell for their ordinarie qualities, as for the glories they had wonne the yere before, the one returning victorious from *Friul*, and the other for expulſing the *Almains* from *Rouera*: Theſe two debating in what ſort the warre ſhould be managed, had not onely opinions diuers, but alſo euen betwene the generall and gouernor were contentions and ſeparation of councell: for, *Aluiano* beeing of a minde ſtirring, and made prowde by his fortunes of the yere before, apt to embrace occaſions, and of a wonderfull celeritie both to conſult and execute, perſwaded, that to plant rather the body of the warre in the countrey of thenemie, then to expect till it were transferred to their territories, it were good to make an inuaſion vpon the duchie of *Millan* before the French paſte into *Italie*: But the *Counte Petillano*, either for that the reſolution of his minde was abated by age (as *Aluiano* ſayd) or by his long experience conſidering with a deeper diſcretion the daungers that might happen, and not willing to tempt fortune without a manyfeſt hope of victorie, gaue this counſell: that diſpiſing the loſſe of the townes of *Guiaradada*, which imported not muche for theffect of the warre, the armie might encampe neare the towne of *Orci*, according to thexamples of *Frauncis Carmignole* and *Iames Piccinin*, capteines of great vertue and name in the warres betwene the *Venetians* and the *Millanois*: he alleaged that the place was ſtrong, hauing his ſituation betwene the ryuers of *Oglia* and *Seria*, and of ſingular oportunitie to ſuccour all the townes of the iuriſdiction of *Venice*, for that if the French men charged them in ſuch a nature & ſtrēgth of place, they nede not doubt an aſſured victorie, thopportunitie of the place miniſtring muche to thaction: But if they encamped at *Cremona*, or at *Crema*, or at *Bergama*, or at *Breſſe*, they might (for the defence of them) draw neare with tharmie into a place of ſuretie, and with their trowpes of light horſemen and eſtradiots, cut off their vittels and other commodities: A thing which as it would let them for taking any place of importance, ſo by this meane, without committing themſelues to the ſentence of fortune, the ſtate of *Venice* might be eaſily defended agaynſt ſo mighty a preparation of the french king. Of theſe counſels, neither the one nor the other was approued of the Senat: to the opinion of *Aluiano* was referred too muche raſhnes and boldnes: daungerous humors to direct a great enterpriſe, and in the Generall was noted too muche fearfulneſſe, not conſidering the nature of the daungers preſent. The Senate coulde haue bene contented, according to thauncient cuſtome of that common weale, that they had proceeded ſurely, and aduentured as litle as they could: but they conſidered on the other ſide, that if at the ſame time when almoſt all their forces were occupied to make head agaynſt the French king, Cæſar ſhould make any mightie inuaſion vpon their eſtate, with what armies, with what capteines, or with what bandes of ſouldiours could they oppoſe agaynſt him: In which regarde that way whiche of it ſelfe ſeemed moſt ſure and moſt certayne, remayned moſte vncertayne and moſte daungerous, their coniectures being confounded in the nature and condition of

thenterprise: And therfore, as it hapneth in opinions contrarie, they made election of the meane, determining to drawe the armie neare the ryuer of *Adda*, not to leaue *Guiaradada* in pray to thenemies, and yet not to come to hande stroakes with them without a great hope or vrgent necessitie, and that by expresse direction from the Senate.

But farre otherwise was the resolution of the French king, who desired to finde out thenemie, and giue him battell: And comming accompanied with the Duke of *Lorrain* and all the nobilitie of *Fraunce*, sent his Heralt *Montioy* (assone as he was passed the Mountes) to denounce warre to the Senate of *Venice*, charging him to make publication to the Magistrates of *Venice*, as he passed by *Cremona*, to thend the Senate might the rather take signification: And albeit, his whole armie being not yet assembled, he had determined no action to be done, till he were aryued in person at *Casciana*: yet, eyther to satisfie the Pope, complayning that the time set downe in the capitulation was passed, or els to hasten the time agaynst Cæsar, being bound to enter into the warre, fortie dayes after the French had begon, he chaunged his first resolution, and commaunded *Monsr Chaumont* to broache the warre: obseruing thoportunitie of the time, for that the regiments of the *Venetians*, expecting their full assemblies, were not yet departed from *Pontuiquo*.

Beginning of the vvarre.

The first actuall beginning to so great a warre was made the xv. day of Aprill, 1505. when *Monsr de Chaumont* passed the foarde of *Adda* neare *Cascina*, conueying by boates six thousande footemen, and the artilleries: from thence he marched to the towne of *Treuy*, which is within three myles of *Cascina*, wherein were *Iulian Morosin* gouernour of the *Venetian* estradiots, and *Vitelli de citta de Castello*, with *Vincent de Naldo*, who disposed the footemen whiche were to be distributed amongst the townes thereaboutes: They beleeued that those French bands which lay dispersed in many places in the countrey, were not men appoynted to assayle the towne, but to make incursions into the countrey, and therefore to make some experience of warre with them, they sent out an hundred of their footmen, who with certen estradiots entertained the skirmish, & folowed the chase euen to the fortres of the gate: and being followed with their mainebattell and thartillerie, they began to play with suche Culuerins and Falcons as they had, so visiting the towers and places of the wall, that what by the terror of the shot, ioyned to the sodennes and importunitie of thaction, and vniuersall mutinies of the multitudes in the towne, made afrayde by thexamples of their chieftaynes and leaders, they yeelded wholly to the discression of *Monsr de Chaumont*, to whom in this first fortune were made prisoners *Iustinian*, *Vitelli*, and *Vincent*, and many others, with a hundred light horsemen, and a thousande footemen, all of the vale *de Mone*: only two hundred estradiots were saued by flying. After this good beginning *Monsr de Chaumont*, conquering also certayne places adioyning, repassed with all his people ouer the ryuer of *Adda*, carying with him by the felicitie of this first action, great hope of an absolute victorie to the residue of the warre. The same day the Marquis of *Mantua*, to whom the king had committed an hundred Launces, runne vp to *Casalmaior*, which without resistance was rendred to him by the inhabitants, together with *Lovvis Bonne*, Magistrate for the *Venetians*. The same day in like sort *Rocabartin* with an hundred and fiftie launces, and three thousande footmen, passing ouer a bridge made of boates vpon *Adda* as it entreth into *Pavv*, made roades vpon the townes of *Cremona*, as did also in an other part of the countrey, the souldiours of the garrison of *Lodi* building a bridge vpon *Adda*: besides, all the paisantes of the Mountaine of *Briansa*, made incursions euen to *Ber-*

gama, ioyning to ſo common a fauor of fortune, an vniuerſal readines and reſolution of minde. But this generall inuaſion performed in one day, and in fiue ſeuerall places, the enemies preſenting no reſiſtaunce, bare more brute than matter of effect, both for that *Monſr de Chaumont* retyred immediatly to *Millan*, to abide the kinges comming, and alſo the Marquis of *Mantua*, who after the enterpriſe of *Caſalmaior*, had executed a vayne attempt vpon *Aſola*, abandoned *Caſalmaior*, hearing that *Aluiano* was paſſed on this ſide the tyuer of *Oglio* at *Pontmolaro*.

The Popes Bull agaynſt the Venetians

The Pope ſeeing ſuche a beginning giuen to the warre, publiſhed in forme of admonition a horrible Bull, wherein were declared all the vſurpations made by the *Venetians* vpon the townes apperteining to the ſea Apoſtolike, and the authoritie which they had attributed to themſelues, to the preiudice of thecclesiaſtike libertie and iuriſdiction of Popes, both in diſpoſing Biſhoprikes, and other benefices vacant, in deducing in ſecular courſe cauſes ſpiritual apperteining to the iudgement of the Church, and alſo all other natures of diſobediences paſte. Amongſt thoſe declarations was not forgotten, that not long ſince, to the great trouble of theſtate of *Bolognia*, and preiudice of the Church, they had called to *Faenza* the *Bentyuoleis*, who being rebels to the Church, were ſubiect aſwell in themſelues, as in thoſe that receiued them, to great cenſures: he admoniſhed them to make reſtitution within xxiiij. dayes next, of all thoſe townes of the Church which they occupied, together with thaccompt of the frutes they haue receyued ſince the time of their poſſeſſion, and that vnder payne (in caſe of diſobedience) to incurre the paynes of curſings and interdictions, not onely to the citie of *Venice*, and all the townes of their obedience, but alſo to all ſuche, as being not ſubiect to their iuriſdiction, were yet receyuers or reskewers of the *Venetians*, declaring them attainted of *crimen læſæ maieſtatis*, & defied as perpetual enemies to all Chriſtians, to whom he gaue full power to take their goods where they were found, & to make their perſons ſlaues. Agaynſt this Bull not many dayes after, was brought into the towne of *Rome*, a writing by men vnknowen in the name of the Prince & Magiſtrates of *Venice*, wherin, after a long & bitter narration agaynſt the Pope & the French king, was expreſſed an appeale from the admonition to the next Councell, and for want of humaine iuſtice, to the tribunall of Ieſus Chriſt the moſt righteous and ſoueraigne iudge. To theſe ſpirituall thunderboltes, were ioyned temporall threates, for that the Frenche Heralt arriuing at the ſame time at *Venice*, and brought afore the preſence of the Duke & Senat, denounced in the name of the Frenche king, the warre already begonne, charging them to haue giuen many occaſions, more apparant then true or iuſt. The Duke, after ſome conſulting with the Senate, anſwered the Heralt in fewe wordes, that ſince the king his maiſter was determined to make warre vpon them, in a time when they hoped moſt for thobſeruation of thalliance whiche they had neuer violated, and for not breaking of it, had made Cæſar their enemie, they would ſtand vpon their defence, which they hoped to be hable to do with their forces accompanied with the iuſtice of their cauſe. This anſwere ſeemed to reſemble more the dignitie of their cōmon weale, then if they had vſed iuſtifications and complaintes to one that had alreadie aſſayled them with armes.

The Venetians armie.

The *Venetian* armie was at laſte aſſembled and moſtered at *Pontuiquo*, wherein were two thouſande men at armes, three thouſande light horſemen and eſtradiots, fiftene thouſande footemen, choſen and the very flower of ſouldiours in all the regions of *Italie*, no leſſe for their generall valour, then for the experience of the leaders, and fifteene thouſande other footemen of choyſe of the appoyntment of their countreis,

countreys,accompanied with great quantities of artillerie: from thence the armie marched to *Fonteuella*, a towne within ſix myles of *Lodi*,and a retraite very commodious to ſuccor *Cremona, Crema, Carauaga*, and *Bergama:* where iudging they ſhould haue occaſion,for the retraite of *Monſr Chaumont* beyonde *Adda*, to recouer *Treuy*, the kings armie withall beeing not yet aſſembled,they tooke the feelds,folowing the deliberation of the Senate,but agaynſt the counſell of *Aluiano*, who ſayde they were counſels almoſt repugnant, to forbidde to feight with the enemie, and yet to draw ſo neare them, ſeeing happly it might eyther not be in their power to retyre, or if they did, it would be with a diminution of reputation hurtfull to the ſubſtaunce of the whole warre: In which regarde, and for his particular honor, and vniuerſall reſpect of all the men of warre of *Italie*, he had rather chooſe to commit his life to hazarde and fortune,then giue his conſent to ſo great an infamie. The firſt towne the armie took was *Riuolce*, where the French had left no garriſon, and hauing put into it fiftie horſe and three hundred footemen, they drewe neare to *Treuy*, a towne very neare the ryuer of *Adda*, hauing his ſituation ſomewhat high and bearing,and wherin *Monſr Chaumont* had left fiftie launces and a thouſande footemen,vnder capteine *Imbault, Frontalle Gaſcon*, and the white Knight: Thartilleries were planted on that ſide to *Caſcina*,where the wall was weakeſt, & making great execution,ſuch as were within yeelded the day following, the ſouldiers ſaued, but without armes, the capteines remayning priſoners, and the towne wholly at the diſcreſſion of the victors: The houſes and ryches of the towne were put to preſent ſacke,but with greater domage to the victors, then to thoſe that were vanquiſhed, for that the Frenche king vnderſtanding the campe of thenemie to be before *Treui*, ſuppoſing that that place beeing loſt almoſt in his ſight, would bring great diminution to his reputation, he aduaunced his armie, and with a ſpeede according to the neceſſitie of the perill, marched from *Millan* to reskew it: and arriuing the day after thexecution of *Treuy*, at the ryuer neare *Caſciana*, where were made before for thoportunitie of *Caſciana* without impediment, three bridges of barkes, he paſſed with his whole armie, his enemies making no countenaunce to reſiſt him: A matter which made many men of experience to maruell,that they ydely loſt ſo fayre occaſion to ſet vpon the former part of his armie which was paſſed: and *Triuulce*, enforcing the glory of that aduauntage, ſeeing the whole armie paſſe without reſiſtance, cryed to the Frenche king, *The victorie vvas vvonne:* Of ſuche force are occaſions beeing giuen by negligence of the one partie,and followed with reſolution and valour of thother: neuertheleſſe it is certayne, that the *Venetian* captaynes both diſcerned the benefite of thoccaſion,and would haue vſed it, ſauing it was not in their power, neither by authoritie nor by petition, nor with threates, to driue out of *Treuy* the ſouldiours occupied in pillage and pray: And albeit in a diſorder ſo generall, and a neceſſitie ſo deſperate, *Aluiano* had no other meane for their common ſafetie,then to compel the multitude of ſouldiers to iſſue,by ſetting the towne on fyre: yet it was a remedie too ſlowe and late, for that the Frenche vſing the fauor of their fortune, were alreadie paſſed, skorning with great ioye the cowardiſe and wretched counſell of thenemie. The king encamped within litle more then a myle of the *Venetians*, who laye in a place ſomewhat rayſed, and bearing ſuche ſtrength aſwell by the oportunitie of his ſeate, as by the rampiers and trenches they had caſte by their induſtrie, that there was no poſſibilitie to ſet vpon them without manyfeſt perill, the time, the place,and almoſt the diſpoſitions of men,with all other circumſtances apperteining to ſuche an action, beeing agaynſt them. As they drewe to counſell in what forme

and maner they ſhould proceede, many were of opinion, ſtanding alſo vpon thexſpectation of the diſcending of Cæſar, that they ſhould temporiſe and deferre, for that the condition of him that expectes to be aſſailed, beeing better then he that ſeekes to ſet on an other, neceſſitie would compell the *Venetian* capteines to ſeke to offer the battayle, ſeeing they had no reaſonable meane to defend their iuriſdiction oppreſſed in ſo many places: A perſwaſion contrarie to the opinion of the king, who ſought chiefly to feight in a place, whoſe ſituation was not aboue the vallour of the champions, being moued therevnto eyther for feare that Cæſar woulde aduaunce too ſlowly, or elſe for that beeing really in the campe in perſon with the choyſe forces of his kingdome, he ſtoode not onely in an abſolute hope of the victorie, but alſo iudged it muche to his diſhonor, if he put not an ende to the warre of him ſelfe without the miniſtration of others: as of the contrarie he eſtemed it greatly to the glory and reputation of his name, if by his power and vertue, and in hys owne perſon, the reſidue of the confederates might come to communicate no leſſe then himſelfe in the rewards & fruites of the victorie: An ambition of glory much familiar with great princes, and oftentimes moſt hurtfull to great enterpriſes, ſpecially whē one particular power aſpireth to execute an action which in reaſon, counſell, and confederacie reſpecteth a ioynt aſſiſtance: on the other ſide, the commiſſioners and captaines of *Venice*, not forſtalling their counſels for any feare they had of Cæſar, were determined not to put themſelues into places equall or comparatiue with thenemie, but ſhifting alwayes into places of aduauntage and ſtrength, they ſought at one time to eſchue the neceſſitie of the battell, and withall to let that the French ſhould do nothing of importance, ſeeking to obey time, neceſſitie, and all other things to be reſpected in an action of that nature.

With theſe deliberations and counſels, neither the one nor the other armie made any mouing, but ſtoode encamped a whole day the one in the face of the other: And albeit in ſo neare aſpect of two mightie enemies equal in ambition, and in glorie nothing inferior, it is harde to conteine men of ſeruice, yet there was nothing executed betwene them, but certayne light skirmiſhes by horſmen, wherin though the French by aduauncing their artillerie, ſought occaſion to fight, yet the battell was not embraſed, mens counſels varying, and the reſpectes of things not reſolued. The day after, the king remoued towardes *Riuolta*, to trye whether a deſire to keepe that place would cauſe Thitalians to moue: who, not ſtirring, to obtaine at the leaſt a ſecret confeſſion that they had no ſtomacks to accept the battell, the king ſtoode foure long houres afore their lodgings with his whole armie aranged in battell, the Venetians doing no other thing then moue and ſhew themſelues in the front of the Frenchmen in good order, without abandoning their trenche. At this time the Artillerie beeing drawne by part of the kings ſouldiours to the walles of *Riuolta*, the place was forced and taken in fewe houres, where the king lodged that night with all his armie, being not a litle troubled with the maner of proceeding of thenemies, whoſe counſels he prayſed ſo muche the more, by howmuche they were framed agaynſt his intentions, and diſcontented him: But to drawe them by neceſſitie to that whervnto they bare a will eſtranged, after he had remayned a whole day at *Riuolta*, and ſet fyre in the place afore he departed, he remoued his campe to lodge at *Vailo*, or at *Pandin* the night following: he hoped that by the oportunitie of either of theſe places, he might eaſily giue impediment to the vittels comming from *Cremona* and *Crema*, and by that meane to put them in neceſſitie to leaue abandoned their lodgings wherein they had remayned to that howre. The *Venetian* capteines ſaw what

The armies affront one an other, and feight not.

were

were the thoughtes and intentions of the king,and did not doubt that it would not be neceſſarie to take a place ſtrong & neare thenemie, to continue to hold them in the ſame difficulties & impediments:But the *Count Petillano* coũſelled to deferre the mouing of the campe till the day following,notwithſtanding *Aluiano* made ſo great an inſtance to the contrarie alleaging howe neceſſary it were to preuent them, that in thend it was agreed to breake vp ſodenly (raſhnes preuayling more then maturitie of counſell.) There were two wayes to leade to the ſayde places, the one lower neare the ryuer of *Adda*, but a longer way and full of turnings: the other more remoued from the ryuer, but more ſhorte, and more ſtraight, the one making the ſtring, and the other the bowe, as the ſaying runnes: The lower way was taken by the kings armie, which conteined more then two thouſande launces, ſix thouſande *Svvizzer* footmen,and twelue thouſand of *Gaſcoins* and *Italians*,wel furniſhed with artillerie, and a ſufficient prouiſion of poyners. The *Venetian* armie marched by the higher way vpon the right hande towardes thenemie: in it were two thouſand men at armes, more then twentie thouſande footemen, with a great quantitie of lighte horſmen,partly *Italians*,and partly leauyed in *Grece* by the *Venetians*, who ranne before, but forbare to enlarge and ſpread according to their cuſtome, the buſhes and braunches whereof the countrey was full betwene both the one and other armie, being their impedimentes, as alſo they ſo ſhadowed both the campes, that they could not ſee one an other: But marching in this order, and the *Venetians* alwayes aduauncing,there drew neare together in one time the French vauward conteining fiue hundred launces, and the *Svvizzer* footemen, led by *Charles d'Amboyſe* and *I. Iacques Triuulce*, and the reareguard of the *Venetians* gouerned by *Bar. Aluiano*, wherin were eight hundred men at armes, with all the flower of the footemen of the army, but they kept no good order in their marche, *Aluiano* not thinking that the battell would be offred that day: But when he ſaw himſelfe in the face of his enemies,what by the renouation of his auncient valour, and that he was broughte into ſuche extremitie of place,that he was compelled to fight, he gaue preſent aduertiſement to the *Count Petillano* leading thother part of tharmie before, his neceſſitie, or els his reſolution demaunding his ſuccors: The *Counte* returned aunſwere that he ſhould continue his marching,and eſchew the fight,the reaſons of warre ſo requiring, and the reſolution of the Senate agreeing: But in the meane whyle, *Aluiano* hauing beſtowed his footemen with ſix peces of artillerie vpon a litle trench made to ſtop the furie of a lande flood,which at that time beeing almoſt dry of water paſſed betwene both the armies: charged thenemies with ſuch corage and furie, that he compelled them to giue ground, wherein this miniſtred not a little helpe to him, that the firſt charge was amongſt certen vines, where,by reaſon of the hedges and intricat branches of the vines,the French horſemen could execute litle: neuertheles the battel of the French armie, wherin was the kings perſon,being aduaunced for that daunger, the two firſt ſquadrons ioyned to charge the bandes of *Aluiano*, who entring into a great hope of the victory for ſo happy a beginning,was not ydle to labour to encourage the ſouldiours with vehement words: The battell was furious on all ſides, the French receyuing corage and comfort by the ſuccors of their companions, and for that the battell was drawen into a place open and diſcouered, where their horſemen had ſpace and skoape to manage at pleaſure: beſides, the preſence of the king did muche to ſtirre them, who bearing no more reſpecte to his perſon, then if he had beene a priuate ſouldiour,refuſed not to ſtande in the daunger of the artillerie, not ceaſſing where he ſawe neede,to commaunde, to encourage, and

to threaten: on the other side, Thitallian footemen, who were full of resolution for their first felicitie, fought with great constancie of courage and valour, *Aluiano* forgetting nothing that belonged to the office of an excellent captayne: At last, three howres beeing consumed in this execution, the *Venetian* bandes receiuing by the playnnesse of the place great distresse by the French horsemen, and not able withall to keepe firme footing for the rayne that fell during the battell, whiche made the ground slippery, but specially for that they were not succored by the residue of tharmie, began to fight with a great disaduauntage, and yet made resistance with great vertue, in so much as when they saw no hope to ouercome, it was well expressed in the effects of their valour, that more to winne glory then to saue them selues, they labored to make the victorie bloudy to the French, despising perills with the same minds wherwith they sought for glory & monument: And albeit they kept the battell a long time in suspension & doubt, yet at last, being more depriued of strength then of courage, without turning their backes to thenemie, they passed almoste all vnder the sentence of the sworde, leauing to the residue of the armie an example of right worthy imitation, and to posteritie a perpetuall praise of their merite and vertue. Amongest the rest that were slayne, many lamentations were made for one of the Marquisses of the Mount *S. Maria de Tuskana*, a captaine of great exercise in leading footmen in the warres of *Pisa*, when he liued in the pay of the *Florentins*, & now one of the Colonels of the *Venetian* footmen. The honorable resistance which this only one part of tharmie made, bred almost a generall opinion, that if the whole *Venetian* campe had entred the battell, they had eyther caried the victorie, or at least past it to thenemie with greater perill and bloudshedding. But the *Count Petillano*, with whom was the greatest part of tharmie, abstayned from armes, eyther for that (thus he alleaged) as he prepared to aduaunce to the battell, he was yll aduertised by an esquadron that fledde away, or rather (suche was the brute) standing in no hope or possibilitie of the victorie, and no lesse disdayned that *Aluiano* contrarie to his direction had aduentured to feight, he esteemed it a counsayle better assured, to keepe that parte of tharmie reserued, then to referre the whole to hazarde for the rashnesse of an other, thextremitie of the perill making him more carefull then honorable. In this battell perished very fewe men at armes, the whole slaughter falling vppon the Venetian footemen, whereof dyed by good testimonie eyght thousande bodies, notwithstanding some reapport that the number of the dead men on both partes, could not passe six thousande men: suche variation followeth brutes and rumors, being for the most part ful of incertenties and errours: *Bartlemewv Aluiano* remained prisoner, who receiuing a hurt in his eye, was by that misfortune half blinded with the blood of his wound, and in that araye (pitifull in a capteine of his merite) was ledde to the kings pauillion: The residue of tharmie being not folowed in chase, founde safetie in fleing, loasing in all twentie peeces of great artillerie. This was the notable battell of *Guiaraddada*, or according to the opinion of some, the victorie of *Vaile*, which was fought the xiij. day of Maye, and in monument of which the king caused to be edified in the very place where the battel was executed, a chappell, which he honored with the name of *S. Maria de la victoria*.

Defait of the Venetians.

Aluiano take prisoner.

The king, with the felicitie of this victorie, not willing to corrupte by negligence the occasion that had bene wonne with valour and fortune: marched the daye following to *Carauage*, where the Towne beeing sodaynly rendred by composition, he battered the Castell with artillerie, which also within foure and twenty houres yeelded to discression. The citie of *Bergama* gaue vp the day after, without abiding

The taking of many townes by the french.

abiding the comming of tharmie: where after the king had left fyftie launces and a thouſande footemen to batter the Caſtell, he aduaunced to *Breſsia*, but before he arriued there, the caſtel of *Bergamo*, after the cannon had executed a whole day, was rendred vpon condition, that *Marin Georgio* with the other *Venetian* Magiſtrates, ſhoulde be priſoners, for that the king, not ſo muche for hatred, as for hope to drawe money, had determined not to accept any compoſition of townes, by the which the gentlemen of *Venice* ſhould be ſaued, ſeeking to make the benefite of his warres to beare out the greateſt burden and expenſes of his armie. In all ages, tyme hath carried a power to vary and alter the humors of men, gouerning their inclinations according to occaſions that happen: the ſame beeing approued in the inhabitantes of *Breſsia*, in whom nowe remayned no more that auncient diſpoſition with the which their elders in the warres with *P. M. Viſconte*, had ſuſtayned a greeuous and great ſeege to preſerue themſelues vnder the iuriſdiction of *Venice:* And being nowe diſpoſed to take the yoke of the Frenche, partly for feare of their armes, and partly at the perſwaſion of the *Count Ioh. Fea. de Cambara* chief of the *Gebelin* faction: they ſeaſed vpon the gates of the towne the day after the battel, oppoſing manifeſtly againſt *George Cornato*, who being gone thither in great diligẽce, ſought to ſtrengthen the place with men: And beſides, the *Venetian* army which was very much diminiſhed in numbers, not only by the ſlaughter of the battell, but alſo for that many were gone away, as often hapneth when an armie falleth into aduerſities: they reſpected nothing, neither thauthority nor the petitiõ of *Andre Gritti*, who was entred into *Breſsia* to perſwade them to take it for their defence: therfore tharmie ſuppoſing no ſuretie in that place, marched towards *Peſquiero*, the citie of *Breſsia* yelding to the French king, & the caſtell within two days after doing the like, vnder this condition, that ſuche as were within ſhould depart in ſafetie, except the gentlemen of *Venice*.

Nothing is more greeuous then the reapport of an yll accident, & nothing more intollerable then when thexſpectation of things is chaunged by ſiniſter ſucceſſe: for that by howe muche the hope was likely and poſſible, by ſo much more deſperat is the euent falling in a courſe contrarie to that was exſpected. The newes of ſo great a calamitie was no ſooner vnderſtanded in the towne of *Venice*, then it was incredible to beholde the vniuerſall alteration that appeared: ſome afflicted with ſorrowe, but the moſt part perplexed with feare, the minds of thoſe being moſt confuſed and amaſed, who much leſſe that they had ben accuſtomed to feele ſuch aduerſities, but of the contrarie, had bene wont alwayes in other warres to carrie felicitie and victorie: and as men not accuſtomed to aduerſities haue little rule ouer their paſſions, ſo ſuche as neuer felte but proſperitie, can leaſt iudge of the worthineſſe of patience: for in this affliction they cryed out agaynſt heauen and earth, and accuſed iuſtely thinſtabilitie of mortall eſtate: their feare made them ſet before their eyes the loſſe of their whole dominion, with the latter ruine of their countrey and common weale, wherein their ſorrowe increaſed with the conſideration of the time ſeeming to depriue them of glory, power, and reputation, euen when they promiſed to them ſelues no leſſe then the imperie of all *Italie:* And in thoſe dolors and miſerable demonſtrations of minde, they ranne crying and complayning to the publike pallace, where the Elders and Senators taking counſel what to do in an aduerſitie ſo muche importing, after they had long debated with great diuerſitie of opinion, the counſell brake vp ouercomen with diſpaire: ſo weake and incertein were the remedies, and ſo ſlender the hopes of their ſafety and weldoing: Where the yll is common, there the diſcomfort is generall, nothing remayning to

The lamentations made at Venice for the ouerthrowe.

retayne the mindes of men but impreſſions of diſpayre and calamitie: they conſidered they had no other Captaynes nor men to imploye in their defence, then ſuche as remayned of the ouerthrowe, and in them was equall the wante of force, and diminution of courage: And for their popular multitudes, ſubiectes of their generall dominion, they ſawe them eyther inclined to rebell, or at leaſt ſo eſtranged from ſuffering, that there remained no diſpoſition to put them ſelues in further perill for their ſafetie. They behelde in the Frenche king, (no leſſe mightie for the greatneſſe and glorie of his armie, then inſolent for his late happineſſe and victorie) a reſolution to come on and followe the courſe of his fortune: They ſawe that the chaunce of the battell had made him maiſter ouer the hartes and courages of men, and giuen him commaundement ouer countreys and common weales: And if agaynſt him alone they were not hable to make reſiſtance, what would be their condition when Cæſar ſhoulde arriue, whome they vnderſtoode to be at hande, and to marche with ſpeede beeing drawne on by ſo great an occaſion: They ſawe from all partes great concurrance of daungers, with occaſions of diſpayre, and verye ſmall apparance of hope or comfort: They feared leaſt in their proper Countrey full of multitudes of men of warre, would ryſe ſome daungerous tumult, partly for a generall hatred agaynſt Gentlemen, and partly for deſire of pillage: Laſtely, in theſe contemplations of ſorrowe and calamitie, they made their myndes the very images of diſpayre, eſteeming as already hapned, all the aduerſities that their tymerous coniectures coulde imagine: Neuertheleſſe taking courage and comfort in ſo great a feare, ſuche as their preſent fortune woulde ſuffer, they determined, with the beſt diligence they coulde, to bee reconciled in what ſorte ſoeuer wyth the Pope, wyth Cæſar, and wyth the king Catholike, not looking any waye to appeaſe the mynde of the Frenche king, for that their diſpayre was no leſſe for the hate whiche he bare them, then they feared the power and mighte of hys armes. And yet omitting nothing whiche they ſuppoſed mighte miniſter to their defence, they ſtudyed to leauye treaſures and money, and gaue order to refurniſhe and rayſe newe bandes. And for feare of the armie at ſea whiche was ſayde to bee rigged at *Genes*, they deuiſed to encreaſe their Nauie to fiftie galleys commaunded by *Ange Treuiſan:* But all their counſayles were preuented by the celeritie of the Frenche king, to whome ſince the conqueſt of *Breſsia*, was rendred the Citie of *Cremona*, the Caſtell holding good for the *Venetians*, whiche, notwithſtanding it was ſtrong, had followed the example of the others, together with that of *Piſqueton* yeelding alſo in the ſame tyme, if the king had conſented that euery one ſhould depart with ſafetie: but, for that there were within it many Gentlemen of *Venice*, as *Zacharie Contarin*, a man of great wealth and poſſeſſions, he would not receyue them but with condition to haue power ouer the Gentlemen: In which minde he ſent an armie to keepe them beſieged: And for that the *Venetian* armies encamping in the feelde of *Mars* neare *Verona*, and decreaſing continually, for that they of *Verona* would not receiue them into their towne, the king went before *Peſquiero* to gette the Caſtell, the towne being alreadie rendred: the battrie had not played any long time, but the footemen *Svvizzers* and *Gaſcons* entred with great furie through ſmal breaches & ruines of the wall, and making ſlaughter of almoſt foure hundred footmen whō they found at defence, they tooke priſoner the capteine of the caſtel, being likewiſe capteine of the towne, a gentleman of *Venice*, who by the kings cōmaundement was hanged vpon the battlements of the ſame caſtel: A cruelty which the king vſed for example ſake, that ſuche as defended the caſtell of *Cremona*, induced by this

puniſhment,

punishment, might not continue in obstinacie to the extremitie: There is nothing more swift then victorie, specially where occasions are folowed, & the oportunities of times & other circumstances embrased: for the French king within fiftene dayes after the battel, had reconquered (except the castel of *Cremona*) all that apperteined to him by the diuision which was made at *Cambray*: A conqueſt no lesse honorable for the king, then of great commoditie for the Duchie of *Millan*, and augmenting the reuenues of the king to more then two hundred thousande duckets by yeare. About this tyme, albeit the armies of the king of *Romains* had appeared yet in no place neither in action nor showe, yet the Pope, ioyning him selfe to the fauor of the tyme, assayled the townes of *Romagnia* with foure hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horsemen, and eight thousande footemen, with thartillerie of the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom he had chosen *Gonfalonier* of the Churche, which is a title according to the practise of our tymes, that holdes more of dignitie then of authoritie: he recommended the charge of this armie ioyntly to *Francisco de Castello de Rie* Cardinall of *Pauia* bearing the name of the Legate Apostolike, and to *Fraun-cis Maria de la Rouera*, sonne to *Iohn* his late brother, who, being adopted for sonne by *Guid.* Duke of *Vrbin* his vncle by the mother side, the adoption also confirmed in the consistorie by the Popes authoritie, had succeeded the yeare before in the Duchie, the Duke of *Vrbin* beeing dead without other children. They ronne with this armie from *Cesena* towardes *Seruia*, and comming betweene *Imola* and *Faen-za*, they tooke the towne of *Solarola*: and after they had beene certayne dayes at *Bastida* three myles from *Faenza*, they drewe to *Bresiquella*, whiche is the capitall towne of *Val de Moue*, wherein was newely entred *Iohn Paule Manfron* with eyght hundred footemen, and certayne horsemen: who issuing out to feight, were trayned into an ambushe, and so hoatly charged by *Iohn Paule Baillon* and *Lodovvike de la Mirandola* Capteines of the Churche armie, that as they woulde haue sought their safetie in the towne, the enemie entred Pelmell with them, and that with suche furie, that *Manfron* beeing felled from his horse, had scarse leasure to retyre to the Castell: afore the whiche thartillerie beeing brought and planted, the Munitions that were within were sette on fyre at the first blowe: An accident that so terrified the defendauntes within, that they rendred absolutely the place to the discression of the victor. After the whole valley was taken, the armie discended into the playne, and tooke *Garanarola* with all the other townes of the countrey of *Faenza*, and so went and encamped before *Russi*, whiche is a borowe situate betweene *Faenza* and *Rauenna*, but not easie to be taken, for that besides it was enuironed with very large and deepe trenches, it was defended with sixe hundred footemen forreiners: But that which made more vneasie the action of that towne, was that there was not in the Churche armie, neither that counsell, nor that concorde that was necessarie, notwithstanding it abounded in strength and forces, three thousande *Svvyzzers* payed by the Pope beeing there newely arryued: for which cause, albeit the Venetians were not strong in *Romagnia*, yet thinges had no great aduauncement on that side: onely *Iohn Greeke* capteine of thestradiots issuing out of *Rauenna* with his bands, was broken and taken prisoner by *Iohn Vitelli*, one of the Capteines of the Church: Lastly, after they had remayned ten daies afore *Rossi*, they tooke it by cōposition. And the victorie of the king hapning in the same time, the citie of *Faenza*, who stood now in her owne power, for that the *Venetian* strēgth was now diminished, agreed to acknowledge the Pope for their Lorde, if they were not reskewed within fiftene daies: by the benefite of which conuention there issued

The Popes souldiours in Romagnia.

out of *Faenza* vnder the fayth of the Legate, fiue hundred footmen of the *Venetians*, who were ſtripped by commaundement of the Duke of *Vrbin*: The Citie of *Rauenna* did the like aſſone as the armie approched. Thus, more by the reputation of the victorie of the French king, then by his proper forces, the Pope conquered in a litle time, thoſe townes which he had ſo long deſired in *Romagnia*, in the which as the *Venetians* helde no other peece then the caſtell of *Rauenna*, ſo, euer ſince the firſt ouerthrowing of their armie, there diſcloſed dayly againſt them newe enemies: for, the Duke of *Ferrara*, who till that day had not declared him ſelfe, chaſed out of *Ferrara* the *Viſdomino*, a Magiſtrate which the *Venetians* kept reſident there, according to the auncient conuentions, to miniſter equitie to their ſubiectes: And taking armes, he recouered without impediment *Poleſma*, and ſonke with Artilleries the *Venetian* Nauies floating vpon the ryuer of *Addice*. To the Marquis of *Mantua* were yeelded the townes of *Aſola* and *Lunato*, which the *Venetians* had taken in the warre they had agaynſt *Phillip M.Viſconte*, vpon *Iohn Frauncis de Gonſagua* his great grandfather. In *Iſtria*, *Chriſtopher Frangipan* occupied *Piſinia* and *Diuinia*: and the Duke of *Brunſvvike*, who by Cæſars commaundement was entred into *Friul* with two thouſande men trayned, tooke *Feltro* and *Bellona*: At his comming, together with the brute of the victorie of the French, *Trieſta* with the other townes (the conqueſt of which had bene the very welſpring and beginning of all the aduerſities to the *Venetians*) returned vnder thobedience of Cæſar. In like ſort the *Counts* of *Lodron* occupied certayne caſtels and borowes that were neare them, and the Biſhop of *Trent* vſurped *Riua* and *Agreſta*. But amid all theſe calamities and declinations of fortune, there was nothing that ſo much amaſed the *Venetians* ſince the battell, as the taking of the caſtell of *Peſquiero*, whoſe ſtrength and ſituation, with other oportunities of the place, they ſuppoſed would haue ſtayed the furie of the victor: So weake is the holde of hope where is nothing but daunger on all ſides, that the *Venetians* ſtanding amaſed amid ſo many perills, were fearfull that the king would paſſe further: And their condition being made ſo deſperate, that the feare that poſſeſt them, left them no libertie of counſell, together with their bandes whiche were retyred to *Meſtre*, (amongſt whom was neither obedience nor order) beeing reduced to a very ſmall number: They determined (and happly to ſoone) to abandon the iuriſdiction of the firme lande, to thende to haue no more enemies, and no leſſe to take from the French king all occaſions to drawe neare to *Venice*: for they were not without ſuſpition, that in that Citie would ryſe ſome tumult, eyther by the people that nowe were growen inſolent, or by thinnumerable multitude of ſtrangers that dwelt there: ſome for deſire of pray and pillage which makes men mutinous and diſordred, and ſome for that they would not endure their depriuation of honors, and in all things to beare ſuche a yoke of ſubiection to the Gentlemen, ſeeing they were Citizens borne by long ſucceſſion of times in libertie and freedome, and moſt of them of the ſame bloud and families: wherin in ſo great a diſpaire and loſſe of courage, this reaſon was alleaged in the Senate, that if willingly they abandoned the gouernment to eſchewe the perills preſent, they ſhould eaſily recouer it with the returne and oportunitie of a better fortune: for that the peoples and ſubiects that willingly ſhoulde ſeparate them ſelues from them, would not make ſo ſtrong reſiſtance to returne eftſones vnder thobedience of their auncient Lordes, as they would do if they deuided them ſelues from them by manyfeſt rebellion: for which reaſons the magnanimitie of the *Venetians* comming nowe to be defaced, together with the reputation of ſo glorious a commonweale declining, they were content to kepe to them ſelues

the

the salt waters only, addressing to the Magistrates and officers gouerning at *Padoua*, *Verona*, and all other townes bearing interest to *Maximilian*, directions to retourne with speede, and leaue the townes to the deuotion of the peoples: Besides, to thend to obtaine peace of *Maximilian* vnder what cõditions soeuer, they sent to him with great diligence, their Embassador *Iustinian*, who beeing admitted to his presence in publike audience, spake very pitifully and with great humilitie and submission, but in vayne, for that Cæsar denyed to make any contract without the priuitie of the French king. But the better to make knowen howe muche the common weale of *Venice* was humbled and abated of courage, not feeling the like aduersities in two hundred yeres before, it can not be impertinent to expresse heare the selfe Oration which their Embassador vttered afore Cæsar.

The oration of Anth. Iustinian to Cæsar.

In the auncient Philosophers and first men of ciuility, it was a disposition no lesse honorable, then a iudgement equall and iust, to assure that that was the true, firme, eternall, and immortall glorie, which men got in conquering their proper affections: An action which they preferred aboue all kingdomes, triumphes, and vertues, for that in it was represented the very image and similitude of that which they called the diuinitie in men: For this vertue *Scipio* caried more glory and reputation, then for al the victories he wonne agaynst *Affrike* or *Carthage*: This was the respect for the which ages and posterities do yet nourish thimmortalitie of *Alexander*, when *Darius*, ouerthrowne by him in a mightie battell, besought God, that in case he had determined to dispose his kingdome, he would ordeine him no other successor then his enemie, whose victorie could not make him other then mercifull and gracious. *Cæsar* the dictator, of whom you beare the name, and communicates no lesse in his fortunes and felicities, then in his liberalities, clemencies, and other vertues, was honored with diuine titles and glories, for that he fauored, respected, and pardoned: Lastly the Senate and people of *Rome*, whose imperie in earth is onely resembled in your person, as the maiestie and greatnes hath there his perfect image, brought more peoples and prouinces vnder their subiection with clemencie, equitie, and mildnes, then with the rigor of Armes and warre. There is nothing more worthy then clemencie, nor any thing better beseeming the maiestie of a Prince, then to be easie to be appeased, and readie to forgiue, for that if it be holden iust & honorable to throwe downe an obstinate enemie, it is nó lesse worthy and cõmendable to haue pitie on them that are already falne into misfortunes. In consideration of these reasons bringing iustification by vertue, I hope it shall not be the least of your praises, if your Maiestie, in whose handes standes the victorie gotten ouer the *Venetians*, looking into the frayltie of worldly things, will vse it with moderation and temperaunce, and encline rather to the deuises and studies of peace, then to the doubtfull euentes of warre: For touching thinconstancie of humaine things, how incertaine aduentures are, and howe doubtfull, howe mutable, howe deceitfull, and howe full of daungers is the state of men mortall. I neede not proue it by examples straunge, forreine, or auncient, since the common weale of *Venice* standes at this howre the true figure and representation of thinfirmitie of humaine condition & kingdomes: It was not long since, neither lesse mightie, lesse florishing, nor lesse renowmed, then that our name and reputation could not onely be celebrated and conteyned within the limittes of *Europe*, but with great pompe and magnificence, ronne throwe all *Affrike* and *Asia*, and caried brute and terror euen to thextreme bounds of the earth: And nowe by the onely losse of a battell, no lesse light and easie, then depriued of the prayse and merit of armes, it is become dispoyled of riches, deuided from strength,

" defaced in renowme, ruinated of all things, and especially of counsell, and so reuer-
" sed and abated, that there remaynes nothing of our auncient vertue, but signes and
" shadowes, all things beeing turned into desolation, and nothing remayning but a
" lamentable exspectation of perpetuall ruine. But greatly do the Frenche men be-
" guyle themselues, if they make a glory of our spoyle, or attribute our aduersities to
" their vertue, since notwithstanding we haue bene heretofore worne and trauelled
" by so many afflictions, wasted and consumed with so many daungers and ruines, yet
" we neuer made our corage baser then our fortune: yea euen in those dangerous wars
" which we managed many yeres agaynst the terrible enemie and tyrant of the Turks,
" of men vanquished, we seemed victorious: And as there are no men miserable, but
" those that esteme themselues so by the base reputation of their courage, so we had
" still reteyned the same showe of valour, resolution, and magnanimitie, sauing
" that the brute of the terrible name of your Maiestie, together with the liuely and
" inuincible vertue of your souldiours, hath so abated the mindes of vs all, that there
" remaynes no hope, not to vanquishe and ouercome, no not to defende and resiste:
" an aduersitie so lamentable to vs, that depriuing our selues of armes and weapons,
" we haue reapposed the hope and remedie of our afflictions in the diuine pietie and
" clemencie of your Maiestie, which we doubt not to finde euen in the greatest dis-
" paire of our affaires. In which respect aswell on the behalfe of the Prince & Senat, as
" of the people and communaltie of *Venice*, we pray, beseech, and coniure you, to cast
" the eyes of your mercy vpon our afflictions, and to cure our greeues with remedies
" of comfort and consolation: we offer not to debate any articles of peace, but we
" come accompanied with mindes to embrace all suche conditions as you thinke
" meete to impose, iudging them reasonable, righteous, and just: we are not worthy
" to taxe our selues, or appoynt our owne rates, but vnder our free & voluntarie con-
" sents we offer to you as true and lawfull lorde, restitution of all those thinges which
" our Elders haue taken from the sacred Empire, and Duchie of *Austria:* Wherevnto
" (the condition of our fortune requiring to induce your maiestie by al humilities) we
" adde all those things which we possesse in the firme lande, renouncing all rights, all
" charters, all prerogatiues and interests, by the which we eyther haue got them, or
" do holde them: we will acknowledge a yerely payment tributarie to your Maiestie
" and your lawfull successors in thempire, of fiftie thousande duckets for euer: we
" will obey you in all your commaundementes, lawes, decrees, and impositions, and
" holding that to belong to our dutie, deuotion, and fidelitie, which dependes vppon
" your authoritie, or respects your securitie, we will repute vs in the condition of sub-
" iects, not conquered by armes and victorie, but voluntarily yeelded vnder your pie-
" tie and clemencie. We beseech you let our teares and true demonstrations of sor-
" rowe induce you to defende vs from the insolencie of those, who earst were our
" companions in armes, and nowe do proue them our bitter enemies, desiring no-
" thing more then the ruine of our name: In preseruing vs by your clemencie, we are
" to call and honor you by the name of father and founder of our Citie, to make you
" a perpetuall monument in our Chronicles and registers, and to leaue perpetuall re-
" apport to our children and posteritie of your high merites and vertues: esteeme it
" no small increase of your prayses, that you are the first Prince afore whose feete the
" common weale of *Venice* falles prostrate, before whose face we bowe our knees,
" vnder whose handes we offer our selues humbled, and whom we honor, reuerence,
" and respect as a Prince holding iust authoritie ouer vs. There can be nothing requi-
" red which we are not ready to performe, and those things which of your modestie

you

you forbeare to demaunde, our neceſſitie haſteneth vs to offer into your handes, our humilitie beeing the true interpreter of the fayth and deuotion of our mindes: we hope the extremitie of our perils wil not make vs the leſſe apt to receiue your fauors, for that he giues a greeuous ſentence agaynſt the ſtate of mans mortalitie, that denieth compaſſion to men in miſerie: And the law of honor & clemencie holdes vs ſo farre aſſured that you will not make vs reiected becauſe we are afflicted, ſince it is one cheefe office in your chriſtian pietie, to miniſter ſuccors to men in neceſſities. Compaſſion debates not cauſes and reaſons, but proceedes to the releefe of ſuche as ſuffer and expect it then agreeing with true magnanimitie, when it miniſters comfort vpon free and liberall motions: The glory is greater to lende your hande to thoſe that are already falne, then by drawing your ſworde agaynſt your enemies, to carie the prayſe of their victorie and confuſion, the one beeing iuſt and neceſſarie, and the other a high action of charitie, which carrieth the doers into the fauor of God: if ambition and worldly inſpiration had not ſo commaunded our aunceſtors, that they had forborne to aſpire to the ſtates of others, our common weale might haue ſtande aduaunced aboue all the cities of *Europe* in glory, in nobilitie, in magnanimitie and riches, where nowe deformed altogether with infamie and reproche, it is torne and broken in a moment, and nothing remaining of ſo many honors and victories, but a perpetuall monument, ſcorne, and deriſion: And by howe muche our aduerſities are great, and our petitions lamentable, by ſo muche it concernes you in clemencie, as you are hable in power, to reeſtabliſhe the ſtate of the *Venetians*, an action that brings with it ſuche a reputation of name and honor, as in olde age no preſcription or antiquitie, no lawe of time, nor courſe of yeeres, ſhall be hable to wipe it out of the mindes and memories of mortall men: but as you ſhall merite with all peoples and nations the onely name of pityfull, iuſt, and pardoning, ſo for our parts, receiuing our ſafetie from your clemency, we ſhall attribute to your vertue, to your felicitie, and to your goodnes, that we liue, that we breath, or that we are reſerued to holde communitie with men.

The calamities of the *Venetians* made them of nothing ſo carefull, as to render thoſe peeces which ſo long they had occupied of others, their fortune giuing them at that time no better meanes either to appeaſe or aſſure their aduerſities: They ſent according to the ſame deliberation into *Povvilla*, to reſtore the portes to the king of *Aragon*, who knowing howe to enioy the frutes of other mens trauels without his owne expenſes or daunger, had diſpatched into *Spayne*, a ſmall Nauie at ſea, which had commaunded certayne places apperteining to thoſe cities and hauens of the ſea. They diſpatched alſo into *Romagnia* a publike ſecretorie, with commiſſion, to giue vp to the Pope all that they helde there, vpon condition that *Iohn Paule Manfron* and other priſoners might be reſtored, with libertie to drawe out their artilleries, and that the people that were within the caſtell of *Rauenna* ſhould departe in ſafetie: Which conditions whileſt the Pope made difficultie to accept, for that he would not diſpleaſe the confederates, the caſtell of *Rauenna* was rendred, the ſouldiours giuing it vp of them ſelues, notwithſtanding the *Venetian* ſecretarie that was entred, ſought to hinder it, for that ſuche as ſolicited for them at *Rome*, gaue hope that the Pope in the ende would conſent to the conditions, vnder the which they had offred reſtitution. But the Pope complayned muche that they had ſhewed a greater contumacie agaynſt him then agaynſt Cæſar or the king of *Aragon*: and therefore when the *Venetian* Cardinalls in the name of the Senate, demaunded abſolution of the Bull, as beeing due, for that they had offred reſtitution within the

tearme of xxiiij. dayes, he made aunswere, that they had not obeyed, becauſe their offer was not ſimple but ioyned to conditions limited: and for that they were admoniſhed ouer & beſides the reſtitution of the townes, to yeelde accompt of the frutes they had receyued, together with the benefits they poſſeſſed apperteining to Churches or to perſons eccleſiaſticall.

In this ſort was ouerwhelmed with a wonderfull furie, the eſtate of the common weale of *Venice*, one calamitie growing vpon an other, all their hopes declining, vayne and fallible, and no ſigne remayning by the which, after the loſſe of ſo great a dominion, they might hope for the preſeruation of their proper libertie. So great a ruine touched diuerſly the minds of Thitalians, of whom many receiued contentment, remembring that the *Venetians*, proceeding in too great ambition, without reſpect to iuſtice or obſeruation of fayth, aſpiring to all things that occaſion or oportunitie offred, had manifeſtly quarrelled the whole Monarchie of *Italie*, aſpiring to the vniuerſall ſubiection of all thoſe regions: things which made their names hatefull, and their gouernment intollerable by the conſideration of their naturall pride. On the other ſide, many looking without paſſion into the preſent eſtate of things, and howe wretched and fowle it were for all *Italie* to be brought wholly vnder the ſeruitude and yoke of ſtraungers, felt no little griefe that ſuche a maieſtie of citie, the auncient ſeate of libertie, and the very glory of Thitalian name through all the world, ſhould fall into ſuche extremitie, that ſo worthy a member ſhould be cutt of, which more then all the reſidue had bene the protector of their common glory and renowme. But aboue all ſo great a fall and declination began to be greeuous to the Pope, who doubting the powers of Cæſar and the Frenche king, deſired to alter their thoughtes from oppreſſing him, by intangling them with affayres. In whiche regarde he determined (but ſecretly) to do all he coulde that the aduerſities of the common weale of *Venice* ſhould haue no further courſe: And in that good diſpoſition of minde, he accepted the letters written to him in the name of the Duke of *Venice*, by the which he beſought him in great ſubmiſſion, to receiue the ſix Embaſſadors ſente to him of the principalles of the Senate, to ſue for pardon and abſolution. Theſe letters beeing read, with their petitions publiſhed in the conſiſtorie, he conſented to admit them, after he had in fewe words proteſted that it was the auncient cuſtome of the Churche, not to ſhowe it ſelfe harde or rigorous to ſuch as with repentance of their faultes, ſought for reconcilement and pardon. The embaſſadors of the Emperour and the Frenche ſtriued what they could agaynſt it, putting him in memorie that by the confederation of *Cambray*, he was expreſly bounde to perſecute them with armes ſpirituall and temporall, till euery one of the confederates had recouered that which apperteined to him. To whom the Pope made aunſwere, that he had conſented to admit them, with intention not to giue them abſolution, if firſt Cæſar (who only had not recouered all) had not obteyned the things that belonged to him. This gaue ſome beginning to the hope and comfort of the *Venetians*, but that which aſſured them moſt in their lateſt feares, was the reſolution of the French king, to obſerue ſimply and in good fidelitie, the capitulation which he had made with Cæſar: and hauing reconquered all that was his, to paſſe no further with his armie, nor breake his limittes: And therefore albeit it was in his power after he had taken *Peſquiero*, not onely to accept *Verona*, which had ſent Embaſſadors to yeelde to him, but alſo to occupie *Padoa* without any impediment, together with all the other townes abandoned by the *Venetians*: yet he would in any ſort that the Embaſſadors of *Verona* ſhould preſent the keyes of their towne to thembaſſadors

Diuers opinions touching the fall of the Venetians.

The firſt hope of the Venetians.

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dors of Cæsar whiche were in his armie, and for that cause he stayed with all his campe at *Pesquiera*, which he retayned for himselfe for the commoditie of the place, notwithstanding it apperteined to the Marquis of *Mantua*, who durst not refuse it to the king, leauing to him the reuenues of the towne, with promise of recompence. At the same time the king had also by accorde the castell of *Cremona*, vnder condition that all the souldiours should depart with goodes and lyfe saued, except such as were his subiectes, and that the gentlemen of *Venice* should remayne his prisoners, to whom he gaue his fayth for their safetie. *Vincensa* & *Padoa* followed the example of *Verona*, as also other townes, except the citie of *Treuisa*, which being abandoned by the Magistrates and souldiours of *Venice*, had runne also that course, if Cæsar had sent thither neuer so small a force, or at the least any personage of authoritie: But *Leon. De Dressino* one of the exiles of *Vincensa*, went thither to receiue it without strength or armes, and without any maiestie of imperie, receiuing *Padoa* in the like sort: and beeing entred and admitted, the exiles of the same citie newly restored by the *Venetians*, for which benefite they were become faythfull louers of their name, began to drawe into tumult, by whose example the people of no lesse affection to the gouernment of *Venice*, roase and conspired with one called *Marke* shoemaker, publishing himselfe chiefe, and with great cryes and cõcourse of the commons, carying into the principall places the banners of the *Venetians*, they cryed with one voyce, *S. Marke*, assuring that they would acknowledge no other Emperour nor Lorde. To this action was muche helping and concurrant an Embassador of the king of *Hungarie*, who in his way to *Venice*, passing by *Treuisa*, and beeing throwne happily into this tumult, perswaded the inhabitantes not to rebell: In so much that after they had chased out *Dressina*, and put into the citie seuen hundred footemen of the *Venetians*, the armie also entring a little after, whiche was nowe increased with bandes of footemen comming from *Slauonia*, with the remaynders of the armie, returned from *Romagnia*, hauing an intention to encampe in some strong place betwene *Margueta* and *Mestra*: They fortified the towne in great diligence, and made their horsemen skoure the places of the countrey thereaboutes, procuring from all partes great releefe of vittels, aswell for the necessitie of that citie, as for the vse of the towne of *Venice*, wherein they gathered great quantities from all sides, ioyning an incredible diligence to the sodayne fauours which their fortune seemed to recomfort them withall. The principall occasion of this accident, & to confirme in the *Venetians* a hope to reteine yet some parte of their dominion, together with many other great aduentures that followed, was the negligence and disordred gouernment of Cæsar, of whom in so great a course of victorie there was heard no other thing then his name, notwithstanding by the meane of the French armes, and for their feare, so many townes had bene rendred to him, which was very easie for him to keepe: Onely, after the confederation made at *Cambray*, he occupied certayne time in *Flaunders*, to leauye of the people a loane of money to furnishe his warres, which he had no sooner got into his possession, then, according to his custome, he spent it vnprofitably: And albeit at his departing from *Macklin* with all pompes and ceremonies imperiall, and beeing come very neare to *Italie*, he made publication that he woulde beginne the warre at the tearme appoynted to him in the capitulation: yet beeing oppressed with his accustomed difficulties and confusions, he aduaunced no further, notwithstanding the Pope egde him with great importunities, for the feare he had of the French armes: wherein to giue him a more lyfe to thenterprise, and to make him no lesse hable to thaction, he sent to him by

Constantin of *Macodina* fiftie thouſande duckets, conſenting withall to the hundred thouſande duckets which had bene leauyed certayne yeres afore in *Germanie*, and reſerued to make warre vpon the infidels: Beſides all this, he had receyued of the French king, an hundred thouſande duckets for thinueſtiture of the duchie of *Millan*, and was aduertiſed of the fortune of the battell of *Vailo* as he drewe neare to *Iſpurch*: and notwithſtanding he diſpatched with great diligence the Duke of *Brunſwike* to recouer *Friul*, yet he moued not (as in ſuche a concurrance of occaſions had bene conuenient) for want of money (the taxes whiche he had impoſed and drawne from ſo many places not beeing hable to ſuffice his prodigalities:) At laſte he arriued at *Trente*, from whence writing letters congratulatorie to the king, he gaue many thanks that by his meane he had recouered his townes: and aſſured him, that the better to expreſſe the good will he bare to the king, and withall to wype out all memories of offences paſt, he had cauſed to be burned a booke which was kept at *Spires*, conteining an authentike regiſter of all the iniuries which the French kings in times paſt had done to thempire and nation of *Germanie*, confeſſing that ſince the king had accompanied his promiſe with ſuche honor and fidelitie, that he could do no leſſe in common office, then for his part to diſſolue all remẽbrances of things that might miniſter occaſions to be vnthankfull to ſo great an affection. The Cardinall of *Amboyſe* came to him to *Trent* the thirtenth day of Iune, to communicate of their common affaires, who beeing receyued with demonſtrations well teſtifying the amitie he bare to his king, promiſed him on the kings behalfe, a ſuccor of fiftie launces. In ſo muche that after they had with great agreement giuen directions for other affayres, it was reſolued that Cæſar and the king ſhould ſpeake together in plaine feeld neare the towne of *Gard*, vpon the Marches of both the one and others countreys: For which cauſe the Frenche king prepared to be there at the day appoynted, and Cæſar, in the ſame regarde came to *Riua de Trente*, bringing in neither of their mindes any ſuſpition, the one allured by good experience of benefite and fidelitie, and the other aſſured by the conſideration of the ſame. But ſuche are the variations of Princes, and their ordinarie ſubiection to ſuſpitions and ielouſies, that themprour, after he had bene there onely two houres, returned immediatly to *Trenta*, ſignifying to the French king, that by occaſion of new accidents hapned at *Friul*, he was conſtrayned to departe ſodenly, deſiring him to ſtay at *Cremona*, till he returned to giue perfection to the enterview determined. This varietie (if notwithſtanding it be poſſible in a Prince ſo inconſtant to finde out the truth) many attributed to his credulitie & lightnes of belefe, ſome men blowing into his eares ſomething that made him enter into ſuſpition: Others made this thoccaſion, that hauing ſo ſmall a Court, accompanied with a trayne ill appoynted, he thought he coulde not preſent himſelfe with that dignitie and reputation, as might holde compariſon with the pompe and greatnes of the French king: who for his part deſiring to diſſolue his armie to be deliuered of ſo great a burden, & no leſſe to returne with ſpede into *Fraunce*, tooke his way to *Millan*, not tarying for themperours ſignification, notwithſtanding the biſhop of *Gurce*, whom themperour had ſent for that effect, following him euen to *Cremona*, ſolicited him muche to tarrie, making promiſe that without all exceptions themperour would returne. The diſcamping of the armie and perſon of the French king from the confines of Cæſar, diminiſhed greatly the reputation of his affayres: And yet albeit he was accompanied with ſuche multitudes of men, that he might eaſily refurniſh *Padoa* and the other townes, yet he forbare to ſende garriſon thither, either for thinconſtancie of his nature, or that he

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thoughte afore hande to ſette vppon ſome other enterpriſe: or laſtely that he interpreted it more to hys honour to diſcende into *Italie* wyth a greater armie: And whiche more is, he pretended (as thoughe the former actions had had their due perfection) that together wyth the ioynt forces of the whole confederates, they ſhould aſſayle the Citie of *Venice:* A matter very plauſible to the French king, but greeuous to the Pope, and no leſſe impugned with open reaſons by the king of *Aragon.*

The laſt actiō of the Florentins agaynſt the Piſans.

About this tyme, the *Florentins* put their laſte hande to the warres agaynſt the *Piſans:* for after they had cutte off all ſuccours and entrie of graynes into *Piſa,* they leauyed newe bandes, to thende by aduauncing all thinduſtrie they coulde, to choake all their courſe of vittelles bothe by ſea and lande: A matter that was ſubiect to difficultie for the neighborhood of the countrey of the *Lucquois,* who when they coulde ſecretly doo it, obſerued wyth a verye negligent fayth their accorde newly made with the *Florentins:* the neceſſities of their neighbours preuayling aboue the bonde of their promiſe, othe, or fidelitie. But notwithſtanding the ſecrete ſuccours of thoſe good neighbours, the wante of vittayles more and more encreaſed within *Piſa:* an affliction aboue all others leaſt tollerable, and moſt contrarie to the kinde of man, expreſſing in that aduerſitie a peculiar frayltie. The ſouldiours of the playne countrey could not endure it, which made thoſe principalls of the Citizens, in whoſe handes reſted al publike reſolutions, being folowed with the greateſt part of the youth of the Citie, the better to loll the countrey ſouldiours with deuiſes accuſtomed, to introduce by the meane of the Lorde of *Plombin,* a practiſe of accorde with the *Florentins:* An action wherein were artificially conſumed many dayes, and for whiche the *Florentins* ſent to *Plombin, Nicholas Machiauel* their ſecretorie, the *Piſans* electing for Embaſſadors both Citizens and countrey men. It was very harde to encloſe *Piſa,* for that it ſtoode in a felden large, and full of dytches and marris, neyther coulde the entry of vittelles be hindred by any eaſie meane, ſpeciallye by nighte, bothe for the faythfull induſtrie of the *Lucquois* to refurniſhe them, and the deſperate myndes of the *Pyſans,* refuſing no perill wherein was anye oportunitie of prouiſion: But to ouercome thoſe difficulties, the *Florentine* Capteines determined to deuide their armie into three partes, beſtowing one parte at *Meſſana* without the gate of *Plagei,* the ſeconde at *Saint Peter de Rene* and *Saint Iames* ouer agaynſt the gate of *Lucquay,* and the thirde was appoynted to the auncient Temple of *Saint Peter d'ingrado,* ſtanding betweene *Piſa* and the mouth of *Arna:* In euery campe, beeing well fortified, they beſtowed a thouſande footemen, with conuenient numbers of horſemen: And to let that none ſhoulde paſſe ouer the mountaynes by the waye of the vale of *Oſola,* whiche leadeth to the mount *Saint Iulian,* they buylded towardes the great hoſpitall, a Baſtillion capable of two hundred and fyftie footemen: By theſe impedimentes the *Piſans* fell more and more into want of vittelles, who ſeeking to gette by pollicie that whiche they diſpayred to obtayne by force, deuiſed that *Alphonſo Mutulo* a young man of *Piſa,* but of baſe condition, who beeing aforetyme taken priſoner by the *Florentin* ſouldiours, and receiuing many pleaſures of his keeper, ſhoulde offer to bee thinſtrument to make them ſurpriſe the gate that goeth to *Lucquay:* Their deuiſe bare this meaning, that at the ſame tyme that the campe whiche was at *Saint Iames* ſhoulde go by nighte to execute thenterpriſe, they woulde not onely oppreſſe it when one parte was entred, but alſo woulde charge the other campes of the *Florentines,* whiche ac-

cording to the reſolution, were to approache more neare the Citie: but for that they made not their approche raſhely nor in diſorder, the *Piſans* wonne no other thing by this practiſe, but the lyues of certayne particulars, who at the ſigne giuen were come to the firſt gate, thinking to enter the Citie, amongſt whom was ſlayne with a ſhotte *Paule de Parana* captayne of a companie of lighte horſemen to the *Florentins*, and *Canaio de Pratovechio*, to whome *Alphonſo Mutulo* had bene priſoner, and vnder his aſſuraunce had managed the practiſe. This hope being thus diſappoynted, and verye ſmall quantities of corne entring into *Piſa*, and that to the great daunger of ſuche as carried it, the *Florentins* withall not ſuffering that the vnprofitable mouthes ſhoulde departe out of *Piſa* vexing them with many aduerſities, thinges neceſſarie for the lyfe of man were boughte at deare rates, yea many periſhed by famine, for that there coulde not enter a proportion to ſuffice the generall numbers: An affliction more lamentable then anye other that the courſe of warre draweth with it: And yet thoſe neceſſities were ſurmounted by the obſtinacie of thoſe Citizens whiche were magiſtrates and principalles in the gouernment, who diſpoſed to beholde rather the extreme ruine of their countrey, then to yeelde to ſo horrible a neceſſitie, deferred from daye to daye to negociate or conſulte, entertayning as well as they coulde the commons, ſometymes with one hope, ſometymes with an other, but ſpecially with this, that ſince there was exſpectation of the comming of Cæſar into *Italie*, the *Florentins* would bee conſtrayned to retyre from their walles. But one parte of the countrey men with ſuch as had bene at *Plombin* where they ſawe into their intentions, drew into conſpiracie, and conſtrayned them to introduce newe conſultations with the *Florentins*, whiche beeing followed wyth *Alaman Saluiat* commaunder of that parte of tharmie whiche laye at *Saint Peter d'ingrado*, after many diſputinges (the principalles oppoſing many impedimentes) were at laſte reſolued and concluded. Thaccorde was made with conditions very fauourable for the *Piſans*, ſeeing that not onely all their faultes bothe publike and priuate were pardoned, but alſo many exemptions accorded, beeing alſo abſolued from all reſtitution of moueable goodes whiche they had rauiſhed from the *Florentins* at the tyme when they rebelled: So great was the deſire of the *Florentins* to repoſſeſſe it, and ſo great their feare leaſt themperour (naming the *Piſans* in the league of *Cambray*) or from ſome other parte, there hapned no impediment vnlooked for: And albeit they were well aſſured that the *Piſans* woulde bee conſtrayned within fewe dayes to giue place to hunger, yet they ſought rather to aſſure the Towne with harde conditions, then to obteine it without conuention, to put anye parte of the certayntie in the power of fortune, holding it more honorable to winne peace by pardoning offences, then to publiſhe their bloudy deſires by thextreme execution of warre. This accorde beeing begonne to be negociated in the campe, was afterwarde tranſlated and concluded at *Florence* by thembaſſadors of the *Piſans*: An action wherein the fayth of the *Florentins* is worthy of memorie, who notwithſtanding their iuſt hatreds prouoked by ſo many iniuries, were no leſſe conſtant to obſerue things promiſed, then eaſie and tractable to thagreement.

Piſa rendred to the Florentins.

The king of *Romains* (no doubt) receiued a great diſpleaſure by the rendring of the *Piſans*, for that he was perſwaded, that eyther the demayne of that Citie mighte ſerue him to manye occaſions, or els by according it to the *Florentins*, he ſhoulde drawe from them a great quantitie of money, for wante whereof he lette ſlipp and loſte many fayre occaſions that were offred to him without his paynes and induſtrie

induſtrie. But whyleſt he ſtoode ſo negligent in oportunities offred, that neyther at *Vincenſa* nor at *Padoa* was almoſte anye ſouldiours for him, and whyleſt withall hys delayes abated thaffection of the inhabitantes of townes, hym ſelfe wandring with a verye ſmall companie, ſometymes to one place, ſometymes to an other: The *Venetians* forgatte not to followe the fauour of the tyme, and taking thaduauntage of hys negligence, they embraſed all opportunities that offred to recouer *Padoa*, whereunto they were induced by many reaſons: for the reteyning of *Treuiſa* made them knowe, howe vnprofitable it was to them, with a counſell ſo raſhe and preiudiciall, to abandon ſo ſoone the dominion of the firme lande, the lingring preparations of themperour beeing the cauſe that they helde hym in leſſe feare dayly: Beſides, they were not a little moued, for that ſeeking to bring to *Venice* the reuenues of the landes which diuerſe particulars of the towne of *Venice* helde in the countrey of *Padoa*, thoſe of *Padoa* made manyfeſt reſiſtance: In ſo muche that the diſdaynes of certayne particulars beeing ioyned to a publike profite, concurring withall the weake prouidence and furniſhmentes of ſouldiours at *Padoa*, together with the conſideration of thinſolencies whiche the Gentlemen of *Padoa* vſed towards the populars, and many remembring the eaſie and moderate gouernment of the *Venetians*, beginning eftſones to deſire their auncient yoke: they determined to make an attempt to recouer it, wherein they were aſſiſted with this ready occaſion, that thoſe of the playne countrey of *Padoa* ſtoode yet at their deuotion. They deuiſed that *Andrevve Gritti* one of their Commaunders, leauing behinde the campe, wherein were foure hundred men at armes, more then two thouſande light horſemen, and fiue thouſande footemen, ſhoulde go to *Noualo* vppon the frontiers of *Padoa*, and taking in his waye a parte of thoſe footebands, which, with many trowpes of paiſantes were ſent to the village of *Miraua*, he ſhoulde drawe towards *Padoa* to aſſayle the gate of *Codalonga*: And the more to terrifie ſuch as were within, they gaue directions at the ſame time, that two thouſande of the popular ſouldiours, with three hundred footemen and certaine horſemen, ſhould execute vpon the bulwarke of the water ſtanding in the contrary part of the citie: And laſtly, the better to couer this enterpriſe, *Chriſto. Moro* the other cõmaunder, was likewiſe appoynted to encampe afore the towne of *Citadella*: The directions and plots of this enterpriſe were no leſſe well layed and obſerued, then the iſſue happie, for that the footmen arriuing at full dayes, found the gate of *Codalonga* halfe open, certayne payſantes a litle before beeing entred by chaunce with cartes loaden with haye: In ſo muche, as commaunding the gate without any great difficultie, and exſpecting without any noyſe the comming of their other ſtrength whiche was at hand, their fortune did not only carry them into the towne, but alſo almoſt to the market place, afore the Citie, which conteines a long circuite, and is not much peopled, was touched with any aduertiſement of thaccident, the feare of the Citizens helping no leſſe to aduaunce the enterpriſe, then the ſecrete induſtrie or vallour of the *Venetians*. The knight *la Volpe* marched firſt with hys light horſemen, together with *Zirolo de Perouſa* & *Lactance de Bergamo*, with one part of the footmen: And the alarme being come to the Citadel, *Dreßina* gouernor of *Padoa* for *Maximilian*, prepared himſelf to ſailly out with three hundred *Almain* footmen which he had there only for his gard: the like did *Brunault de Serge* with fiftie horſmen, who ſuſteining the furie of the enemies, exſpected that the gentlemen of *Padoa* fauourers of *th Almains* would take armes with thē: But that hope was vaine with all the reſidue, for that in the Citie falne into this ſurpriſe and ſodayne oppreſſion of tumult, was

The Venetiãs determine to recouer Padoa.

The Venetiãs recouer Padoa.

founde no disposition of resistaunce, especially many bandes of thenemie being entred and gouerning those partes of the towne, wherein laye their chiefest protection: In so muche as standing thus abandoned of fortune and hope, they were constrayned, with the losse of many of their men, to retyre with speede into the castell and Cytadell, and they but weakly manned, were by the necessitie of the present perill, yeelded to discression within a fewe howres after, they beeing no lesse vnhable to repulse a violence offred, then they were negligent to foresee it afore it hapned. By this meane, the *Venetians* being eftsones made Lordes of the whole, labored to appease the tumult, and saue the Citie, whereof the greatest parte, by the insolencies of the others, were ranged to their deuotion, nothing receyuing spoyle or harme, but certayne houses and stoare places of the *Ievves*, whiche were afore declared enemies to the name of the *Venetians*. This accident hapned the daye of *S. Marina*, a daye solemnly celebrated at *Venice* by publike decree, as a firste daye of their felicitie, and beginning of the restoring of their common weale. The brute of this victorie dyd muche to moue the whole countrey thereaboutes, whiche had found imitation in *Vincensa*, if *Constantin de Macedonia* had not entred with a very small strength: But as there is no worldly thing more mightie then the course of fortune, so by the felicitie of this conqueste, the *Venetians* became with a present diligence, maisters of the whole countrey, the commons of townes and popular multitudes ioyning fauor to the felicitie that folowed thē. They recouered by this meane the towne and castelles of *Leguagno*, a place of great conueniencie to trouble the countreys of *Verona*, *Padoa*, and *Vincensa*: They made attempt also to take the tower *Marquisano* within eight miles of *Padoa*, a passage of singular oportunity to dissresse the countrey of *Mantua*, but by the reskewes which the Cardinall of *Este* sent, their enterprise was defeated.

It was thought that the taking of *Padoa* did nothing stay the French king from returning beyond the Mountes, and as he was vpon his discamping, he made in the towne of *Biagrasse* newe conuentions with the Popes Legat, by the which the Pope and the king bound eche other to a mutuall protection, with libertie that either of them might contract with any other Prince, so farre forth as it was not preiudiciall to the present confederation: The king promised not to holde in his protection, nor to accept into the same hereafter, any subiect, homager, or dependant, eyther directly or indirectly of the Churche, cancelling expresly all articles of protection vntill that daye: A promise not muche agreable to the honour of so great a king, for that a little before he had taken into his protection the Duke of *Ferrara*, for a consideration of thirtie thousande duckets: besides, it was agreed that the Pope shoulde dispose by his discression the Bishoprikes that then were voyde in all the landes of the kings obedience, but for suche as shoulde fall voyde within a certayne tyme, they shoulde be at the nomination of the king, for whose better satisfaction, the Pope sent the Bulles of Cardinalshippe to the Bishop of *Alby*, promising to indue him with the Hatte assone as he came to *Rome*. Immediatly vppon the conclusion of this contract the king hasted out of *Italie*, carrying with him into *Fraunce* no small glory for so great a victorie gotten, with so swift a course vpon the *Venetians*: And yet he caried home by this victorie, neyther the more tranquillitie of mind, nor greater assurance for his affayres: A matter that often hapneth, that in things obteined, after they haue bene long desired, men finde neither that contentment, nor that pleasure which they imagined before: yea men might discerne matter prepared to greater daungers and innouations, together with a manifest incer-

tentie

tie of his minde, by the deliberations he had to make by reaſon of thoſe accidentes newely hapned: for, if thinges had good ſucceſſe with the king of *Romains*, his feare was farre greater of him then of the *Venetians*: And if the greatnes of the *Venetians* beganne eftſones to be readreſſed, he muſte be conſtrayned to dwell in continuall ſuſpitions and expences, to keepe the things he had taken from them: beſides, he muſt needes contribute to *Maximilian* bothe in men and money, for that in abandoning him, he was to feare leaſt he would knitte with the *Venetians* agaynſt him, and withall, leaſt the king Catholike would not be of the faction, and happly the Pope: Beſides, meane aydes and ſuccors would not ſuffice to interteine him in amitie with Cæſar, to whome he muſt miniſter ſo liberally, as by them he might obteine the victorie agaynſt the *Venetians*: and on the other ſide, if he ſent him ſtrong and hable ſuccors, beſides that it coulde not but drawe with it intollerable expences and harmes, yet he confirmed his owne daungers touching the greatnes of Cæſar: The king waighing theſtate of theſe difficulties, ſtoode in the beginning in doubt touching the mutation of *Padoa*, whether he ſhould holde it agreable or troubleſome: But conferring the ſuretie which the depriuation of the firme land frō the *Venetians* might bring to him, with the perplexities and daungers which he feared to ſuffer by the greatnes of Cæſar, and with hope to obtayne of him by money in regarde of his neceſſities, the citie of *Verona*, which he deſired muche, as a place of ſinguler oportunitie to ſuppreſſe the mouinges on the ſide of *Germanie*: he iudged it at laſt more to his profite and ſuretie, to haue things remayne in that eſtate, then, for that there was great apparance of a long warre betweene Cæſar and the *Venetians*, both the one and other beeing made wearie by ſo continuall expenſes, would bæcome more weake. In this nature of opinion he ſtoode better confirmed, when he had contracted with the Pope, with whom he hoped to haue a confederation well aſſured and reſolued: And yet he left vppon the limittes of *Verona*, *Monſr de Paliſſa* with ſeuen hundred launces to be diſpoſed by Cæſar, no leſſe for the preſeruation of things gotten, thē to obteine that which the *Venetians* ſtil poſſeſſed, And becauſe by the commaundement of Cæſar, they being conueyed into *Vincenſa*, the citie of *Verona* was aſſured, which was in great daunger and ſuſpicion for the ſmall numbers of men of warre that were within it: and by that meane the Venetian armie which lay encamped before the Citadell, was retyred.

After the kings departure, this good aduenture fell alſo to the *Venetians*: Their horſmen which were within *Leguagna*, made continuall incurſions ouer the whole countrey euen to the gates of *Verona*, doing many violences and harmes of warre, agaynſt whom the garriſon of *Verona* could make no great reſiſtance, being but two hundred horſmen, & ſeuen hundred footmen: by reaſon wherof the Biſhop of *Trent*, whom Cæſar had appoynted gouernour ouer it, determined to plant his campe there, and for the better execution, he called to thaction the Marquis of *Mantua*, who expecting the preparations that were in hande, laye incamped with thoſe bandes whiche the French king had giuen him, in the yle of *Eſcalo*, a great paſſage vpon the countrey of *Verona*, neither inuironed with walles, nor made ſtrong with other fortifications: But whyleſt he laye there without iealouſie or doubte of anye thing, he ſerued as a notable example to all Capteines, howe muche it importes them in all tymes and all places to bee vigilant, and ſo manage their affayres with care and induſtrie, that they maye haue confidence in their proper forces, without reappoſing in this vayne imagination, that eyther their enemies bee farre of, or that by an opinion of their weakneſſe they maye thinke

The Marquis of Mantua priſoner.

their eſtate to ſtande in more ſecuritie: for, as the Marquis had couenaunted with certaine eſtradiots of the Venetian armie to come to him in that place to take his paye and followe his enſigne, who from the beginning of the conference had manifeſtly communicated the deuiſe with their capteines: And as the capteines, vpon this occaſion had ordeined to aſſayle him vnprouided: So *Luke Maluezzo* with two hundred light horſmen, and *Zitolo de Perouſa* with eight hundred footemen, whiche were ſecretly come from *Padoa* to *Leguagno*, beeing ioyned to the bands which were within, and fiftene hundred men of the countrey, and ſending before certayn horſemen, who cried *Turko, Turko*, (that was the Marquis name) making as though they were thoſe eſtradiots that were exſpected: they conueyed them ſelues in the peepe of the daye without that there was any doubt made, to the yle of *Eſcalo* the ſame morning that was appoynted, where, finding no reſiſtance they entred, and finding all the ſouldiours without gard and ſuche as followed the perſon of the Marquis ſleeping in their owne negligence, they put them to the ſpoyle, and tooke priſoner amongſt others, *Monſr de Boyſsi* lieſtenant to the Marquis, and nephew to the Cardinall *Amboyſe*. The Marquis vnderſtanding thalarme, leaped naked out at a windowe, and hidde himſelfe in a tuffe of corne: but he was diſcouered to thenemies by a paiſant of the ſame place, who reſpecting more theſtate of the *Venetiãs*, thẽ his particular profit, made as though he would ſaue the Marquis for the offers he made, but did the contrarie: for that the Marquis not hable to lye hidden in ſo yll a fortune, was preſented afore the generall, and ſo ledde to *Venice*, and there put priſoner in the litle tower of the publike pallace, to the wonderful reioyſing of euery one.

Cæſar till this day had giuen no impediment, nor medled to hinder the proceedings of the *Venetians*, for that he had not yet leauyed a force ſufficient to put him ſelfe in the feelde: He was hardly beſtead many dayes in the mountaine of *Vincenſe*, where the countrey men bearing deuotion to the Venetian name, and reappoſing muche in the difficulties of the place, were drawne into manifeſt rebellion agaynſt him: And after *Padoa* was reobtayned by the *Venetians*, he diſcended into the plaines, where beeing encountred with multitudes of the mountaine men and payſantes in a paſſage of good ſituation and ſtrength, his caſe was in no little perill: But after his valour and pollicie had remoued the daungers that were oppoſed, and by their proper diſorder had put the mountayne men to the chaſe, he came to *Eſcalo* vpon the frontier *Vincentin*, where the Venetian armie had recouered a great part of the countrey of *Vincenſe*, and taken *Serauallo*, a paſſage of importance, where they executed many cruelties vpon the *Almains*, which was recompenſed with like example of ſlaughter by *Maximilian* vpon the *Italian* footmen and mountayne men, winning vpon them the paſſage not many dayes after: A matter which ought not
" to finde ſo ready imitation amongſt Chriſtians, notwithſtanding the lawes of armes
" are full of ſeuerities, for that in actions of reuenge the vertue is greater to pardon,
" then to puniſhe, and to a Prince by ſo muche more honorable is his victorie, by
" howe muche he vſeth his clemencie aboue his iuſtice: But as yet his forces beeing not ſo great as the neceſſitie of his affayres required, he occupied the time in ſmall enterpriſes, ſometimes beſieging this borough, and ſometime that paſſage, with very litle honor and reputation for the name imperiall: and as alwayes his conceptions were farre greater then his forces or occaſions, ſo he ſolicited at the ſame time with the confederates the vnion of all their forces, to make an action vpon the citie of *Venice*, making his commoditie, ouer and aboue the preparations by lande, of the ſea armies of the French king, the king of *Aragon* and the galleys of the Pope beeing

at

at that time cõioyned and assembled into one Nauye: To which demaũd, notwithstanding no mencion was made in the confederacion of *Cambray*, the French had cõsented, if the condicions had bene such, as the benefit of the conquest had turned to a common profitte: so readye is thinclination of Princes to embrace enterprises which depend vpon benefit: But it was a thing greeuous to the Pope, with whom, both then and at other times when it was commoned vpon more amplie, the king of *Aragon* ioyned to detest it for that it seemed to bring particular profitte to the French, vsing this cooller that it was both vniust and dishonest.

The calamities of warre are hardly lymited, and lesse seldome conteyned in one place certeine, for whilest the contreys of *Padoa*, *Vincensa*, and *Verona*, suffred these tormentes by the armies of *th Almains* and *Italyans*, the contrey of *Fryul* and those places which were for the *Venetians* in *Istria*, were afflicted with more miserable persecutions and ruines: for that the Prince of *Hanau* being entred by Cæsars direction into the contrey of *Fryul* with ten thousand men trayned, after he had attempted in vaine to take *Montfalcon*, caryed by force the towne and castell of *Cadore*, with a pityfull execucion and boucherie of those that defended it: And on the other syde, certeine light horsemen and footebandes of the *Venetains* folowed with many of the contrey men, tooke by force the towne of *Valdisera*, and by accord, the towne of *Bellona*, where was no garrison for *th Almains*. The Duke of *Brunsvvik*, whom themperour had likewise sent thether, being repulsed at *Vdnia* the principall towne of *Fryul*, was marched to *Ciuital d'Austrich*, a towne situat in a high place vpon the ryuer of *Natisona*, where *Federik Contarino* laye in garrison with a verye small companie, reapposing much in the forces of the people who had myndes well resolued to defend them selues: to his succors, as *Ioh. P. Gradiuio* Magistrat of *Fryul* was cõming with eight hundred horsemen and fyue hundred footemen, he was put to flight by certeine bandes of *th Almains*: And yet, notwithstanding they had shaked *Cyuitall* with their artillery, they could not cary it, neither with the furious assalts which they gaue, nor with the rumor they spred that they had defeated the succors that came to reskew them, so great a resolution dothe the defence of libertie, aboue all other respects, breede in the mynde of men: In *Istria*, *Christopher Frangypan* defeated nere the borough of *Vermes*, the cõmissaries of the *Venetians* accõpained with the bãdes & soldiours of the contrey: A succesſe that put into his handes the new castell & the towne of *Raspruch*, to the great terrifying of the whole contrey with the domages, ruines, and burnings that he made: In this perill the *Venetians* sent thether *Angeo Treuisan* capteine of their sea armie, with sixtene gallies, who taking vpon his ariuall the towne of *Fiumo*, addrest himselfe to occupie the towne of *Triesto*: But the succesſe falling contrarye to thexspectacion of thaduenture, he torned his strength to *Raspruch*, and recouered it by force, and afterwards retyred with his gallyes to *Venice*, *Fryul* and *Istria* remeyning in a pityfull estate, for that some tymes the *Venetians* cõmaunding, and sometimes *th Almains* preuailing, those townes which the one parte had taken and sacked, being eftsoones recouered & prayed vpon by the other, there was no action which tended not to the ruine of the miserable contrey, wherein the lyues and goods of men being in continuall pillage, the frutes and welth of the contrey were horribly wasted by all those sorts of oppressions which so bluddye a warre may draw with it.

During those accidents of temporall armes, there was disputation at *Rome* touching spirituall armes, six Embassadors of *Venice* (since the reobteyning of *Padoa*) being gon thether in habyt and show miserable: for where affore they were wont

to come in with great pompe and magnificence, and receiued with a reuerence of the whole Court: nowe, muche leſſe that they were followed or accompanied, ſeeing they were not admitted to enter but by night: Suche was the pleaſure of the Pope, who denying them the preſence of his face, referred them to negociate in the houſe of the Cardinall of *Naples* with him and the other Cardinalles and Prelates appoynted, thembaſſadors of Cæſar, the Frenche, and Spaniſhe hindring as muche as they could that they ſhoulde not obtayne thabſolution of the Churche paynes, and of the contrarie a Biſhop of *Englande* whom the king of that Nation, *Henry* the eight had ſent thither in their fauor, ſoliciting manifeſtly for them with all the labours and deuiſes he could vſe: So full of quarrell is aduerſitie, and ſo infinite is the malice of the worlde, that to him that is ouerthrowne there are fewe that will lende their handes to helpe him vp agayne, and to ſuch as are in wealth and fauor, euery one ſtudieth to caſt ſtumbling blocks to make them fall.

But about this time, an exſpectation of farre greater things occupied the mindes of euery one, for that as Cæſar on the one ſide leauying all the power he was hable of him ſelfe, with ſuche as he could gather of his aydors and friendes, prepared to beſiege *Padoa* with a puiſſant armie: ſo the *Venetians* on the other ſide, iudging their vniuerſall ſafetie to conſiſt in the defence of the ſame Citie, labored to ſtrengthen it with all prouiſions neceſſarie for their defence: They cauſed to enter, beſides the bands appoynted for the garde of *Treuiſa*, their whole armie with all the forces they coulde gather from all partes: they conueyed thither infinite numbers of all ſortes of artilleries, and all prouiſions of vittelles, ſufficient to nouriſhe them for many monethes, and refurniſhed the towne with proportions of laborers, workemen, and artificers, by whoſe helpe they made many mountes, and ſluces of wood and yron, to thende they ſhould not be depriued of the water that was brought to *Padoa*. And albeit the prouiſions and munitions were ſuche as greater could not be deſired, yet in an action of ſo great importance, the care, diligence, and induſtrie of the Senate were incredible, omitting no oportunitie wherin occaſion was giuen to reconquer their loſſes, and defende their libertie that remayned: They ſet before their eyes the conſideration of all things that they iudged to be eyther neceſſarie or profitable, and brought into iudgement all accidentes that eyther feare, perill, or coniecture could deuiſe, wherin as they were in open conference of things, in open counſell, *Leonard Loredan* their duke, a man muche reſpected for his age, and of no leſſe reputation for the dignitie of his place whereunto he was called many yeres before, reaſoned at large in this maner.

The oration of Leonard Loredan.

In caſes of aduerſities, more doth it hurt to be doubtfull in counſel and wandring, then the multitude of ylles that can happen, for that when perill and daunger be at hand, it is to late to turne confidence into feare, and leſſe declaration of vertue to be deſperat in chaunces, ſeeing there is no accident that hapneth which comes not accompanied with his proper remedie: And as follie and raſhnes haue no ſocietie with wiſedome, nor fortune any communitie with good counſell: ſo when the laſt neceſſitie haſtneth, to liue in coniectures, is to drawe on the yll that threatneth, and to be irreſolute, is not to temper fortune, but to tempt her. I feare nothing leſſe in you then want of wiſdome and valour, for that in mindes ſo well inſtructed, the reſpectes to common honor and libertie can not but be farre aboue the conſiderations of our preſent myſeries and fortune. But I wiſhe by the way of warning, that we be not too muche amaſed in the contemplation of our calamities, nor more fearefull of harmes that are yet but in ſhowes and ſhadowes, then mindfull to forſee

that

that they reſolue not to bodies, and happen through our proper negligence and weaknes. If it be true (right worthy Senators) that not onely the hope we haue to recouer our dominion, conſiſtes in the well defending of *Padoa*, but alſo all thexpectation that remaynes to maynteine our vniuerſall libertie: And if on the contrarie, it be moſt certayne, that of the loſſe of *Padoa* will diſcende the laſt deſolation of our countrey, we muſt neceſſarily graunt, that the prouiſions and preparations whiche hithervnto we haue made, notwithſtanding they were great, haue not yet bene ſufficient, eyther for that that apperteineth to the ſuretie of that Citie, nor for that which reſpecteth the dignitie of our common weale: for in an action of ſuch danger and importance, it ſufficeth not ſo to order things, as there may be a bare hope of the defending of *Padoa*, but we muſt ſo prouide that with all our forces there may be ſuche concurrance of all diligence and induſtrie poſſible to the wit of men, that it may ſtande aſſured agaynſt all the accidentes of fortune, who beeing mightie ouer all the things of the world, hath yet her greateſt power ouer thactions of warre: It is not a reſolution worthy the ancient glory of the *Venetian* name, to commit wholly the publike ſafetie, our vniuerſall honor, and the proper liues of our wyues and children, to the vertue of forreiners, and fidelitie of marcenarie ſouldiours: it better agreeth with the extremitie we are in, and with the auncient reputation and valour of this Citie, to ronne thither with our bodies, and ſtretche out our armes for the defence of that wherein is incloſed the ſafetie of the communitie of this populous dominion: for if we now looke not to the preſeruation of that Citie, there remaines no tyme hereafter to make vs aſſured, no fortune to hope in, no place to giue vs comfort, nor no action wherein to ſhowe our vertue, or to expende our treaſure for our libertie and ſafetie. Time is thankfull to ſuche as followe it, and fauoreth occaſions with oportunities conuenient, which if we will apply to our ſelues afore the ſeaſon of our remedie and reskew be paſt, we muſt not leaue vnproued any policie, any example, nor any action that may reſpect our ſuccor and ſafetie, and muche leſſe expect, till we remayne a pray to thoſe that ſeeke to ſacke our goods, and waſhe their couetouſneſſe in our blood. The conſeruation of our countrey comprehends not onely a publike good, but together with the ſafetie of the common weale, is reſpected the ſecuritie of euery particular, ſuffring ſuche affinitie and coniunction together, that the one can not conſiſt without the other: for the common weale falling into ſeruitude, it can not be auoyded that the ſubſtance, the honors, and lyues of priuat men, become not alſo a pray to the couetouſneſſe, to the voluptuouſneſſe, to the cruelties, and to the vile affections of the enemies. Though there were no other reſpect or intereſt in the defending of a common weale, then the preſeruation of a countrey, is it not a thing worthy of noble Citizens full of glory and reputation in this worlde, and meritorious alſo afore God? the ſame ſo working with the people gentils and heathen, that they helde it as a religion, that in heauen is determined a place particular for the perpetuall fruition and comfort of ſuche, as eyther ſuccored, preſerued, or augmented their countrey: And what countrey did euer deſerue to be better reskewed and ſupported by her children then this, who in all ages hath retayned a ſoueraigne principallitie ouer all the cities of the worlde, and by whome the Citizens receiue infinite commodities, profites, and honours. It is wonderfull, whether you cõſider it in the gifts which it hath receyued of nature, or in the things which declare her perpetuall greatnes and happie fortune: or laſtly, in thoſe effects which expreſſe her vertue, together with the nobilitie of the wittes of her inhabitantes: her ſituation makes men amaſed, beeing the onely citie in the worlde ſeated

" amongeſt the ſalt waters, and hath all her parts ſo conioyned, that at one time men
" may enioy the commodities of the water, and pleaſures of the lande: It is aſſured a-
" gaynſt thinuaſions of the lande, for that it ſtandeth not on the firme lande, and it is
" free from inundations of water, for that it is not ſeated in the plaine and deepe ſea.
" I maye alleage to the dignitie and reputation of this Citie, the wonderfull maieſtie
" of publike pallaces and priuate manſions buylded at incredible charges, and repoli-
" ſhed with ſtraunge Marbles and ſtones of ſingularitie, brought hither from all parts
" of the world, together with a ſtately aſpect of excellent purtraites, imageries, ſcul-
" ptures, pillors, and other workmanſhippes of worthy regard: No citie of the world
" comparatiue with this for the concourſe of all ſtraunge nations comming hither,
" partly for the ſuretie and freedome of habitation in this climat ſo wel tempered, and
" partly for thexerciſe of their traffike and negociations, whereby our common weale
" doth drawe more plentie of reuenues and ryches of things conteined onely within
" the circuit of this Citie, then many abſolute kings receiue of their large and whole
" kingdomes. Great is the affluence of men of facultie and ſcience, reuerent for their
" grauitie, doctrine, and learning, and no leſſe wonderfull for their ſingularitie & qual-
" litie of witte, and other vertues of men, from the which, ioyned to other conditions,
" is diſcended the glory of actions which by this common weale and her diſcendants,
" haue bene made more great, then (ſince the imperie of the *Romains*) by any other
" principallitie or ſtate in the world. It may be holden not one of the leaſt wonders,
" to ſee ſo great abundance of things, in a Citie wherein nothing groweth, and yet
" ſubiecte to ſuche multitudes of inhabitantes. At the beginning our towne was
" ſtrayted and incloſed, and we conſtrayned to retyre our ſelues into little rockes and
" caues, barraine and naked of all things, and yet the vertue of our elders, ſtretching
" out firſt into the next ſeas and townes adioyning, and afterwardes riſing encrea-
" ſing by degrees of ſucceſſe vpon the ſhoares and prouinces further of, yea euen to
" the vttermoſt limittes of the Leuant, they got both by ſea and lande ſo great an em-
" pire, and power, that beeing redowted to all the other townes in *Italie*, it was neceſ-
" ſarie to call in the vnitie, pollicies, and forces of other Chriſtian princes to helpe to
" abate and depreſſe it: Matters aſſuredly hapned by the ayde and fauor of the omni-
" potent God, who with ſuche graces hath bleſſed and ſanctified the lawes and obſer-
" uations of iuſtice indifferently adminiſtred in this citie: thoſe reſpects alſo making
" many peoples and nations to offer willing ſubiection to our gouernment. What
" citie, what empire, or what principalitie giues place to our countrey, for matter of
" religion, pietie, and workes of good example? Where maye be ſeene ſo many Mo-
" naſteries, ſo many Temples full of ſo many precious ornaments and thinges of ad-
" miration dedicated to the ſeruice of God? Where may be founde ſo many Hoſpi-
" talls and places of pitie, prepared for the perpetuall comforte of the afflicted, and
" continuall exerciſe of charitie? Great (ſure) is the recõmendation of our Citie for
" theſe fauours and bleſſings, but farre more worthy are her prayſes for the glory of
" this onely, that our countrey being from the beginning begot and brought forth in
" libertie, there was neuer ſeene any man borne or dye in *Venice*, which died not a free
" man, and was neuer troubled in his libertie: A felicitie mouing principally by
" thexerciſe of ciuill concorde, which hath ſtande alwayes ſo rooted and confirmed
" in the hartes of men, that at the inſtant when they enter into our Senate and our
" counſells, they ſhake off all diſcordes and priuat quarrels: Of this is the cauſe the
" forme of gouernment, which hath ſuche temperature and communitie with all the
" beſt ſortes of publike adminiſtration, and compounded of ſuche a well conſenting

armonie

armonie agreeing in it ſelfe, that it hath remayned for many ages vndefiled without partialities, without ciuill ſedition, without armes, and without effuſion of blood amongſt Citizens: the ſame beeing the onely prayſe of our common weale, excelling in this propertie of vertue both *Rome*, *Carthage*, *Athens*, and all other names of common weale of auncient commendation: yea, we proue in our ſelues ſuche an effect of this kinde of gouernment and pollicie, that all thoſe auncients, who in ages paſt haue made profeſſion of Ciuill wiſdome, could not deſcribe or inſtitute a better. Let not then the children, the offspring, and preſent people of ſo glorious a countrey, in whom for ſo many worlds and ages, hath bene ſo worthily expreſſed the very ſtrength and defence of the fayth and the beautie of the whole Chriſtian common weale, bee ſlowe in the execution of their duetie, the neceſſitie of their owne ſafetie ſo requiring. Let no man refuſe to cõmit to danger the life of himſelfe and children, for the protection of that wherin conſiſts our vniuerſall ſafetie, which beeing comprehended in the onely defence of *Padoa*, let no man refuſe to put his perſon to aduenture: And albeit we haue certentie that the forces that be there already are ſufficient for the defence of it, yet it apperteines to our honor, it is a iuſte office of our common vertue, and it concernes the glory of the name of *Venice*, to make the world ſatisfied, that we are runne thither in perſon, both to defend and preſerue: The deſtinie of that Citie hath permitted, that in fewe dayes ſo great an eſtate of imperie ſhould fall out of our handes, wherein we haue not to complayne ſo muche of the malice of fortune, for that ſuche nature of aduentures are common to other countreys and kingdomes, as, for that fayling of that conſtancie which till this day hath bene inuincible, and without all memorie of the glorious examples of our elders, we haue with too ſodayne diſpaire, giuen place to the mightie blowes of aduerſitie, and are not hable to repreſent to our children that valour & vertue, which our fathers haue left well teſtified to vs. In matters of enterpriſe occaſion is of great force, and time doth now returne vpon vs thoccaſion to recouer that notable ornament & member which is not yet loſt, if we ſhow the minds of men, but only altered without any perill of abſolute ruine. Let vs go agaynſt the fortune that enuieth vs, and make willing proſtitution of our bodies to the daungers that are offred, ſo ſhall we not onely redeeme thinfamies that we haue receyued, but alſo the world beholding yet that our auncient magnanimitie and vertue is not loſt, men will rather attribute the diſorders paſt to a certaine fatall tempeſt, which neither the counſels nor conſtancie of men could reſiſt, then to impoſe vpon vs eyther blame or diſhonour, fulfilling all things that our condition can afforde for our ſuccor. In this reſpect, if it were reaſonable that we went altogether to the reskewe of *Padoa*, and if for certaine days we might leaue this citie abandoned without preiudice of her defence & other publike affayres of importance, my ſelfe, without exſpecting your reſolution, would be the firſt that ſhould open the way, not ſeeing wherein I might better cloaſe vp the lateſt dayes of my olde age, then in my preſence to participate with ſo glorious a victorie which is required of my office and birth, or els not to remayne on liue after the ruine of my countrey: A calamitie which my minde hath horror to expreſſe. But for that *Venice*, neither can, nor ought to be depriued of her publike counſels, wherein conſiſteth no leſſe the defence of *Padoa*, then in the force and armes of ſuche as be there alreadye: And ſeeing that the vnprofitable trowpes of olde perſons will ſtande in that citie rather as a charge and burden, then as a ſuccour and ayde neceſſarie: And ſeeing withall it is not conuenient, for things that may happen, to diſfurniſhe *Venice* of all her youth: My aduiſe is, reſpecting theſe reaſons

" with the regarde to accidentes that maye occurre, that there bee made a choyse
" of two hundred gentlemen of the flower and principalls of our youth, and euery of
" them to go to *Padoa*, with such proportion of his freends, followers, and seruaunts,
" as his riches and habilitie will beare, and to continue there so long as shall be neces-
" sarie for that defence: My two sonnes with their retinues shall be the first in this
" example, of whose lyues and persons in so great a daunger, I make a willing offer to
" the succor of their countrey: By their presence in thaction the citie of *Padoa* shall
" be more assured: by their example the marcenarie souldiours that be there will be
" more resolute, seeing a ready courage in our honorable youth assisting all actions
" that concerne that seruice. And seeing our sonnes and kinsmen ioyned with them,
" their suretie will be the greater to haue no want of vittelles, munitions, nor anye o-
" ther thing conuenient to their comfort: The residue of our youth not put to this
" execution, shall be so much the more encouraged by this example, to commit them
" selues in all times of necessitie, to all trauayles and daungers importing the seruice
" of their countrey: It is an honest emulation to striue in vertue, but it is more hono-
" rable to contende to excell one an other in the defence of our countrey: By this
" I exhort you, noble Senators, (whose wordes and doings serue as an example and
" doctrine to the whole Citie) to moster your sonnes, and make them of the number
" of those that shall communicate in so great a glory: for from them will not onely
" proceede the assured & certayne defence of *Padoa*, but in this action is also brought
" to vs with all nations, a peculiar reputation, that we our selues are they, who with
" the daunger of our owne lyues do defende the libertie and safetie of the moste wor-
" thy and florishing countrey that is in the whole world.

The gentlemē of Venice go to the succors of Padoa.

This counsell of the Prince was heard with great affection of the residue, to whō nothing appeared more conuenient for their common safetie, then to ioyne it to practise and execution: And as the nature and operation of the time, and the necessitie of their affayres, could not without preiudice endure delayes, so the flower and choyse bodies of their youth of *Venice*, mostred and drewe to them so many of their friends and followers as were apt to armes, and with them went with speede to the seruice of *Padoa*, beeing accompanied to their embarquing with all the other gentlemen and communitie of people, euery one celebrating with many prayses, and with vowes and desires full of deuotion and affection, so great a readynes to succor the countrey: An example of right worthy and honorable imitation, seruing to instruct all posterities and ages, that when perill and daunger be at hande, euery one to be touched with the interest of his countrey: They were welcomed at *Padoa* with an vniuersall gladnes of the captaynes and souldiours, much recommending the valour of those noble personages, who not trayned in the trauelles, experiences, and daungers of warre, stucke not to preferre the loue of their countrey, afore the respect of their proper lyfe: In so muche as ministring comfort one to an other, not as men trauelled in calamities, but with mindes resolute, they exspected in great fidelitie the comming of Cæsar: who for his parte labouring to reassemble and receiue the bandes of souldiours that came to him from all partes, was by this time come to the bridge of *Brento* three myles from *Padoa*, and hauing taken *Limini* by force, and cut off the course of the water, he tarried the comming of thartillerie whiche was sent out of *Germanie*, which was no lesse terrible for the quantitie then for the qualitie: of this proportion of artilleries one parte being arriued at *Vincensa*, and *Phillip Rosse* and *Federike Gonsague de Bossole* beeing gone with two hundred light horsemen to be his garde, they were charged with a strength of fiue hundred light horsemen, who,

ledde

ledde by certayne peisantes that during the warre dyd muche seruice to the *Venetians*, and beeing then issued oute of *Padoa*, they ouerthrewe them fiue miles from *Vincensa*, where *Phillip* remayned prisoner, and *Federike* by the fauour of the nighte escaped in his shirte. From the bridge of *Brenta*, *Maximilian* enlarged and stretched out his bandes about twelue myles, drawing towardes *Polesina de Rovvigua*, the better to open to him selfe the commoditie of vittayles, and taking the borowe of *Este* by assaulte, and putting it to sacke, he went to encampe at *Monfelice*, where the towne standing in the playne, being abandoned, the seconde daye he caried the castell standing on the toppe of a highe rocke: Afterwardes he tooke by composition *Montagnana*, and so returning towards *Padoa*, he incamped at the bridge of *Bassanello* neare *Padoa*, where he proued in vayne to turne the ryuer of *Brenta* whiche from thence hath his course to *Padoa*. At this place did ariue all thartilleries and munitions which he exspected, and hither did resort all the regimentes of men of warre which lay dispersed in diuers places, with whom in forme and title of a mayne armie, he approched neare the towne: and hauing bestowed foure thousand footmen in the suburbes which are called *S. Croff*. his opinion was to assayle it on that side, but being afterwards aduertised that it was a parte of the towne moste strong by situation and by walles, and also that there he stoode most subiect to the harmes of thartilleries, he determined to discampe and remoue his armie to the gate which is called the Waterfort, bearing his aspect to *Venice*: The cause why he remoued to this place, was an opinion that there the towne was most weake, and withall to giue impediment to the succours which were to come eyther from *Venice* to *Padoa* both by lande and water: But for that he could not go thither for the discommoditie of certayne marishes and watrie channells ouerflowing the countrey, but by fetching a great circuite, he came to the bridge of *Bouolento* within seuen myles of *Padoa*, where be pastures and feeding groundes vpon the banke of *Baguillon* towards the sea, betwene *Padoa* and *Venice*. To this place, enuironed with waters, & in the most sure part of the countrey of *Padoa*, were withdrawne three thousande peisantes with great heardes of cattell, who beeing forced by the footebandes of the Spanishe and Italians that were in the vauwarde, were almoste all taken or slayne, the victors employing the two dayes following in praying the whole countrey, euen to the sea, dryuing away infinite heardes of cattell feeding in that quarter. There were also taken vppon *Brenta* diuerse barkes, whiche laden with vittayles were running vp to *Padoa*: At laste, the fyftenth daye of September, after he had consumed muche tyme vnprofitably, and giuen good leisure to thenemie both to fortifie and refurnishe the towne with vittayles, he approched the wals of *Padoa* on that side towards the gate of the waterfort. There hath not bene seene in *Italie* neither in the age present, nor haply long time before, a besieging of more great exspectation, nor wherein the myndes of men were more busily occupied, then this, not so muche for the nobilitie and maiestie of the Citie, as for thimportance that was in the loasing and keping of the same: For *Padoa*, a citie so aunciently recommended for the vniuersitie of studies and sciences, is seated in a countrey very fertill, and vnder a climat temperat and wholsome: it is incompassed with three orders of walls, and bearing a circuit and circumference as large as any citie in *Italy*, it hath passing by it the ryuers of *Brenta* and *Baguillon*: And albeit the *Venetians* won it out of the possession of the familie of *Carrato* more then two hundred yeres since, yet it retaines many proude aspects and shewes of stately buildings, with many monuments & signes of antiquitie wel expressing her ancient greatnes & beautie: And of

Description of Padoa.

the conquering and defending of ſo great a Citie depended, not only the confirmation or diminution of the *Almain* imperie in *Italie*, but alſo the verye eſtate and felicitie of the Citie of *Venice*: for *Padoa* beeing defended, it was eaſie for the common weale of *Venice* abounding in great wealth, and of one vnitie of mynde and readineſſe of witte, ſubiect to no ſuche variations as thaffayres of Princes are, to hope to recouer in ſmall tyme ſo great a part of her iuriſdiction: wherein they were ſo muche the more aſſured, by howmuche the moſt parte of thoſe ſubiects whiche had thirſted after mutations, neither finding effects agreable to their conceptions, and knowing by cõpariſon what difference was betwene the moderate gouernment of the *Venetians*, and the tyrannie of *th Almains* farre eſtraunged from the maners and cuſtomes of *th Italians*, and laſtly being greatly diſordred by the confuſions and domages of the warre, they beganne to call into reſpect and affection their auncient yoke: And of the contrarie, if *Padoa* were committed to violence and ſacke, muche leſſe that the *Venetians* coulde hope to reſtore the glorie and magnificence of their common weale, ſeeing there were danger that the very citie of *Venice* made naked of ſo large a member, and diſpoyled of ſo many treaſors both by diminution of publike reuenues, and loſſe of ſo many natures of goodes moueable poſſeſſed by perſons priuat in the firme lande, would not be hable to mainteine defence agaynſt the armies of the Princes confederat, or at leaſt would not in time become a pray to the *Turkes*, to whom they are neighbours in many places, and with whom they haue had alwayes eyther warre or peace vnfaythfull and yll aſſured: But wyſe men were occupied with no leſſe doubt and perplexitie, the mightie preparations that were made on all ſides keeping wonderfully in ſuſpence the common iudgementes, which were very vncertayne on whether part the better fortune would fall, eyther to the aſſaylantes, or to the defendantes: for in the Armie of Cæſar, beſides the ſeuen hundred French launces, which *Monſr la Palice* commaunded, there were two hundred men at armes which the Pope had ſent for his ſtrength: two hundred men at armes appoynted by the duke of *Ferrara* vnder the charge of the Cardinall of *Eſte*, notwithſtanding the quarrels that were betwene them were not yet reconciled, and ſix hundred *Italian* launces vnder ſundry captaines leauied by him: he had xviij. thouſand *Almain* footmen, ſix thouſand Spaniſh, ſix thouſand aduenturers of diuers nations and languages, and two thouſande *Italians*, leauied and paied by the Cardinall of *Eſte* vnder the ſame title. There followed him a wonderfull proportion of all ſortes of artilleries, with great quantities of munitions, wherof the French king had ſent him one part: And albeit for the moſt part his owne ordinarie bandes were not payed, yet, what with the conſideration of the greatnes and authoritie of ſuch a leader, and the hope to pray and ſacke *Padoa*, and to haue at their deuotion all thoſe peeces which the *Venetians* poſſeſſed, much leſſe that they abandoned his ſeruice, ſeeing they flocked to him dayly in greater nũbers, being caried chiefly by this inducement, that he that of his owne nature was moſt liberall and full of humanitie to his ſouldiours, would not fayle of their payment by couetouſnes or will, but by diſhabilitie or want. This was the ſtrength of Cæſars armie, compounded wholly of his owne forces, but made mightie by the ayde of ſtrangers & marcenaries. But for that which concerned the defence of *Padoa*, the army which the *Venetians* had in that citie, was no leſſe mightie: for there were ſix hundred men at armes, a thouſande fiue hundred lighte horſemen, a thouſande fiue hundred ſtradiots, all cõmaunded by theſe notable capteines, the *Count Petillano* generall of the whole, *B. de Montono*, *Anth. de Pic.* *Luke Maluazzo*, *Iohn Greeke*, with other inferiour leaders: There were twelue

twelue thousande footemen of the best experienced and trayned in *Italie*, vnder the charge of *Denis Naldo*, *Zitole de Perousa*, *Lactan. de Bergamo*, *Sacco de Spoleto*, with many other officers: ten thousande footemen aswell *Slauonians*, *Greekes*, and *Albanois*, whome they had drawne from their galleis, of whome albeit many were not muche profitable to the seruice, yet some of them were well trayned and hable to execute necessarie office: Besides, they had the youth of *Venice* in whome was no little importaunce touching the felicitie of the seruice, and albeit they were muche respected in cases of daungers, yet their example serued no lesse to the aduauncement of the seruice, then them selues wonne greate merite for their dispositions and pietie to their countrey: There was also a wonderfull abundance and stoare of all prouisions necessarie, great quantities of artilleries, and a plentyfull proportion of all sortes of vittels, the people of the platte countreys beeing no lesse carefull to bring in prouisions for their common suretie, then the magistrates and officers of *Venice* to giue order for their continuall refurnishing: There were also many multitudes of paisantes, who beeing leauyed at a certayne price, were imployed in the labours of their fortifications: In so muche as to the valour and numbers of those that were appoynted to defende it, they ioyned wonderfull rampiers and fortifications in that circuite of walles that enuironeth the whole Citie: for they hadde almoste filled vp all the waterdiche whiche runneth along the walles, and at euery gate of the towne and other places conuenient, buylded many fortes and cloase bastillions without, but so as they were annexed to the walles, and had entries and conueiaunces into the towne, and beeing well replenished with artilleries, they bett suche as entred into the trenche: And because the taking of those bastillions should bring no daunger to the towne, they had sunke in them all vnderneath, hollowe vawtes or caues filled vp with barrelles of gonnepowder, to blowe them vp into the ayre, when they were no longer hable to defende them: And reapposing not altogether in the greatnesse and goodnesse of the olde wall, notwithstanding they had searched it diligently, and renforced it where neede were, filling vp all the cranelles and ruines: yet they made rounde about the Citie within, a couer, or pauisse, or fortification of pales, trees, and other peeces of wood, so farre distaunt from the wall as it was in thicknes, and with a wonderfull diligence, had filled vp to the toppe of the wall with good earth, and well rammed all the voyde place that was betweene them. This fortification no lesse wonderfull in theffect, then of a labour and trauell inestimable, thinfinite diligence of men beeing continuallye imployed, seemed not so to satisfie the exspectation of the defence of that Citie, but that they caste a deepe diche of sixteene fadome breadth, whiche drawing lesse and narrower in the bottome, and standing thicke with mordring houses and little towres full of shotte, seemed impossible to bee forced. These natures of fortifications were made with hollowe vawtes and caues, according to thexample of the bastillions, hauing conueiances to be ouerthrowen by fyre when they woulde: And because they would be thorowly prepared to all things, they raysed behinde the diche a rampier of the same or greater largenesse, whiche stretched out as farre as the circuite of the towne, except in certayne corners and places, wherein they knewe it was impossible to plant artillerie: and before the rampier they caste a parapet of seuen faddome, whiche was a defence to those that fought vppon the rampier, that they coulde not bee stryken with the bullet of the enemie. And to thende that the courage of the souldiours and menne of the towne, might equally aunswere those

rates of prouiſions and fortifications, the *Count Petillano* aſſembling the whole armie in the place of *S. Anthony*, encouraged them with ſpeches of great grauitie and perſwaſion, to conſider vpon what termes ſtoode their common ſafetie & honor: wherin for the better fidelitie and ſurety of the ſeruice, he proteſted his owne othe, and bound likewiſe in the ſame ſolemnitie all the captaynes, all the armie, and the particulars of the towne, to followe the defence of the citie vntill death. In a perill ſo generall, there was none refuſed to giue his othe to the defence of that wherevnto he ſo frankly offred his lyfe, and where the life is offred vp to daunger, it is nothing to giue an othe to aſſure the fidelitie. Thus the armie of Cæſar beeing drawne neare the walles of *Padoa* with ſo great a ſtrength, and agaynſt ſo mightie preparation, he ſtretched out his campe from the gate of the waterfort, vntill the gate of All ſaintes which leades to *Treuiſa*, and from thence enlarged it to the gate of *Codalonga* which goeth to the Citadell, ſo as it conteined in largeneſſe three myles: *Maximilian* him ſelfe was lodged in the Monaſterie of *S. Heleine*, within a quarter of a myle of the citie walles, encamping as it were in the middeſt of *th Almain* footemen: And after he had imparted to euery one his charge according to the diuerſitie of nations and places of their encāping, he began to plant his artilleries, wherin albeit in his perſon being inuincible in mind and of a body hardned with paine & trauels, he performed a wonderfull diligence to accompliſh that action, yet it could not be atchieued but with longnes of time and great difficulty, aſwell for the quantitie and intollerable greatnes of ſome natures of it, as alſo for that the whole campe, and ſpecially thoſe places where they ſought to plant them, were continually tormented and diſtreſſed with thartilleries of the towne: At laſt the perpetuall induſtrie of *Maximilian* ioyned to the valour of his ſouldiours, made way to plant his artilleries, and the ſame day the Frenche with the footemen of *th Almains*, gaue an aſſaulte to the tower of the gate on that ſide where *Monſr la Palice* had charged, but more to ſounde and proue their countenaunce, then with intention to fight in good appoyntment: and therefore finding the reſiſtance valiaunt and well furniſhed, they retyred eftſones to their tentes: The day after the charge recontinued, thartillerie not ceaſſing to thunder with terrible furie: ſome of them by their incredible hugeneſſe and vnmeaſurable quantitie of powder that was vſed, pearced thorow the rampiers, & reuerſed the houſes that ioyned neareſt the walles: A furie which in ſhort time ſhaked downe to the grounde many places of the wall, the baſtillion alſo buylded vppon the gate of All ſaintes beeing diſmantelled and razed, without that the defendantes afflicting the campe with continuall volleys of ſhotte, ſhewed any ſigne of feare: So reſolute is the vertue that feightes for honour and libertie. The ſtradiots that in great valour encamped in the ſuburbes refuſing alwayes to retyre into the towne, and the light horſemen making continuall incurſions in all places, skirmiſhed with their enemies ſometimes before, and ſometimes behinde, driuing them euen to their tentes, ſometimes they diſtreſſed ſuche as were gardes to the forraigers and vittellers, and ſometimes ouerrunning the whole countrey with pray and pyllage, they ſpoyled all the wayes, except that which goeth from *Padoa* to the mount of *Aban*: And yet there was in the campe a wonderfull abundance of vittelles, euery houſe and place beeing plentifullye furniſhed, for that neyther the feare of the payſantes, nor the carefull diligence of the *Venetians*, nor the infinite harmes of the ſouldiours on both ſydes, coulde not drayne or drye vppe the incredible plentie of that moſte fruitefull and fertill countrey. At the ſame tyme alſo *Luke Maluezzo* iſſued out of *Padoa* with certayne trowpes of horſemen, for the conuey of fortie

thouſand

thousand duckets which were sent thither from *Venice*, and albeit in his returne the enemie charged him vpon the tayle, yet his vertue brought in the treasure in safetie, without any other losse then one of his men at armes. By the nynth day thartillerie had executed so well, that it seemed there was no further necessitie to shoote, and therefore vsing all benefites that the tyme offred, the day following the whole army appeared in order of battell to approch the walles: but finding that the same night they within the towne had made swell and ryse the water of the ditche, whiche afore was abated and falne, Cæsar gaue order that euery bande shoulde returne to his place, holding it neither honorable nor necessarie to commit his souldiours to a daunger so manifest: The next day, the water eftsones abated and retired, when embrasing thopportunitie, they gaue an assault (but with slender successe) to the bastillion which was made vpon the point of the gate of *Godalonga*, wherin themperor disposed to do what he could to force it, caused to be turned thither thartilleries that were planted in the quarter of the Frenche, encamping betweene the gates of *All Saints* & *Codalonga*: And with those artilleries, hauing done great execution of that place, he folowed it with an assalt two daies after with the footmen of *th Almains* and *Spanish*, accompanied with certaine men at armes on foote, who in the furie of the fight ascended the bastillion, and set vp there two ensignes: But the fortresse of the diche was suche, and the vertue of the defendants nothing inferior, and so plentifull thinstrumentes of defence not onely concerning artilleries, but also of stones and wildfires, that they were constrayned to descend by heapes, many remayning dead on the place, and some falling into the fortune of imprisonment: In so much as tharmie that stoode in readines to giue thassalt, immediatly vpon thaction of the bastillion, retired, and disarmed without making any other attempt, iudging it no stayne to their honor to abandon thenterprise wherin was no hope of their safetie. By this experience *Maximilian* lost wholly all hope of the victorie, in which consideration he determined his labor with his fortune, & breaking vp his campe, after he had bestowed his artilleries in places sure, he retyred with his armie to the towne of *Limini* towards *Treuisa*. This was the seuenteenth day after he was encamped before *Padoa*, and so with many baytes & resting places, he came at last to *Vincensa*, from whence after he had taken of that people the othe of fidelitie, and almoste dismissed his whole armie, he drew toward *Verona*, being not a litle discontented that his deliberations had taken no better succes, but more touched with perturbation, for that they bare blame and slaunder both in his armie and throughout all *Italie*, for that the execution of things were in deede no lesse infamous then the counsels: for both for that he had missed of the taking of *Treuisa*, and also that he had lost *Padoa*, no man doubted that it was not his fault, and also that his too late arriuing afore *Padoa* made the action more hard, for that in that negligence the *Venetians* tooke oportunitie and good aduauntage of time to make prouision of souldiours, to refurnishe *Padoa* with vittels, and to rayse wonderfull fortifications to resist thexecution that was determined: And albeit himselfe could not denie that in that propertie of error consisted not the defence of the citie, yet cloaking the vice of his owne varietie and proper disorders, he laide the fault from him selfe, and complayned of the Pope and French king, for that the one had suffred the Embassadours of *Venice* to go to *Rome*, and the other had bene too slowe to sende succours, the same giuing occasion to the world to beleue that they were estranged from him, and had likewise encoraged the countreymen of the mountaines of *Vincensa* to draw to rebellion: for the subduing of whom after he had consumed many dayes, he founde afterwards in regarde of

the ſame occaſion, the ſelfe ſame difficulties in the playne countreys: Alſo the better to open to him ſelfe a way to reuittell his armie, and to aſſure his prouiſions, and withall to deliuer his companies from many incommodities, he was conſtrayned to take all the townes of the countrey: Herein the ſlowe marching of the Frenche had not onely muche hurt him, but alſo if they had come in due ſeaſon and time, the reuolt of *Padoa* had not hapned: He complayned alſo that aſwell for theſe hinderaunces, as for that the French and king of *Aragon* had diſmiſſed their armie at ſea, the *Venetians* had the better oportunitie and meane to refurniſhe and refortifie *Padoa* ſtanding deliuered from all other feares: Laſtly, he complayned that thoſe difficulties were acceptable to the king of *Aragon*, as meanes to induce him to conſent more eaſily that thadminiſtration and gouernment of the kingdome of *Caſtillo* ſhould be to him. But theſe complayntes did nothing better his fortunes, and much leſſe recouered his authoritie loſt, for that he was negligent to vſe ſo rare occaſions: for it did nothing diſcontent the Frenche king that the worlde was poſſeſſed wyth ſuche an opinion of him: and in the Pope was leſſe care or affection, for that beeing of his proper inclination ſuſpicious and diſtruſtfull, and weighing withall thempe-rours continual neceſſities and wants of money, with his importunities to demaund it, he was vnwilling that his name ſhould encreaſe in *Italie*. At *Verona* he receyued the othe of fidelitie, & in that citie *Pe. Guicciardin* father to the author of this booke, with the other *Florentin* Embaſſadors, couenanted with him in the name of the cō-mon weale, (induced, beſides their owne reſpects, by the perſwaſions of the French king) to pay him in a ſhort time xl. thouſande duckets: for which promiſe, they obteyned of him in moſt ample maner, many priuileges, for the confirmation aſwell of the libertie of *Florence*, as of the dominion and iuriſdiction of the townes and eſtates which they helde, together with remiſſion and acquittance of all dueties and demaundes for times paſt. Thus Cæſar, reſting determined to returne into *Germany*, to giue order (as he ſayde) for the warres which he entended in the ſpring time, ſent for *Monſr Chaumont* to come and communicate with him of the preſent affayres: he layed afore him by demonſtration the perilles of the tyme, and what daunger there were that the *Venetians* would recouer *Citadella* and *Baſſana*, places of greate importance, which they prepared to aſſayle, beeing made proude by the defence and ſucceſſe of *Padoa*: he feared the ſame opinion of their fortune would encorage them alſo to the like action agaynſt *Monſelica*, *Montagnana*, and *Eſte*, the felicitie of victorie making men inſolent, and carying their mindes into enterpriſes aboue the proportion of their proper power and habilitie: He alleaged howe neceſſarie it were to conſider, not onely of the protection of theſe places, but alſo to enter into practiſe howe to recouer *Leguague*, wherein being of himſelfe not ſufficient enough to leauie prouiſions neceſſarie for ſuche effects, it touched the king in good pollicie to miniſter ayde to him, whoſe places were to fall into manyfeſt perill, if the peces which he held were not ſupported. To theſe demaunds, *Monſr Chaumont*, in whom was no power to make any certayne reſolution, gaue aunſwere, that he woulde ſee the king aduertiſed, on whoſe behalfe he aduouched a minde conformable to his deſires, being all that apperteined to his place to promiſe well, hauing no authoritie to aſſure. After this conference, Cæſar went to *Chiuſa*, leauing the Marquis of *Brandebourg* for the garde of *Verona*: And a little after *Monſr de Paliſſa* remayning with fiue hundred launces vpon the countrey of *Verona*, alleaging the difficulties and incommodities of the place where he laye, gate leaue with great importunities to retyre to the frontiers of the duchie of *Millan*: for that the kings intention was,

that

that if his men of warre ſhould remeine in garriſon and do nothing, they ſhould not abide vpon his eſtate, but ſhould returne to the ſeruice of *Maxymylian* to exſpect ſuch enterpriſe as he would embraſe, but chiefly the action of *Leguagua*, which notwithſtanding it was much deſired and ſolicited by him, yet it was ſo long differred by his accuſtomed difficulties, that the raines fell ſo faſt by the propertie of the ſeaſon, that it was impoſſible to incampe in that contreye being for his lownes much ſubiect to waters: for theſe impediments, *Cæſar* was driuen to deſire truce for certaine moneths with the *Venetians*, but they riſing into courage by his diſorders, and ſeeing how ſlowly the confederats miniſtred to his ayde, had more regard to the fortune that followed them, then to the mocions he made, iudging it not for their profite to conſent to any ceaſſing of armes.

Max. returneth into Germany.

Amyd theſe ſuſpicions and ielowſies of thinges, th Emprour at laſt returned to *Trente*, leauing thoſe places that he held in great daunger, and all the gouernments in *Italy* in generall dout: for, there began to appeare betwene the Pope & the french king, a new contencion, the foundacion whereof, albeit ſeemed to be layd vpon light occaſions, yet, there was feare leſt it was intangled with more ſecret practiſe & cauſes of greater importance then ſuch as were expreſſed: The outward cauſe appearing, was that a Biſhoprik being void in *Prouence* by the death of thincumbent dying in the Court of *Rome*, the Pope had diſpoſed it againſt the wil of the frēch King, who pretended ſuch action to be contrary to the capitulacion which the Cardinal of *Pauya* had made betwene them, wherein albeit the wordes bare not expreſly that there ſhould be equall reſpect and obſeruacion touching the Biſhoprikes falling in the Court of *Rome*, as of ſuch as fell vacant in other places, yet he was aſſured no leſſe by the mouth and promiſſe of the Cardinall, which the Cardinall confeſſed not to be true, more perhaps for feare, then for other occaſion: The Pope affirmed the contrary, alleaging that he tooke no knowledge of any thinge promiſed in priuitie and ſecret, onely in the ratificacion he had regarde to that that appeared in the writing and particular articles, wherein he had ſet downe diſtinctly all the contents of the capitulacion, chapter by chapter, And th article concerning the dying of the Byſhops in the Court of *Rome* being not comprehended, he was not bownde to thobſeruation of that that was not expreſſed: This did ſo much aggrauate the diſcontentement of them both, that as the Kinge, reiecting contrary to his cuſtome the councells of the Cardinall *Amboiſe*, who had alwayes aduiſed him to enterteyne agreement with the Pope, made ſequeſtracion of the frutes of all thoſe benefices which the Churchmen reſident in the Court of *Rome* held in the Duchie of *Myllan*: So, the Pope refuſed to indue the Biſhop of *Alby* with the hat, who, according to the promiſſe made to the King, was gone to *Rome* to receiue it: And albeit the Pope, ouerruled by the importunities of many friendes, was brought in the ende, to diſpoſe of the Biſhoprike of *Prouence* according to the Kinges minde, And albeit there was eftſoones agreed betweene them a new forme of proceeding in benefices that hereafter ſhoulde fall in the Court of *Rome*, and in that regarde the ſequeſtracions to ceaſſe on the one ſide, and on the other part the hat to be transferred to the Biſhop of *Alby*: yet theſe agreements ſufficed not to moderat the minde of the Pope, who was not a litle kindled for many reaſons, but ſpecially for that, hauing from the beginning of his Popedom, transferred very vnwillingly the legacion of the Realme of *Fraunce* to the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, A matter hurtfull to the Court of *Rome*, and bearing preiudice to his authoritie, it was now moſt greeuous to him to be conſtrained (to auoid diſpleaſure with the french King) to continue it to him: he was ielous

alſo that the ſame Cardinal aſpired with all his thoughts & meanes to the ſouereign ſeat,& therefore he ſtoode in feare & dout of euery aduauncement and riſing of the frenche: Theſe were the apparant cauſes of his diſcontentment,but as farre as could be afterwards coniectured by his thoughts and diſpoſicions, he layed greater plots and aſpired to farre greater endes,deſiring vehemently,eyther for greedines of glorie, or for ſome ſecret hatred againſt the french Kinge, or at leaſt for the libertie of the *Genovvais*, that the Kinge might loſe all that he poſſeſſed in *Italy*, iudging his greatnes a bridle to his ambicion, and his power in *Italy* an impediment to his authoritie: he ceaſſed not alſo to complaine againſt him and the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* indifferently, but with ſuch temperature and cunning, that it ſeemed his diſcontentment proceeded chiefly of feare: And yet, as he was of a nature obſtinate and inuincible, and for the moſte parte accompanied the diſpoſicion of his minde with outward demonſtracions: So,albeit he aſpyred in his ſecret thoughts to an end of ſo great conſequence and hard to obtaine,reapoſing onely in him ſelfe and the reuerence and authoritie which he knew Chriſtian Princes bare to the ſea apoſtolike, yet he would not enter into alliance nor depend of any: but expreſſing both in ſpech and working,how litle account he made of all,he forbare to ioyne with *Maxymylian*, & refuſed to enter ſecret intelligence with the kinge catholike,but eſtraunging him ſelfe from euery one,he inclined onely to the part of the *Venetians*, expreſſing daily more and more a confirmacion of will to abſolue them, iudging it a thing very conuenient for the common ſafety of *Italy*,and for his perticular ſewertie and greatnes, not to ſuffer them to periſh: Againſt this, did make great reſiſtance thEmbaſſadors of *Maximylian* and the french,concurring alſo with them in publike practiſe thEmbaſſador of the king of *Aragon*,notwithſtanding he ſolicited the Pope ſecretly to the contrary,fearing no leſſe the greatnes of the french in regard of the kingdom of *Naples*, and reapoſing litle in the diſpoſicion of *Cæſar* for the ſlender ſtabilitie that was in him: Theſe Embaſſadors alleaged that it was not reaſonable that the Pope ſhould doe ſo great a benefite for thoſe,whom he was bound by equitie & promiſſe to purſue by armes,ſeeing by the confederacion of *Cambray*,euery confederat was bownde reciprocally to ayde one an other till there was abſolute recouerie of all thoſe places which were named for euery perticular partie: So that ſeeing *Cæſar* had not yet conquered *Treuiſa*,neither one of them ſtoode acquited of ſuch bond and promiſſe: beſides,they vrged that he might iuſtly refuſe thabſolucion,both for that they had not reſtored to the Churche the townes of *Romagna*, neither frankely nor willingly, nor within the tearme ſet downe in the monicion: and alſo for that euen then their obedience was not perfect & abſolute,for that albeit,beſides the rēdring of the townes, they had bene admoniſhed to reckon for the frutes, which they had not accompliſhed: To theſe obiections the Pope made aunſwer,that ſince they were returned to penance,& had ſued for abſolucion in due humilitie,it could not ſtande with the office of the Viccar of Chriſt, to perſecute them any further with ſpirituall weapons to the preiudice of ſo many ſoules,ſpecially hauing obteined of them,the townes,& by that meane the occaſion ceaſſing,for the which they had bene ſubiect to the cenſures of the Church: That concerning the reckoning or reſtitucion of the frutes, it was but a matter accidental and vrged more to aggrauat their diſobedience,then for any neceſſary reaſon, & therefore not iuſt that it ſhould ſtand againſt them as a matter of importance: That it was an action of an other nature to purſue them with tēporall armes,wherein (determining to perſeuer in the league of *Cambray*) he offered him ſelfe to be ready and concurrant with the others, notwithſtanding that euery

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one of the confederats might iuſtly leaue of, for that if *Cæſar* had not *Treuiſa*, it happened by his proper error, refuſing the firſt offers which the *Venetians* made to him by their Embaſſador, both to leaue him all that they poſſeſſed in the firme land, and alſo to ſet him dow. a ſufficient allowance and recompenſe in exchaunge of *Treuiſa*: And thus not being reteined by any contradiction or impedimēt of th Embaſſadors, he onely was ſlow to this action by the diſpoſicion of his minde, wherein albeit he eſteemed the abſolucion of the *Venetians* to be profitable to him, and to the plots he had layd, yet he determined not to giue it to them but with great regard to the dignitie of the ſea apoſtolike, and ſo, as all thoſe thinges which were dependant vpon the Church were wholy deliuered from their oppreſſions: the ſame being one cauſe that he deferred to abſolue them, together with their vnwillingnes to conſent to theſe two condicions: the one that they ſhoulde ſet at libertie to the ſubiects of the Church, the traffike & nauigacion of the ſea addriatike, which they reſtrained againſt all ſuch as would not aunſwer a kind of tribute for the marchandiſe they brought: the other, that they ſhould continue no longer at *Ferrara* (A citie depending vpon the Church) the office of *Vecedomino*: The *Venetians* alleaged, that they of *Ferrara* had conſented to it, *Clement* the ſixt giuing no impediment, who at that time remeyned with his Court in the citie of *Auignion*: They proued beſides, that *Alexander* the fourth had giuen them the iuriſdiction and gard of the goolfe vnder very large priuileages, whereunto they were induced, for that with their armies, with their vertue, & with their exſpenſes they had defended it againſt the *Sarazins* and pirats Turkiſhe, & made that nauigacion aſſured to the Chriſtians: To theſe reaſons it was aunſwered on the Popes behalf, that they of *Ferrara* could not in preiudice of the eccleſiaſtik iuriſdiction, conſent, that any other ſhould hold office or exerciſe dominion in *Ferrara*, & that the people of *Ferrara* had neuer willingly conſented, but were forced by a long and heauy warre, & after they had in vaine called the aide of the Pope, whoſe cenſures the *Venetians* contemned, were conſtrained to accept peace with condicions at the diſcreſſion of thoſe that could doe more with them by armes then by reaſon: Touching their authoritie alleaged of Pope *Alexander* that he had graunted it to them, it neither appeared by hiſtorie, nor other authentike tradicion, neither was there any faith to be giuen to it but by the teſtimonie of the *Venetians*, A thinge of iuſt ſuſpicion in their owne cauſe, eſpecially carying ſo great importance: And be it, there were ſome apparance of matter, yet it was more likely, that he, who they ſayd had accorded to ſuch thinges in *Venice*, had done it by threatnings or by feare, then that a Pope of *Rome* to whom affore all others apperteineth the defence of iuſtice and the recourſe of the oppreſſed, would haue conſented to an action ſo cruell and impudent, and bearing domage to the whole world.

The Venetian armie at Vincenſa.

In this eſtate of affaires, in this diuerſitie of intencions of Princes, in this ſlender power and reputacion of *Cæſar*, the *Venetians*, vnder the leading of *Andrea Gritti*, ſent their armie to *Vincenſa*, where they knewe the people, in a generall diſpoſicion deſired to returne vnder their iuriſdiction: And making their approches in the entrey of the euening, they wonne the ſubburbes of *P.* after they had made great batteries with their artilleries: Touching the citie, albeit there were as yet within it very fewe ſouldiers, yet the *Venetians* had no great ſewertie to carie it: Onely the townesmen, by the incenſing of *Fracaſſe* as the brute ronne, after they had ſent their Embaſſadors to them about mydnight, put them into the citie, the Prince of *Hanavv* and *Fracaſſe* retyring into the caſtell: And, (ſuch is the propertie of victorie) it was aſſuredly beleeued that if the *Venetian* armie obteining *Vincenſa*, had without delaye

approched *Verona*, that towne had done the like, examples beinge of greate effect in the alteracion of fortune: But the Capteines were of aduiſe not to yſſue out of the towne til the caſtel were commaunded, which they had at their deuocion the fourth day, the *P.* of *Hanavv* and *Fracaſſa* diſtruſting their owne weakenes, leauing it abandoned: In matters of enterpriſe nothing is more hurtfull then delayes, and nothing more hindreth the felicitie of victorie then not to ioyne oportunitie to occaſion and fortune: for, in this meane while and reſpit, new regiments of *Cæſar* entred *Verona*, together with three hundred launces of the french King, vnder the enſeigne of *Monſr d'Aubigny:* In ſo much as conteining a ſtrength of fiue hundred launces & fiue thouſand footemen ſpaniſh and *Almains*, it was now no more eaſie to take it: Not longe after, the *Venetian* armie approched *Verona* & was deuided into two partes, in either of which were three hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, and three thowſand footemen: They hoped that vpon their approching, there would be ſome cõmotion in the citie, but becauſe they appeared not affore the walls all in one time, thinhabitants within the towne, going to meete with the former part which came beyond the riuer of *Adice* and was already entred the ſubburbes, conſtrained them to retire, *Luke Maluezze* comming a litle after on the other ſide of the riuer with the other part, retiring alſo: And both they ioyning together, incamped in the village of *S. Martyn* within fiue miles of *Verona:* Where vnderſtanding that two thowſand *Almain* footemen iſſued out of *Baſciana*, were gone to make pillage of the places about *Citadella*, turning that way, they incloſed thẽ in a valley called *Fidato:* But *th Almains*, ſuccored by thoſe of *Baſciana*, made their way by force, though with ſome hurt for the ſtraite paſſages, & leauing *Baſciana* abandoned, the *Venetians* tooke it: from *Baſciana*, one part of tharmie went to *Feltro* and *Cyuitall*, which places after they had recouered and commaunded, they preſented them ſelues before the rocke of *Eſcalo*, which they commaunded after thartillerie had ſomewhat executed: At the ſame time *Anthonie* and *Hierome Sauorguiana*, gentlemen that followed the *Venetian* faction in the contrey of *Fryull*, tooke new caſtell ſtanding on a rough mountaine in the middeſt of the pattimonie, (ſo is called that part of *Fryull* which is beyond the riuer of *Taillemont*) And all this while there was heard no other thing of *Cæſar* then vaine rumors, and how being moued with the action of *Vincenſa*, was immediatly come to *Pietra*, he trauelled from one place to an other vſing great diligence with very ſmall effect.

The Venetian armie vpon the contrey of Ferrara.

After this, the *Venetian* armie drew towards *Monſelice* and *Montagnana*, both to recouer *Poliſena* and to charge the places of *Ferrara* togither with their nauie, which the Senat, reiecting the councel of the moſt wiſe Senators who iudged it to raſhnes to be intangled with new enterpriſes, had determined to ſend againſt the D. of *Ferrara*, well furniſhed with ſtrength & municion along the riuer of *Pavv:* To this maner of action they were induced, not ſo much for the profite of thaffaires preſent, as for thincredible hatred they bare to him: it ſeemed to them that they could not iuſtly complaine, of that he had done to ſhake of the yoke of *Vicedomino*, and to recouer *Poliſena*, but they ſuppoſed it neither to their honor nor profite to ſuffer, that being not content to chalenge that which he pretended to apperteine to him by right, he aſpired to reteine that whereunto he had no way any cooller of intereſt, for that at ſuch time as *Cæſar* leauied his ſeege from before *Padoa*, he receiued of him in fee, both the borow of *Eſte* (from whence is ſpronge the name and familie of *Eſte*) and alſo the borow of *Montagnana* for pawne and aſſurance of the money that had bene lent him: to which places he pretended no right at all, onles he reapoſed equitie in his ambi-

ambicion and tyrannie: There were added to this the remembrance of many actions of insolencie and violence, and other execucions done by his people in the recouerie of *Polesina*, who pushed on with an incredible hatred against the name of the *Venetians*, had executed great harmes and cruelties vpon the gentlemen, yea euen to reuerse their houses and put fire in them: In these respects it was agreed, that their nauie and sea armie, commaunded by *Ange Treuisan*, compounded vpon seuenteene light gallies with a large furnishment of meaner vessells and able bodies for seruice, should saile toward *Ferrara*: This fleete entring into *Pavv* by the mouth of the furnaces, and burning *Coruola* with certaine other villages neare to *Pavv*, went pilling & spoyling the cuntrey vp to the lake of *Scuro*, from which place the light horsemen who followed them as a strēgth by land, made incursions as farre as *Ficherolo*: which albeit is rather a house of pleasance then a castell, yet it is not without his reputacion and name, for that *Ro. S. Seuerin* lay long time before it, being Capteine to the *Venetians* in a warre which they had against *Hercules* father to *Alphonso*: The comming of this nauie togither with the rumor of tharmie by land that was to follow, brought no litle amaze to the Duke, who, hauing but a slender strength of souldiours, & thinhabitants of *Ferrara* either for their small numbers, or for their ignorance in warre, not sufficient enough to oppose against such a daunger, had no other meane to defend him selfe, vntill he were comforted with the succors which he exspected from the Pope and french king, then to let with force of shot bestowed vpon the brinke of *Pavv*, that thennemies should passe no further: for these impediments *Treuisan*, after he had in vaine assaied to passe, seeing he coulde aduaunce nothinge without he were succored by land, came to an anker in the middest of the riuer of *Pavv* behind a litle Ile right ouer against *Pulisselle*: A place within xj. miles of *Ferrara* and very apt to torment the towne and make many hurtfull execucions vpon the contrey: his intencion was to exspect there the armie who had gotten without great difficultie all *Polisena*, hauing first recouered *Montagnana* by composicion, by the which the Magistrates of *Ferrara* were deliuered to them as prisoners, togither with the Capteines of the footemen that were within: In this time of exspectacion of tharmie, for the more safe riding of the nauie in the place where it lay, *Treuisan* beganne to raise two bastillions vpon the bankes of *Pavv*, the one on that side to *Ferrara*, the other vpon the shoare right against it, casting withall a bridge vpon the vessels to haue the more oportunitie to succor that bastillion that was on *Ferrara* side: Affore this worke was accomplished, the Duke deuised either to reuerse it or at least to hinder it, and with a councell happly more courageous then discreete, he called together all the youth of the towne with such companies of souldiours as were come to his paye, and sent them out to assaile the bastillion: but it was an enterprise in vaine, for that the defendants receiuing succors of their peoples which issued out of the vessells, beganne to disorder the ennemie and put them to flight, wherein albeit the Duke him selfe came to the medley with a fresh succor of horsemen, and with his presence brought a newe hart to most of his people not trayned in warre, yet such was the furie of the ennemie, for whom the sewertie of the place fought being manned with many peeces of small shot, that in the ende he was constrained to retyre, leauing many of his people either deade or taken, and that not so many of the inexperienced and base multitudes, as of the most braue souldiours and nobility of *Ferrara*: Amongest them was *Herc. Cantelmo*, a younge man of greate hope, and whose Aunceſtors affore tyme were Dukes of *Sore* in the kingdome of *Naples*: The fortune of this man was more tragicall then of any of the residue, for that as certaine Slauonian souldiours

led him prisoner into a gallie, and contending amongest them selues for the interest of his body, there was one of them, who, with a new example of barbarous crueltie, miserably stricke of his heade: for these perills ioyned to the manifest apparance of extremity to the towne of *Ferrara*, *Monsr Chaumont* sent to the succors of it the lord of *Chastillion* with an hundred and fifty french launces: And the Pope being kindled against the *Venetians* for entring into that action without any regard to the superioritie which the Churche hath there, appoynted the two hundred men at armes which he had sent to *Cæsar*, to be conuerted to the defence of *Ferrara*: But it might haue hapned that these succors had bene to slow, if the *Venetians* had not bene compelled to looke to the defence of their owne estate: it hath bene declared before how the french King was not discontented with the difficulties of *Maxymylian*, partly for the continuall feare he had of his prosperitie, and partly for that burning in desire to make him selfe Lord of *Verona*, he hoped by his necessities to haue it on him at last either by purchasse or by ingaging: on the other side he was not a litle ielous ouer the *Venetians*, and no lesse was his discontentment that their greatnes was eftsoones reestablished, which would nourish continuall perill and perplexitie for his Duchie of *Myllan*: And therefore *Cæsar* not hauing sufficiently refurnished *Verona* for want of money, the french king was constrained to enter into care of thinges, and, in sending new companies besides those men at armes which were entred there already, to foresee that that citie returned not to their obedience: To this *Monsr Chaumont* gaue beginning, who, after the losse of *Vincensa*, being drawne vpon the marches of *Verona*, reteyned in the french Kinges pay two thowsande spanish footemen, which were within *Verona*, who beganne to draw into tumult for want of payment: he sent thether for a greater sewertie, other bandes of footemen according to the aduice of *Tryuulce*, who, for that *Monsr Chaumont* feared least the Kinge would be discontented with so great expenses, made aunswer, that it was a lesse euill that the King charged him with the xspenses of his money, then by sparing his treasor, to lose or put in daunger his estate, the one bringing saffetie to the Kings thinges, and in the other no honor nor reputacion to the place he held vnder the Kinge: Besides this, he lent to *Cæsar* eyght thowsand duckats to pay the souldiours that were within *Verona*, receiuing in pawne both for the repayment of that summe and others which hereafter he should aduaunce for his affayres, the towne of *Vallegge*, a place which the king esteemed muche for the sewertie of *Bresse*, both for the nearenes beinge within six miles of *Bresse*, and for thoportunitie of the passage ouer the riuer of *Myncia* which is alwaies commaunded by such as are Maisters of *Valegge* and *Pesquiero*: The marching of *Monsr de Chaumont* being followed with the most part of the launces in the Duchie of *Myllan*, together with the companies which he had put into *Verona*, and the rumor that ronne of his preparacion to besege *Vincensa*, were the causes that the *Venetian* armie, leauing for the defence of *Polisena* and to succor their nauie, foure hundred light horsemen and foure hundred footemen, retyred from the contrey of *Ferrara*, deuiding them selues into *Leguago*, *Soaue*, and *Vincensa*: And being careful to assure *Vincensa*, & to prouide that the contrey there about were not distressed by the garrison of *Verona*, they fortified it with a wonderfull trench full of water enuyroned with a rampier whereon were dispersed many bastillions: it began from the foote of the mountaine which lieth aboue *Soaue*, & reaching about fiue miles along the plaine that leades from *Rouigne* to *Montfort*, it ended at a corner of certain marishes which ioyne to the riuer of *Adice*: They also fortefied *Soaue* and *Leguague*, by which meane standing vpon their gard all the winter, they assured the whole contrey: And albeit,

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by the retyring of the *Venetian* regiments, the daunger of *Ferrara* was somewhat diminished, yet, it was not altogether taken away, for that though they were acquited of all feare to be forced, yet they were troubled with a suspicion least the people for the great harmes they receiued would decline to an vtter weakenes, or els fall into the last despeire: for, the souldiours of the nauie and their followers ronne vp euery day euen to the gates of the towne, and other vessells of the *Venetians* which had on an other side distressed the state of the Duke of *Ferrara*, had taken *Comache*, And putting diligence to their fortune, they were troublers of those places in many sortes of afflictions: About this time arriued the companies of the Pope & the french king, by whose cõfort the Duke who being warned affore by the harmes receiued in thassalt of the bastillion, was incamped in a strong place neare to *Ferrara*, began to make many incursions & proffers, to draw thennemies to battel, who hoping that their army would returne, refused to feight before: And as there can be no action of warre without his proper fortune & calamity: so, in these entercourses of saillies & skirmishes, it hapned one day the Cardinal of *Este* hauing ronne vp neare to the bastillion, as he returned backe, a shot came out of one of the vessels of thennemies which caried away the head of the Count *Lodouvyk de la Mirandola*, one of the Capteines of the Church, none other in so great a multitude being hurt either with that or any other shot: At last the knowledge & experiẽce of the cõtrey, ioined to the nature & oportunity of the riuer, made easie that which in the beginning had semed so hard & daũgerous: for, the Duke & Cardinal, hoping to be able to defeate the nauy with the artillery, if they had meane to make it discẽd in sewerty vpon the banke of the riuer, the Cardinal returned to charge the bastillion with one part of the bandes, wherein his fortune was so equal with his vallour, that giuing the repulse to thennemy which were issued out to the skirmish, & making slaughter of some of them, he occupied & fortefied that part that was next to the rising, & so without all priuitie & knowledge of thennemie, vpon the beginning of the night, he drew thartillerie to the banke side right ouer against them, & breaking it & planting it with a wonderful silence, he began to execute vpon thẽnemies with a wõderful furie: making terrible to them that aduauntage which he had wonne of them by his industrie and vallour: The vessells would haue sought sauetie by flying, but becausse there was a long traine & ranke of great artilleries, which managed by men experiẽced, bet a farre of, they chaũged rather the place of peril, then auoided the daũger, hauing withal the presence & labor of the dukes person, who knew both how to force artilleries, & how to manage thẽ: by thaffliction of so many shots of artillerie, notwithstanding the ennemies for their parts ceassed not to shoote but in vaine, for that they that plaied vpõ the brinke were couered with the rising of the hil, their vessels fel into diuerse fortunes & were consumed with sundry miserable aduentures: some of them that had no more abilitie to gouerne their ships & defend their bodies against the furie of the shot, yelded them selues without respect of condicion: some, whose destiny was driuen with a more violẽce, were miserably burnt with the men that were in them: & others, gouerned by desperat resolucion, gaue them selues a pray to the bottõ of the waters, for that they would not fall into the mercie of thennemie: And the Capteine, leaping into a litle skyff almost in the beginning of the skirmish, founde sauetie by the swiftnes of his oares, his gallye being galled thorow both sides, was sonke after he had fled aboue 3. miles vsing cõtinual defence against the aduersitie of her fortune: In this discomfeyture, all things being ful of blud, ful of fire, & dead bodies, the calamitie of thennemy brought to the power of the Duke, fiftene gallies, certain great ships, many foystes,

with infinit ſmal veſſels: There died about two thowſand bodies, ſome by ſhot, ſome by fire, & ſome by water: threeſcore enſeignes were taken, but not the principal ſtandard which was ſaued with the general: And as in a general calamity euery one hath his fortune, ſo, many winning ſhoare & land, were gathered vp by the *Venetian* light horſemen, in whoſe vallour they found ſauety for their liues: others that could not auoid the perſecution of thēnemy fell into thaduēture of impriſonment, & others in flying, hapned intō many harmes by the paiſants, & eſcaping from the daunger they feared moſt, they were driuē into perils which they douted leaſt: The priſe of the veſſells was caried to *Ferrara*, where, in memorie of ſo great a victorie, they were kept many yeares vntil Duke *Alfonſo* made reſtituciō hauing deſire to gratifie the *Venetians*: Immediatly after the ouerthrow of this nauy, Duke *Alfonſo* diſpatched with expedicion 3. hundred horſemen & 5. hundred footemen to defeat the other army that had takē *Comachio*, who recouering *Loretto* which the *Venetians* had fortefied, it was thought they had brokē the whole army, if, ſeeing into their daūger, it had not retyred to *Beb.* finding more ſewerty to auoid the peril, then to hope in fortune: This was the ende of the ſeege of *Ferrara* which continued about a moneth, the euent & iſſue wherof (which ordinarily is the true touchſtōe by the which mē may iudge of worldly things) did wel declare how much wiſer were the coūſels of a few, who perſwaded that leauing all other enterpriſes, & reſeruing their treaſors to be employed in actions more conueniēt & profitable, they ſhould only looke to the preſeruacion of *Padoa*, *Treuiſa*, with other places recouered: thē of ſuch, who though more in nūbers yet inferior in diſcreſſiō repleniſhed with paſſions of hate & diſdain, were eaſie to be intāgled with thoſe enterpriſes, who as their begīning was bred in raſhnes, ſo their cōcluſion brought forth at laſt incredible exſpēſes, with no leſſe infamies & harmes to the cōmon weale: ſuch cōmōly are the frutes that follow enterpriſes begō with light councels, being gouerned by a fortune equal to the condicion & nature of thaction.

But on *Padoa* ſide, matters ſucceeded rather to the furtherance of the *Venetians* then others: for, notwithſtanding *Cæſar* kept vpon the contrey of *Vincēſa* with fower thowſand footemen, yet one part of the regiment of the *Venetians*, (and that neither ſtrong nor great) ioyning with them thaide of the peiſants of that quarter, tooke almoſt before his eies, the paſſage of *Eſtale*, *Cogolo* & *Baſciana*, a place of ſo much more importance, by how much it is conuenient to hinder the diſcending of *thalmains* into *Italy*: And as him ſelfe, cōplaining much that for the departure of *Monſr la Paliſſe* many diſorders were hapned, went at laſt to *Bolſaue* to aſſiſt the dyet which by his ordenance was to be kept at *Yſpruch*: So according to his example, *Monſr Chaumont* left there all his thoughts and great deſires to performe thenterpriſe of *Vincenſa* and *Leguague*: And ioyning to this diſpoſicion to depart, theſe reaſons and conſideracions that both thoſe places were well manned and fortified, & alſo the ſeaſon of the time very contrary, he retyred to *Myllan*, leauing good garriſon within *Breſſe*, *Peſquiero*, & *Valegge*: And within *Verona*, for that *Cæſar* of his ſinguler forces was not able to defend it, he beſtowed ſix hundred launces and foure thowſand footemen, who being ſeperat from the ſouldiours of *Cæſar*, were lodged in the ſubburbes of *S. Zena*, hauing yet in their power the Citadell for their greater ſewertie.

Deſcription of Verona.

The citie of *Verona* of great name and antiquitie is deuided by the riuer of *Adice*, a riuer both large & deepe comming from the mountaines of *Almany*, and as it falls into the playne, it goeth crooking on the left hande touching vppon the foote of the mountaines, & ſo entreth into *Verona*, And when it yſſueth out, he ronneth from the mountaines and ſpreadeth into a goodly playne and very fertill: That parte of

Verona

Verona which hath his ſituacion vpon the coaſt and ſomewhat into the playne, is beyond *Adice* towards *Almanye*: the other part which is on this ſide *Adice*, and all in a goodly plaine, hath *Mantua* for his proſpect: vpon the mountaine neare *S. Georges* gate, ſtandeth the caſtell of *S. Peter*, and within two bowes ſhooting from thence drawing againſt the hil, is the caſtel of *S. Felix*, the one ſtanding vpon the very toppe of the hill, and they both no leſſe ſtronge by ſituacion then by walls: And yet to loſe them, for that by the aduauntage of their ſituacion, they commaunde the citie, were to put *Verona* in manifeſt daunger: Theſe caſtells were kept by the launceknights: But in the other parte which is ſeparat from this by the riuer, is the olde caſtell looking towards *Peſgara*, and hath his ſituacion almoſt in the middeſt of the citie, going thorow the riuer with a bridge: Not three bow ſhootings of, drawing towards *Vincenſa*, ſtandes the Citadell, and betwene them both, the walls of the citie ioyne without, in forme of halfe a circle: but within, is a wall going from the one to the other which is in the middeſt of two great ditches, the ſpace betwene both the wals being called the ſubburbes of *S. Zene*, which, with the garde of the Citadell was appoynted for the lodging of the french: Whileſt armes were there as it were in reſt, *Maxymylian* ſolicited continually to make truce with the *Venetians*, the Pope alſo interpoſing very diligently by the working of *Achilles de Graſſi* Biſhop of *Peſero*, and his *Nuncio*: And to this ende his Embaſſadors went to thoſpitall which is aboue *Escalo*, to negociat with *Iohn Coruaro* and *Louvys Monſeuigno* Deputies for the *Venetians*: But as all matters of ſtate haue their proper difficulties and impediments, ſo, in this action the demaundes of *Cæſar* were ſo exceſſiue, that this conference tooke no effect, to the great diſcontentment of the Pope, who wiſhed that the *Venetians* were deliuered of all trouble, and with whom he had wrought ſo much, to thende there ſhould be no matter of queſtion to rẽder to the Duke of *Ferrara* the towne of *Comacho* which they had burned before: withall they had promiſed him to vexe no more the ſtate of the Duke of *Ferrara*, to whom he gaue great fauor & ſupport, both to make him beholding to him, for that he had obteyned and was to obteine by his meane, and alſo he had hope that for theſe reſpects he would depend more vpon him then of the french king: Againſt whom, being in continual ſtudy to lay foundacions of right great importance, he had ſecretly diſpatched a Meſſenger to the king of *England*, and begon to worke the *Svvyzzers* at that time inclining to ſome quarell with the french king: To this action and for this reaſon came to him the Biſhop of *Sion* (whom the *Latins* call *Sedunenſis*) enemy to the french kinge, and vnder that cooller pretending to be Cardinall, and for that reſpect was receiued of him with great ioy.

Themp. and the k. Cath. fal to accord touching the gouernment of Caſtill.

About the ende of this yeare, were accorded the king of *Romains* & kinge Catholike, betwene whom was ſome difference touching the gouernment of the Realmes of *Caſtillo*: This controuerſie was long debated in the Court of *Fraunce*, & albeit it ſuffered many great perplexities & difficulties, yet in the end it was guided to perfection by the meane & vndiſcreete councel of the Cardinal of *Amboiſe*, who not conſidering how much this vnion was hurtful to the affaires of his king, was caried perhaps by this ambicion, that if by his working there might be ſtabilitie & agreement betwene them, it would be a degree to lift him to the Popedom, being in this, a daũgerous councellor to reſpect more his proper intereſts, then the ſafetie of his contrey: Such then was the power of his diligence and authoritie, that he induced *Maxymylian* to conſent that the king Catholike, in caſe he had no yſſue males, ſhoulde be gouernor ouer thoſe Realmes vntil their litle ſonne *Charles* were come to the age of maioritie, to whom ſhould be no power to take vpon him the title of king during

the life of his mother bearing the prerogatiue and iuriſdiction of Queene, for that in *Caſtillo* the iſſue males exclude not the general iſſue: That the king Catholike ſhould pay to *Cæſar* fifty thowſand duckats: that he ſhould ayde him according to the treaty of *Cambray*, vntil he had recouered all that apperteined to him: And laſtly to pay to *Charles* euery yeare forty thowſand duckats: By this conuention, the king of *Aragon* was confirmed gouernor ouer the Realme of *Caſtillo*, & ſtanding nowe in ſtate to haue faith & credit with *Cæſar*, ſince both the controuerſies were determined, & they both had equal intereſts touching their Nephew: he might now more boldly looke into the meanes by the which he might hinder the greatnes of the frēch king, which he held alwaies ſuſpected for the regard of the kingdom of *Naples:* About this time alſo, the Pope entred into ſuſpicion that the pronotary *Bentyuolo* remeining at *Cremona*, labored ſecretly to returne into *Bolognia*, againſt which accident he cauſed to be reteined in the pallaice of *Bolognia* for certaine daies, *Iulian de medicis:* And attributing all things to the ill diſpoſicion of the french king, he made knowne the feare he had that he would paſſe into *Italy* to ſubdue it, & make Pope by violence the Cardinal of *Amboiſe:* And yet at the ſame time, he ſpake without any regard in derogacion of the honor of *Cæſar* as of a perſon incapable of ſuch a dignitie, & by his incapacity had brought the name of the Empire into great contempt: About the ende of this yere, died the Count *Petillano* general ouer the *Venetian* armies, a man for his age and graue experience in actions of warre, of great name & worthines, & with the *Venetians*, of that credit and truſt, that they neuer feared he would put their ſtate in daunger, by raſhnes or want of councell.

Death of the Count Petillano.

The yeare after which was 1510. the ſame dowts & ſuſpicions continuing, warrs began to ſtirre on all parts, but coldly & according to the ſeaſon: for the *Venetian* army lying encamped at *S. Boniface* vpon the contrey of *Verona*, helde *Verona* as it were beſeged: from whence *Charles Baillon*, *Federyk de Boſſole* & *Sacromoro Viſcounte*, comming to their ſuccors, were charged by the ſtradiots, who ouerthrew them, & taking priſoners *Charles* & *Sacromoro*, *Federyk* foūd ſauety in the reskew of the french which iſſued out of *Verona* for their ſuccors: An other time they brake an other bād of frēch horſemen, amongeſt whom *Monſr de Cleſy* was taken priſoner: on the other ſide (fortune can both ſmile & laugh) two hundred frēch launces yſſuing out of *Verona* with three thowſand footemen, forced by aſſalt a baſtillion towards *Soaue*, which was garded by a band of ſix hundred footemen, & in their returne, they ouerthrew a great multitude of paiſantes: But whileſt the warre was occupied with theſe cold proceedings, the minds of Princes were in great paine and care, but ſpecially *Cæſar* had his perplexities, who douting howe he might cary the victorie of the warre againſt the *Venetians*, & poſting ouer (according to his cuſtome) his affaires from one diet to an other, had cauſed to be publiſhed the dyet at *Auſpurge*, and being kindled againſt the Pope for that the Electors of th Empire puſhed on by his authoritie, made inſtance to negociate in the dyet rather for peace with the *Venetians* then for prouiſions for the warre, he had cauſed to departe from *Auſpurge* the Biſhop of *Peſero*, his *Nuncio:* he conſidered alſo that the deliberacions of dyets were vncertaine, tedious, and full of difficulties, the ende of one breeding the beginning of an other: he ſawe withall, that the french king excuſed him ſelfe daily of the demaundes and enterpriſes that were tendred to him, ſome times alleaging the ſharpnes of the ſeaſon, ſometimes requiring affignacion certain of the exſpēces which were to be made, & eftſones proteſting that by the traity of *Cambray* he was not bownd to ayde him alone, but ioyntly with the Pope & king of *Aragon*, with whom it was reaſonable that the proceedings

were

were mutuall and common, as the confederacion and bond were ioynt & generall: for these reasons, he entred into resolucion that there was no remedie more readye for his affaires, then to induce the french king to embrase thenterprise to take *Padoa*, *Vincensa*, and *Treuisa*, employing his owne forces, and taking sufficient recompense: This demaund was wel liked by many of the kings councel, who considering that till the *Venetians* were wholly chassed out of the firme lande, the Kinge should dwell in continual exspenses and daungers, perswaded his Maiestie vpon those reasons, to deliuer him selfe of them at one blow, and in one action making but one exspensse. The Kinges minde was not altogether estraunged from this councell, being caried happly with the same reasons, and therefore albeit he inclined to passe in person into *Italy* with a mighty armie, which he called mighty and puissant as often as he had in the same more then a thowsand six hundred launces, with his gentlemen & pensioners: yet, harkening to other councels by the cõsideracion of other reasons, he stood suspended in mind, expressing a confusion more then he was wont, for that the Cardinal *Amboise*, A man of great authoritie and stomacke, afflicted with a long & greeuous maladie, forbare to manage his affaires which were wont to be dispatched wholy by his direction: The king besides that of his natural disposicion, he loued not much matters of exspenses, was reteined also by a desire he had to *Verona* for thaccomplishing wherof it seemed to him a good meane to haue the king of *Romains* intangled with continual warres, for which regard he had newly lent to him eighteene thowsand duckats to pay the launceknightes that lay in garrison in the citie, and was bound to make it vp a further summe of fifty thowsand, with cõdicion that he should not onely hold the Citadell for his securitie and pawne, but also the old castel should be set ouer to him, together with the next gate of the towne, the better to haue free entrey and yssue: And lastly, for want of restoring the money within one yeare, the towne of *Valeggo* should remeine to him in perpetuall gouernment, with power to fortefie aswell the towne as the Citadell at the charges of *Cæsar*: These considerations drewe the Kinges minde into no small perplexities, but muche more was he troubled with feare, least the Popes intencions would wholly varie and alter, if he should either leade or sende into *Italy* a newe armie: for, the Pope, no lesse full of suspicion, then also ill contented that he should impatronise vpon *Verona*, besides that he still kept a will enterteyned to absolue the *Venetians*, did also all that he could to ioyne him selfe with the *Swyzzers*: for confirmacion of which disposicion, he had sent backe agayne into that contrey, the Bishop of *Syon*, with money to distribute amongest them, and promisse to indue him selfe with the holy cappe: he sought also with all his diligence, by what meanes he might estraunge the Kinge of England from the amitie of the frenche Kinge, whome albeit his father at the instant of death had aduised, for his securitie and benefite, to continue in assured league with him, and for that respect was yearely payed to him fiftie thowsand duckats: yet, being caried ouer with hotte humors of youthe and the great habilitie of treasor that his father had left him, it seemed he had no lesse in consideracion the councells of those, who for the desire of newe thinges ioyned to an auncient hatred which the Englisn doe ordinarily beare to the french nation, made perswasions to him for the warre, then the wisedome and discreete example of his father, who refusing all contencions with the frenche, had gouerned his kingdome in great obedience and tranquilletie, notwithstanding he had aspyred to a state newe and full of troubles: All these considerations vexing not a litle the minde of the frenche Kinge, who, the better to deuise for the affayres of *Italy*, was nowe gone to *Lyon*: he feared least

his marching into *Italy*, which the Pope deteſted openly, would ſtirre vp ſome new innouacions by his meanes: beſides, he ſawe that the Kinge of *Aragon* diſſwaded him from it, but vnder demonſtracions of a friende and an indifferent louer of the common tranquillitie: In ſo much as amyd thoſe multitudes of dowtes which trauelled him on all partes, he ſawe no more certeine nor preſent councell, then with great labor and diligence, to ſtudie ſo to appeaſe the minde of the Pope, that at the leaſt he might ſtande aſſured that he were not his enemie and againſt him: Wherein it ſeemed that occaſion fauored him greatly, for that it was beleeued, that by the death of the Cardinall *Amboiſe*, who was extremely ſicke, he ſhoulde be eaſed of thoſe ſuſpicions, from whence it was ſuppoſed his ill contentments did principally proceede: And for that the King was aduertiſed by good intelligence, that the Cardinall of *Auchx*, Nephewe to the Cardinall *Amboiſe*, with others that managed his affayres in the Court of *Rome*, had with great raſhnes both in deede and wordes labored more to quicken and kindle, then to appeaſe and mollefie the Popes minde: he woulde no more vſe their ſeruice in thoſe actions, but ſent to *Rome* in poſte the Lorde *Albert Pie Count de Carpy*, A perſonage in whome was indifferent the greatnes of his minde and expedicion of his witte: he caried very large commiſſions not onely to offer to the Pope the Kinges forces and authoritie to ſerue his turne in all accidents and vpon all occaſions, but alſo in inclining as much as he could to his wil and nature, he was to communicat with him frankely and ſimply the ſtate of all thinges that were practiſed, together with the requeſts that *Cæſar* made to him, and finally to referre to his arbitracion and wil whether he ſhould paſſe into *Italy* or not, and whether he ſhould miniſter to th Emprour ſpeedely or ſlowly: he had alſo in charge to diſſwade the abſolucion of the *Venetians*, but before he ariued, it was reſolued and promiſed by the Pope: the *Venetians* after long diſpute and abode of their Embaſſadors there, conſenting at laſt to the condicions whereupon the difficulties ſtoode, not finding any other remedie for their ſauetie, then to be ioyned with him: The condicions for the which thabſolucion was to be giuen, were opēly publiſhed in the cōſiſtorie the xxiiij of February in preſence of the *Venetian* Embaſſadors, who confirmed them by writing according to thauthentike direction from their common weale: Theſe were the particulars: That they ſhould not in any ſort diſpoſe the benefices or dignities of the Church: and that they ſhoulde make no reſiſtance or difficultie touching the frutes & prouiſions deriuing of them to the Court of *Rome*: That they ſhould not gainesay that in that Court ſhould not be perſecuted the cauſes for benefices with others appertaining to the eccleſiaſtike iuriſdiction: That they ſhould not charge the goods of the Church, and exempt places of their temporall dominion, with tenthes or any other ſortes of impoſicion: That they ſhoulde renownce from thappellacion againſt thadmonicion, and from all intereſts & rightes gotten vpon the Church landes in what ſort ſoeuer, but ſpecially from all thoſe prorogatiues and rightes by the which they pretended to holde the office of *Vicedomino* in *Ferrara*: That the ſubiects of the Church and their veſſels may freely traffike thorough their goolfe, and that with ſuch ample facultie, that the marchandiſe of other nations brought in their bottoms, ſhoulde not be troubled nor ſubiect to pay tolls: That it ſhould not be lawfull for thē in any ſort to medle with *Ferrara*, or any townes of that ſtate which were dependant on the Church: That al couenantes & contracts which they had made to the preiudice of the Church, with any the ſubiects or vaſſalls of the ſame, ſhould be cancelled and made voide: That they ſhould not receiue any Duke, Baron, or other ſubiect or vaſſall of the Churche, that ſhould be an enemie

mie or rebell to the sea Apostolike: That they should be bownd to make restitution of all the moneys which they had exacted vppon the reuenues of the Churche, together with reparation of all the harmes which the Church had suffred.

These obligations with the promises and sufficient renouncements, being receiued in the consistorie, the *Venetian* Embassadors at a day appoynted according to thauncient examples of tymes, were brought vnder the portall of the great Church of *S. Peter*, where falling at the Popes feete, being set in his pontificall seate neare the brazen gates, and honored with thassistantes of all the Cardinals and college of Prelates, they asked him pardon in great humilitie, confessing their contumacie and faultes past: After this, according to the custome of the Churche, were pronounced certaine prayers, and so proceding to all the other degrees of ceremonies, the Pope receyuing them into grace, gaue them absolution, and enioyned them for penaunce to go visite the seuen Churches: After the action of absolution was done they entred into *S. Peters* Churche, beeing guided by the great penitencier: And after they had heard Masse which was denied to them before, they were very honorably accompanied to their howses by many prelates and Courtiers, not as persons excommunicated and interdited, but as reconciled Christians and deuout children to the sea Apostolike. Soone after they returned to *Venice*, more loaden with the ceremonies, then made blessed with the vertue of their absolution, leauing behinde them at *Rome*, *Hieronimo Donato* one of their number, and who by his vertues and singular facilitie of witte and learning, becomming very agreable to the Pope, did afterwards great seruice to his countrey in things which he negociated with him.

The Venetians absolued.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE NINTH BOOKE.

POpe Iulio the seconde turneth agaynst the French men: The French king and king of Romains enter league agaynst the Venetians, vvho besiege Verona: The Pope taketh Mirandola, and makes vvarre vpon the Duke of Ferrara: The families of Bentyuole returne to Bologna: A Councell is published at Pisa agaynst the Pope.

THE NINHT BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE mindes of men of their proper inclination are mutable, bearing no small subiection to passions of enuie, ambition, and glorie: And to great Princes aspiring to high actions, by so muche lesse tollerable is the stroake of reuolution and chaunge, by howmuche more thoccasions are wrought directly contrarie to their exspectations, and do conclude preiudicially agaynst their proper imperie and greatnes: for, as this absolution whiche the Pope gaue to the *Venetians*, brought no litle greefe to the minde of *Maximilian*, beeing

ſo muche the more vexed, by howmuche thaction was accompliſhed with a will reſolute, and touched him more particularly and principally then all the reſidue: So alſo the French king, hauing no leſſe intereſt in the harmes that might happen, did equally communicate in the perplexities of this alteration, for that he deſired for his priuate profite that the greatnes of the *Venetians* ſhould not be eftſones reeſtabliſhed: Neuertheleſſe he coulde not finde out what were the intentions and laſte endes of the Pope. And therefore feeding himſelfe with vayne hopes concerning the difficulties of thaffayres that were prepared agaynſt him, he perſwaded himſelfe that the Pope ſtirred onely for ſuſpicion of his vniting with *Maximilian*, and that temporiſing with him, and giuing him no occaſion of greater feare, he would paſſe no further, but reſt ſatisfied with thabſolution he had giuen: A perſwaſion muche abuſing the kings affayres, and no leſſe farre from the reſolution of the Pope, who growing more and more confirmed in his deliberation, and litle reſpecting the declarations and impedimentes of the confederate Embaſſadors, ſuffred the ſubiects and dependantes of the Churche to enter into the pay of the *Venetians*, who receiued into intertainement *Iohn Paule Baillon* as generall of their whole companies, ſtanding without a gouernor by the death of the *Count Petillano*: they tooke alſo into their wages *Iohn Lovvis* and *Iohn Vitelli*, ſonnes to the late *Iohn* & *Camilla*, and made *Ranſo de Cere* colonell of their footmen, (holding it a iuſtice as reaſonable to fauour them with this libertie for their temporall ayde, as to acquite them of the paynes of the Churche, both the one and other reſpecting one meaning and matter:) And as in this action he made open declaration that he tooke the *Venetians* into his protection, ſo he laboured alſo to bring them to agreement with Cæſar, hoping vnder that meane not onely to ſeperate him from the French king, but withall to knitte him with himſelfe and with the *Venetians* to make warre vpon him: wherein, for the more eaſie ſucceding of this deuiſe, taking his oportunitie vpō the neceſſities of Cæſar, he interpoſed his authoritie to the electors of thempire and the free townes, to thende that in the dyet of *Auguſt* there ſhould be no conſent of contribution: But the more he aduaunced and vrged this practiſe, the more he founde it of harde operation, for that on the one ſide, Cæſar would not harken to any motion of agreement, vnleſſe *Verona* might remayne to him: and on the other ſide, the *Venetians* (in whom the Pope had hope of a greater facilitie) perſwading them ſelues to be hable to defende *Padoa* in all fortunes, and that keeping that citie, time would fauour them with more occaſions, demaunded reſolutely the reſtitution of *Verona*, offring to pay in recompence a huge ſumme of money. To a minde diſpoſed to troubles, nothing
" is more ſweete then the ſtudie of vexation: and by howmuch more plentifully doth
" abounde the humor of ambition, by ſo muche leſſe is limited the deſire of oppreſ-
„ ſion, which in mindes corruptly inclined, holdes nothing vnlawfull that may ſerue
" to thaction pretended, nor any thing vnreaſonable that agreeth with the humor of
" their paſſion, in whom this is one natural cuſtome, to conuert all things to his owne
" propertie & working. The Pope omitting neither meane nor matter that might giue furtherance to his purpoſe, made ſecret ſolicitation to *Henry* the eight then king of *Englande*, to rayſe warre agaynſt the French king, wherein enforcing the memorie of thauncient emulations of thoſe two kingdomes, he ioyned to the facilitie of thenterpriſe, this occaſion of the felicitie and ſucceſſe: that if he would begin to leauie armes agaynſt *Fraunce*, thaction would take imitation in many others, to whom the puiſſance and greatnes of that crowne was either ſuſpected or hated: he forgat not to encourage him to embrace with that deuotion which in other times had bin

proper

proper to the kings of *Englande*, the glorie that was offred him to be protector and preſeruer of the ſea Apoſtolike, which, without the ayde of his authoritie and reſkewe, ſtoode in manifeſt daunger by thambition of the French king. In this practiſe the king of *Aragon* did communicate with the Pope, but ſecretly and not really, vſing perhaps this moderation of minde, not to ſuffer his deſires to be greater then his fortunes. But that which was of greateſt importance, the Pope enterteined ſtill with the *Svvizzers* the negociations which were begonne by the Biſhop of *Syon*, by whoſe authoritie (being great with that nation) and perpetuall importunitie labouring their aſſemblies and councels, and preaching in their Churches: he obteined at laſt that the *Svvizzers*, receiuing euery yere a thouſande *Florins* of *Rhein* for euery Canton, ſhoulde be bounde to the protection of him and the eſtate of the Churche, with permiſſion to the Pope for his defence agaynſt all men that would vex him, to leauie certayne proportions of footmen: The occaſion that moſte helped forwarde this matter, and made his requeſt more eaſie and plauſible, was the diſagreement that began to kindle betweene them and the Frenche king: For the *Svvizzers* being of nature proude and weening, became more rayſed and lifted vp in minde by the eſtimation that others had of them, and chalenging to them ſelues peculiarly the glorie of the French victories, were caried into this preſuming, that all the conqueſts and honorable actions which eyther the king raigning, or his predeceſſor had obteined in *Italie*, proceeded principally of their valour and the feare of their armes: And therevpon inſiſting vppon merites, as though the crowne of *Fraunce* ought much to them, they demaunded (the French king ſoliciting to make renouation of thalliance that nowe was determined) that he would augment their penſions, being then threeſcore thouſand frankes by yere, ouer and aboue the mercenarie contributions which were ſecretly diſpearſed amongſt priuat perſons, penſions which had ben begon vnder *Lovvis* the eleuenth, and continued vnto the preſent time: But for that they accompanied their demaundes with a preſumptuous audacitie which the king conſtrued to manifeſt inſolencie, and for that of paiſantes and mountayne men (ſuche was his phraſe) they ſought imperiouſly to impoſe and taxe him being a king, he began ſo to ſhake them of with wordes and countenaunces, that they might diſcerne how muche he diſdayned them, more reſpecting hys dignitie royall, then regarding the preſent vtilitie of things: He was the more induced to this, for that at the ſame ſeaſon by the ſolicitation of *George Sopreſſan*, the peoples of the valleys ſubiects of *Sion*, who were gouerned in ſeuen communities which they call courtes, being corrupted by publike promiſes and priuate penſions, were not onely confederate with him, but alſo bounde to giue paſſage to his people, and refuſe it to his enemies, and withall to enter into his payes with ſuch numbers of footmen as their forces were hable to beare. In the ſame ſort did enter confederacie with him, the Lordes of the three leagues, whom they call the *Griſons*: and albeit one part of the men of the valley had not yet approued it, the king was not without hope to induce them to ratification by the ſelfe ſame meanes: In ſo muche as he began to perſwade him ſelfe that the amitie of the *Svvizzers* was nowe no more neceſſarie to him, hauing determination to ſupplye his warres with *Almain* footmen, ouer and beſides thoſe proportions of ſouldiours whiche the valley men and *Griſons* ſhould furniſhe him of: Beſides, he feared little their ſtirres or preparations, and leſſe exſpectation that they were hable to aſſayle the duchie of *Millan* but by the ſtraites of *Ballinſona*, and other paſſages of great difficultie: through the which, if they ſhould march in great trowpes and numbers, he made his reckoning

that they would be easily reduced into necessitie of vittels by a small armie: And if they came but in small companies, a slender strength woulde likewise suffice to
" make them retyre: Wherein he made his coniectures at random, and seemed to ly-
" mit the fortunes of them whose forces he yet knewe not, flattering himselfe with his
" proper greatnes: An humor preiudicially mouing in Princes, in whom there ought
" to be no parcialitie of comparison, when there is question of enterprise and action:
But becausse he stoode resolute not to graunt them augmentation of pensions, he coulde not obteine in their councells a renouation of thalliance, notwithstanding there were manye euen in the middest of them, who did earnestly perswade it, to whom in particular were retributed no small rewardes: And for that cause they consented more easily to the confederation which was demaunded of them by the Pope: By which newe confederation the Pope seeming to haue laied a great fundation for thaduauncing of his purposes: and hauing a perpetuall nature to proceede in all thinges as supreme and soueraigne aboue all men, and as though the whole world were in necessitie to receiue lawes of him, he began to sowe seedes of newe controuersies with the Duke of *Ferrara*, eyther pushed on by the cause that was in disputation betweene them, or els by an auncient hatred, for that hauing receiued of him so many honors, benefites, and gratifications, he seemed neuertheless to depende more vpon the French king then vpon him: A dealing whiche he construed preiudicially and farre contrarie to the recompence of his merites. But whatsoeuer was the cause, searching a beginning of the quarrell, he commaunded imperiously *Alfonso* Duke of *Ferrara* to forbeare to continue the working of salt at *Comacchio*: he alleaged that it was not reasonable that that which was not lawfull to him when the *Venetians* helde *Ceruia*, should nowe haue suffraunce being possessed by the sea Apostolike, to whom apperteined the absolute gouernment of *Ferrara* and *Comacchio*: Besides, it was a matter of great profite, for that the working ceassing at *Comacchio*, the saltpittes of *Ceruia* ministred traffike to all the townes thereaboutes. But Duke *Alphonso*, who reapposed more in the coniunction which he had with the French king and in his protection, then he feared the Popes forces, gaue small obedience to this commaundement: he complayned that he shoulde be constrayned not to reape the fruite which grewe to him in his proper house with small labour, and to be driuen to buye of an other for the vsage of his peoples, the ware whereof he had enough to repleni she forreine countreis, alleaging withall that that ought not to be enforced for an example which the *Venetians* had made him consent vnto, more by compulsion of armes then by condition of iustice: Whiche reasons little auayled to content the Pope: who eftsones sent to protest to him vnder great paynes and accursings to discontinue that worke: suche were the thoughtes and actions of the Pope, inclined altogether to rayse vp and support the *Venetians*:

The league of Cæsar and the French king agaynst the Venetians.

But on the other side Cæsar and the French king thirsted not a little after their embacement, with desire to diminishe their authoritie and greatnes: And beeing muche discontented with the demonstrations which the Pope expressed on their behalfe, they drew into a more strayte alliance and intelligence one with an other, concluding to inuade the *Venetians* that sommer with huge forces: for the better aduauncing of which expedition, the contracte bare that the Frenche king for his parte should sende *Monsr Chaumont* with a strong armie, whereunto should be ioyned the Launceknightes that lay at *Verona*: And Cæsar for his parte, should make entrie into the countrey of *Friul* with those leauyes of men and munitions which he hoped to obteine of thempire in the dyet of *Auspurge*: and hauing accomplished

that

that action, he was to proceede to other enterprises according to the estate of occasions and tyme. They solicited the Pope to ioyne with them according to the bonde of the league of *Cambray*, holding it but iuste to sommon him to performe that which he had so willingly promised: But he who was no lesse discontented with that motion, then hauing a capacitie searching aboue the witte of other men, made aunswere that he was no more bound to that confederation which hath had already his perfection, seeing it had bene in the power of Cæsar to haue first *Treuisa*, and afterwards a satisfaction & recompence in money. Cæsar likewise solicited to haue succours from the king Catholike, both by vertue of the same capitulations of *Cambray*, and also vnder couenantes and promises made particularly with him, at suche time as he consented to him the gouernment of *Castillo*: But this solicitation, as it bare a forme of requeste to ayde him rather with money then with men, so the king of *Aragon* whom it imported muche not to disfurnishe him selfe of the thing whereof he had moste neede, made aunswere that he would sende him foure hundred launces: A strength of little profite for Cæsar, for that aswell in the Frenche armie, as in his owne campe, the seruice on horsebacke was plentifully furnished. About this time the Citie of *Verona* liued in great afflictions vnder the souldiours that garded it, who, for that they were not payed, drewe into secret conspiracie with certayne *Venetian* bandes, by whom they thought to worke some trayterous stratageme: for which purpose the *Venetians* issuing out of *S. Boniface*, approched the Citie by night to skale the Castell of *S. Peter*: and as they were entred *S. Georges* gate, whyleste they taried to fasten their ladders together (for that being single they sufficed not to reach to the height of the wall) eyther they were heard by the warders of the castell of *S. Felix*, or in their feare they seemed to heare a brute of armed men: And as in matter of enterprise imagination abuseth muche, so whether they feared their owne shadowes, or whether they doubted that to be in deede which was but a vision in their timerous fantasies, they sodenly retyred, leauing behinde them their ladders as testimonies of their feare and intention, leauing to thenemie to doubt muche of their vallour, that in so fayre an oportunitie forsooke the felicitie that their fortune had prepared. The armie retyred forthwith to *S. Boniface*, and at *Verona* the conspiracie comming to detection, many were passed ouer to iustice and punishment, though some found fauour more by clemencie then their proper innocencie.

In this season the Pope expressed certayne inclinations to be eftsones reunited with the french king, not of goodwill, but for feare: for that *Maximilian* sommoned him with braue messages to lende him two hundred thousande duckets, threatning that otherwise he would ioyne with the French king agaynst him: An other reason of his feare was a brute that was spread, that in the Dyet of *Auspurge* it was agreed to minister to him a strong succor, and also the peace had bene newely established betweene the kings of *Englande* and *Fraunce*, and published with great solemnitie. By reason of these feares, he began to trayte with great diligence with *Albert de Carpy*, whom till that day, he had interteined with wordes and hopes generall, vsing in all his actions of negociation more art then true meaning, and lesse fidelitie then fayre resemblaunce: But besides the mutabilitie of his owne nature, the variation of occasions made him not dwell long in that resolution: both for that the Parliament of *Auspurge* (without the forces and aydes of which there was no great reckoning to be made of the threates of Cæsar) not aunswering exspectation, determined for him no other succours, then a supply of three hundred thousande Florins of *Rhein*, whereof his prodigalities had already made great wastes: And also the king of *Eng-*

land signified that he had set downe an article in the peace, expressing that it should be no peace as often as the French king should offend the state of the Churche: In regard of these things, the Pope reentred into new stomack, and returning eftsones to his former thoughts, he began to heape new cõplaintes agaynst the Duke of *Ferrara*, who, he sayd, that since it was suffred to the subiects of the Church to sayle and traffike frankly through the gulfe of *Venice*, had imposed newe tributes vppon the goods which were brought to *Venice* by the riuer of *Pau*: A taxation which the Pope alleaged that the vassall coulde not leauie (according to the interpretation of the lawes) without licence of the Lorde paramount, and withall it was a thing that brought great preiudice to the people of *Bolognia*, who were his subiects: for which consideration he made instance that they might be deposed, threatning that otherwise he would bring warre vpon him. Wherin to giue him a greater feare, he caused to marche his bands of men of warre into the countrey of *Bolognia* and into *Romagnia*. These things troubled not a little the mind of the French king, beeing loath on the one side to fall at oddes with the Pope, and on the other side he felt him selfe touched in honor and conscience to leaue abandoned the Duke of *Ferrara*, to whose protection he had bound himselfe by receiuing thirtie thousande duckets. No lesse was he moued with the regarde of his proper profite, for that duke *Alfonso* depending wholy vpon him, and fleeing so much the more to his deuotion, by howmuch he sawe him persecuted by the Pope, he esteemed it his proper interest to preserue him, and for that cause he interposed his deputies with the Pope to solicite some accord betwene them: But it seemed iust to the Pope that the king should withdraw himself from that protection, alleaging that he had taken it vppon him agaynst the capitulations of *Cambray*, by the which (made vnder cullor to render to the Church that which was vsurped) it was forbidden that none of the confederates should take into protection any that was named by an other, and that for his part, he had named the Duke of *Ferrara*: and moreouer it was defended that no one of them shoulde haue any action with things apperteyning to the Church: He alleaged that the like also was confirmed in the confederation made particularly betweene them at *Biagrasso*, wherein was expresly prouided that the king shoulde not take into his protection any estate depending of the Church, and shoulde aswell refuse to take them hereafter, as also cancell and make voyde all protections whiche he had accepted heretofore. To which adiections notwithstanding it was aunswered for the king, that by the same conuention it was prouided that the king shoulde haue power to dispose of the Bishoprikes on this side the Mountes as he listed, which the Pope had violated in the first auoydance that fell, as likewise he had broken in fauor of the *Venetians*, the capitulations made at *Cambray*, by which euasions the king was at libertie not to obserue the things he had promised: yet because he would not come to armes with the Pope for the quarrell of the Duke of *Ferrara*, he offred conditions by the which, not offending directly his honor, the Pope in a great parte might rest satisfied touching thinterestes which the Churche and he pretended agaynst Duke *Alfonso*: And besides, he was contented to binde himselfe by promise (according to the Popes requeste) that the Frenche armies shoulde not passe the ryuer of *Pau*, but for the protection of the *Florentins* wherevnto he was bounde, and to molest *P. Petruccio* and *Iohn Paule Baillon*, vnder coollour of money promised by the one, and deteined by the other.

The Pope threatneth the duke of Ferrara.

Monsr de Chaumont agaynst the Venetians.

Whileste these things were in action, *Monsr de Chaumont* aduaunced with an army of fiftene hundred launces, and ten thousande footemen of many nations, amongst whom

whome were certayne regimentes of *Svvizzers* priuatlye leauyed, and not by permiſſion of the Cantons, and followed with great proportions of artilleries, with certayne bridges prepared to paſſe ryuers: hauing alſo ioyned with him the duke of *Ferrara* with two thouſande men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, and two thouſande footmen: With theſe companies he tooke in the meane while without any impediment, *Poliſena de Rouiguo*, a peece which the *Venetians* had abandoned, & taking alſo the tower *Marquiſano* ſtanding vpon the riuer of *Adice* towards *Padoa*, he marched on to *Caſtelbaldo*, and had at the firſt ſommon the townes of *Montagnano* and *Eſte*, the one apperteining to *Alfonſo d'Eſte* by graunt from *Maximilian*, and the other giuen to him in gage. *Alfonſo* after he had recouered theſe townes, ſent backe his regimentes vnder coollour to encounter certayne galleys of the *Venetians* whiche floated vppon the ryuer of *Pavv*. By the imitation of *Chaumont*, the Prince of *Hanavv Maximilians* lieftenaunt, marched in like ſort out of *Verona* with three hundred French launces, two hundred men at armes, and three thouſand *Almain* footmen, and ioyning with *Chaumont*, he followed him alwayes within one remoue of his campe: They left behind them *Montſelice* holden for the *Venetians*, and marched towards the countrey of *Vincenſa*, where *Lonigua* and the whole countrey yelded without reſiſtance: for that the *Venetian* armie conteining ſix hundred men at armes, foure thouſand light horſmen and ſtradiots, and eight thouſand footmen vnder *Iohn P. Baillon* generall, and *Andrevv Gritti* treaſorer, hauing firſt abandoned *Svvauo*, and alwayes retyring into places of ſuretie according as thenemie aduaunced, and laſtly hauing beſtowed ſufficient garriſon within *Treuiſa*, and a thouſande footmen within *Meſtro*, they were retired to the *Brentelli*, a place within three miles of *Padoa*, and of great ſuretie for their incamping, both for that the countrey is ful of hills and riſings, & the place it ſelf ſtandeth inuironed with the waters of theſe three ryuers *Brento*, *Brentello*, and *Baguillon*: Suche is the frayltie of mans nature, that the „ ſoddennes of perill is more terrible then the daunger it ſelfe: and by howmuche it „ happneth to a multitude vngouerned, by ſo much it ſeemes more deſperate, for that „ when their minds are once poſſeſſed with feare, there is no place for confidence and „ reſolution, and all hopes are turned into doubtes, their extremitie making them ty- „ merous, which ought to make them reſolute. The poore people of *Vincenſa*, for „ that the armie was thus retyred, finding them ſelues no leſſe abandoned, then altogether vnhable to defende their eſtate, and ſeeing that their fortune had left them no other hope then ſuche as they might exſpect in the mercy of the victors, whiche they ſuppoſed they might more graciouſly obteine by the meane and working of *Monſr de Chaumont*: they ſent to him to demaunde ſafeconduit to addreſſe embaſſadors to him and the Prince of *Hanavv*, which being graunted, they preſented them ſelues in forme and aſpecte pitifull and full of ſorrowe and feare afore them bothe being then at the bridge of *Barberano* ten miles from *Vincenſa*: Their attyre repreſenting the lamentable condition of their fortune, and their other dolefull circumſtances, bearing a preſence of ſorowe and languiſhing mindes, moued pitie in ſuche as came prepared to ſpoyle them, and inclined to grace euen thoſe that afore had determined their deſtruction: So effectually worketh the conſideration of miſerie in mindes tractable to compaſſion. The cheefe of the Embaſſage, beeing the mouth of the reſidue, was licenſed to ſpeake in this ſorte in the preſence of all the capteins and principalls of tharmie.

This Queſtion maye bee asked in the conſideration of our preſent condition, „ whiche is leaſt hurtfull, eyther to bee extreme miſerable, without the threates and „

" feare of fortune, or to be in full prosperitie whiche alwayes standes subiect to di-
" minution and falling: And since there is a diuine power that hath bene appoynted
" from the beginning to guyde all our mortall accidentes, methinkes that that man
" erreth lesse who promiseth to him selfe a chaunge of thaffayres of this worlde, then
" he that perswadeth that they are alwayes firme and stable: The same beeing a
" comfort to earthly men (if any thing coulde moderate their frayle passions) not to
" holde those thinges greeuous whiche both can not be auoyded, and also are sent
" for our better reformation & necessarie correction. If it were knowen to any of this
" honorable presence (at whose feete I speake) howe muche this Citie of *Vincensa*
" (heretofore enuied of her neighbours for her riches and felicities) hath suffred, since
" more by error and rashnes of her inhabitantes, and happly more by a certaine fatall
" disposition then through other occasion, she returned vnder the iurisdiction of the
" *Venetians*, together with the intollerable harmes and domages she hath receyued:
" We beleeue (and your gracious aspects assure no lesse) that in your hartes will be
" greater the compassion of our miseries, then the hatred for the memorie of our re-
" bellion, if rebellion may be imposed vpon therror of that night, wherein our people,
" drawne into vniuersall confusion, for that the armie of our enemie had forced the
" suburbs of *Postello*, not to rebell nor to flee from the easie gouernment of Cæsar, but
" to deliuer our selues from the sacke and extreme afflictions of other cities, did sende
" out Embassadours to compounde with the enemie. To whiche action our multi-
" tudes and peoples not accustomed to armes, and lesse acquaynted with the daun-
" gers of warre, were altogether pushed on by the authoritie of *Fracasso*, a capteine,
" who experienced in so many seueral warres, and appoynted of Cæsar, either by sub-
" tletie or by feare (a matter not apperteining to vs to search) gaue vs counsell to so-
" licite an accorde for the safetie of our wiues, our children, and our poore afflicted
" countrey: The same making it manifest that no yll impression of minde, but onely
" feare increased through thauthoritie of such a capteine, was the cause, not that we
" did determine by long counsell, but rather that in a very small computation of time,
" in so great a tumult, and in so fearefull a noyse of armes and artilleries thundring,
" whose terrour vanquished our resolution, we ranne rashly vnder the rule of the *Ve-*
" *netians*, the felicitie and power of whome were not suche as we ought eyther to
" feare the one or affect the other: Our condition was not to expect or temporise,
" for that thenemie was incamped in the places which the strength which was left for
" our succors had newly abandoned: and as in communalties or multitudes the hope
" that is deferred maketh their hartes to languish: so the long continuance of miseries
" suffiseth euen to shake the minds of the most assured. Men not accustomed to aduer-
" sities, haue least rule ouer their passions, & such as neuer liued but in securitie, haue
" least temperance to beare a change: Faults done by necessitie bring with them their
" proper pardon. And as you are not nowe to doubt of the difference betwene faults
" cõmitted by feare & error, and offences proceding of fraude and ill intention: so ne-
" uertheless, though our fortune moue you to interpret our rebellion not to feare,
" but to will, & that so vile an action was begon by counsel & consent vniuersal, & not
" through cõfusion & vnbridled rashnes of a few, whõ neither counsell nor authoritie
" could represse: and be it lastly that the trãsgressions of this wretched citie were alto-
" gether inexcusable: yet our calamities haue bin so great since that accursed reuolt,
" that we may truly say, that the punishmẽt without al cõparison hath bin greater thẽ
" the fault: for within our wals, the garrison souldiers that were left for our safety and
" cõfort, turned thẽselues into the habit of aduersaries, doing al things to thaggrauatiõ

of

of our miſeries, not ſparing to ſpoyle thoſe goods that were left vs for our releeſe & ſuccor: And without, we haue not bene free from all thoſe ſortes of harmes which warre and hoſtilitie are wont to drawe with them, our afflictions being ſo much the more greeuous and great, by howmuche the warre hath bene continuall without intermiſſion: we haue nothing remayning in this miſerable countrey which carieth any memorie of the riches, delite, or felicitie thereof: All the houſes of our poſſeſsions are burned, all our woods cut downe and waſted, all our feelds & gardens defaced, and all our infinite heards of cattell driuen away and deuoured: This is the ſeconde yeere that we haue bene driuen to reape our harueſt afore the time, that we haue had no ſecuritie to ſowe our ſeedes, and leſſe ſeaſon to gather our fruites, yea the ſeueritie of the time hath left vs no hope that this contrey ſo generally deſtroied, can be euer readdreſſed: Our miſeries are come to theſe deſperate tearmes and limittes, that what with the needefull ſupportation of our lyues, and to furniſh thintollerable exactions whiche our neceſsities haue impoſed vppon vs, all that remayneth either of our hidden treaſure or common ſtoare, is farre inſufficient to nouriſh the lyues of our wyues, children, and our ſelues, to whome remayneth nothing but a miſerable ſpectacle of the happineſſe wherein we haue lyued: If the preſent ſtate of our countrey were nowe obiected to anye that had ſeene and knowen it before, and our calamities preſent meaſured with our felicities paſſed, I knowe it woulde ſtirre vp motions of pitie and compaſsion euen in the myndes of enemies, conſidering ſpecially that this Citie (albeit it hath ſmall circuite) whiche was wont to bee repleniſhed with inhabitantes, ſtately in maieſtie and preſence, riche through magnificence of buildinges and pallaces, an aſſured and free retraite for all ſtraungers, a Citie reioyſing in friendſhippes, ſocieties, and gratulations, to be nowe made voyde of dwellers, poore in the preſence and countenaunces of men and women, no place lefte for hoſpitallitie, no one man hable to feede his familie for one moneth, and in place of ſtately feaſtes, meetinges, and banquettes, nothing left but penurie, deſolation, and feare to ſhowe friendſhippe, men ſighing in the ſorrowes of their wyues and children, whome they can not comfort, and women wayling the ſeueritie of their common deſtinie. And theſe calamities (oh gracious Prince of *Hanavv*) woulde bee yet greater, if we conſidered not that on your vertuous wyll dependeth eyther the laſte deſolation of oure afflicted countrey, or the hope that once agayne vnder the winges of Cæſar, guided by your highe wiſedome and clemencie, we mighte lifte vp oure heades, not to be reſtored (for that agreeth not with our merite and fortune) but conſuming our lyues to thuttermoſt, to auoyde at leaſt an extreme and laſte deſtruction: A grace whiche wee ſo muche the more exſpecte and hope for, by howmuche your affabilitie and eaſineſſe is knowen to vs, wherein we doubt not but you wyll reſemble and immitate Cæſar, with whoſe examples of clemencie all *Europe* is repleniſhed. All our wealth is conſumed, all our hopes determined, all our fortunes layde at your feete, there remayneth nothing elſe to vs but our lyues and perſons, agaynſt the whiche to vſe crueltie, were neyther profite to Cæſar, nor prayſe to you: for, as that benefite is vniuſt that is purchaſed with the hurte of an other, ſo that glorie can not be without infamie, that is wonne with the puniſhment of men in miſerie. Clemencie is as greate a vertue as iuſtice, and Nature hath ſowen in men aſwell ſeedes of pitie and forgiueneſſe, as of crueltie and reuenge, and hath enioyned Princes aboue all other creatures, to beare an infinite regarde to the dignitie of vertue. We beſeeche you with teares, which it may pleaſe you to imagine

" to be mingled with the miſerable complaintes of euery ſex, of euery age,& of euery
" order that is within this Citie, to make the wretched and deſolate ſtate of *Vincenſa*
" an example to all others of the clemencie of *th Almain* empire: Call to your hono-
" rable memories the pitie and magnanimitie of your renowmed elders, who beeing
" victorious in *Italie*, preſerued the Cities that were vnited and confederate, many of
" them chooſing thoſe ſeates for their proper dwellings, and from thence, to the ſin-
" guler glorie of *th Almain* race, are diſcended ſo many noble houſes in *Italie*, as *Gonſa-*
" *guo*, *Catraro*, and *Eſcalo* who ſometimes were our Lordes. Let *Vincenſa* ſerue at one
" time for example, both that the *Venetians* ayded and ſupported by vs in our leſſer
" daungers, haue cowardly and diſhonorably left it abandoned in the greateſt perills
" and neceſſitie of defence that euer coulde happen: and on the other ſide that the
" *Almains*, in whom was ſome reaſon to diſtreſſe vs, haue ioyned remiſſion to our of-
" fences, and both frankely and glorioufly preſerued vs whome by due iuſtice they
" might haue put to puniſhment. The puniſhment of one onely is not crueltie, but
" the calamities of many: That Prince that lookes ſtricktly vppon the offences of his
" people, cannot be called mercifull, but rigorous: and hauing an example in the dea-
" ling of God with ſinners, if he looke ſtraitely vpon offendors, who can abyde it? We
" appeale alſo to you oh inuincible Lorde *Chaumont*, to take vs into your protection:
" looke backe to the example of your king, whoſe clemencie was greater to them of
" *Millan* and *Genovvay* drawne into reuolte without neceſſitie, then was their faulte
" which was both voluntarie and vaine: but after they had found his clemencie grea-
" ter then their tranſgreſſion, and that his pardon preuayling aboue their offences, he
" had reclaymed them by ſo great a benefite as to gyue them lyfe, he coulde neuer
" after finde any fault in their fidelitie and ſeruice. Seueritie keepes men in obedience
" but it is by compulſion, which is ſeruile: but clemencie winneth the heart and af-
" fection, whiche confirmeth the ſuretie of the Prince. Oh Prince of *Hanavv*, if the
" preſeruation of *Vincenſa* turne nothing to the profite of Cæſar, at the leaſt it will
" bring him glorie, remayning as a perpetuall example of his benignitie: If he deſtroy
" it, it can ſerue him to no vſe, and the ſeueritie whiche he vſeth to vs will be gree-
" uous to all *Italie*: Clemencie will make acceptable to all men the name of Cæſar,
" and as in actions of warre and managing of an armie, he is knowne to haue great
" affinitie with the auncient Cæſar, ſo in beeing eaſie to pardon where he hath
" power to puniſhe, his clemencie will make him equall with Cæſar in all thoſe ver-
" tues which haue made his name perpetuall to all poſterities. *Vincenſa* that flouri-
" ſhing and auncient Citie, and heretofore the ſeate of nobilitie, lyeth nowe proſtrate
" at your feete: ſhe exſpecteth from you eyther her preſeruation or deſtruction, her
" lyfe or death: take pitie of ſo many innocent perſons, ſo many vnfortunate women,
" and ſo many guiltles children, who in that lamentable night full of folly and error,
" medled with nothing, and nowe with plaintes and waylings exſpect your delibera-
" tion. To pardon many for thoffence of one, is thoffice of a pitifull prince, but to pu-
" niſh many for the fault of one, can not but holde of tyrannie. Conſider that what is
" done by force and neceſsitie, bringes with it a ſufficient reaſon of excuſe: In which
" regarde we kiſſe your knees, and aſwell with the repentance of thoffendours, as with
" the innocencie of the guiltles, and laſtly with the humilitie and ſubmiſsion of this
" whole afflicted ſtate, we beſeche you pronounce at laſt that reuiuing voyce of mer-
" cie and clemencie, through the whiche our wretched Citie comming to receiue a
" new life, ſhall call you alwayes her right worthy preſeruer and patron.

Suche is the obſtinacie of a mynde once iuſtly iniuried, that neither the pitifull

phrase of this Oration, nor the sorrowfull aspect of the speaker lying prostrate at his feete, and muche lesse the compassion of so wretched a Citie, coulde moderate the mynde of the Prince of *Hanavv*, whose felicitie making him insolent, and hys authoritie cruell, he coulde not so muche commaunde ouer his passions, as to make his words lesse cruell then his deedes, making by the mouth of a Doctor this rigorous and vncomfortable aunswere.

Thinke not that eyther the power of your perswasions, or other respect of your dissembled sorrowes, can suffice to wipe out of memorie the faultes you haue committed agaynst the maiestie of the name of Cæsar, without any regarde to his greatnesse or dignitie, and lesse respect to the honor wherein you were receiued by him: you haue by common councell & consent of the whole citie, called into your towne the *Venetian* armie, who forcing the suburbes with great difficultie, distrusted to take it, and beganne to go away: you called them in agaynst the will of the Prince that represented the person of Cæsar: you constrayned that prince to retyre into the Castel, & in the furie of your rebellion haue sacked the artilleries and munitions of Cæsar: you haue torne in peeces his pauillions displayed in honor of his victories in so many warres and triumphes. These insolencies were not done by the souldiours of the *Venetians*, but the people of *Vincensa* haue defyled their loyaltie, discouering their violent thirste after the blood of *th Almains*: It was not long of you that the Venetian armie tooke not *Verona*, whiche they had done, if knowing thoccasion, they had followed the victorie: This happned not by the counsayle or perswasion of *Fracasso*, who abused by your slaunders, hath expressed clearely hys innocencie: it was an effect of your wicked mindes, it moued by a poysoned impression of hatred, which without cause you beare to the *Almain* name: your offences are so haynous, as there is no place lefte for pardon or merite: the despite of the iniurie you haue done, maketh double the desyre of reuenge: it was not your errours that made you offende, but your wicked inclinations, and therefore to vse clemencie to you, woulde bee both hurtefull and infamous, for that you woulde returne to your vomite vppon euery occasion: And the harmes you haue receiued, haue not bene for a punishment and skourge of your faults, but for that you would obstinately perseuer in rebellion: And nowe that the *Venetians* haue abandoned you, you haue no other remedie to defende you, but to implore the pitie of Cæsar, whom you haue betrayed. The Prince was determined not to heare you, following thintention and commission of Cæsar, and yet he hath not denied you audience, satisfying the will of the Lord *Chaumont*: but he will not chaunge the sentence, which since the first daye of your rebellion hath remayned fixed in the minde of Cæsar: he will not receyue you otherwise, then to discression for your goodes, your honours, and your lyues: And hope not that he will do that to showe you the more clemencie, but the better to make you serue for example of punishment to such as accursedly breake their faith to their soueraigne Prince.

The seueritie of this aunswere dyd not a little amaze the aggreeued people of *Vincensa*, who seeming to suffer a generall priuation of all sence and feeling, began eftsones with a newe estate of teares and sorowe, to recommende them to the mercy of him in whom they discerned nothing more ready then a disposition to reuēge: But being repulsed by the same Doctor, rebuking them with words more bitter and fierce then the first, they stood more desperat then before, expressing by their lookes which they cast vpō *Mōsr Chaumōt*, how much they hoped in him, & how greuously wrought in them the sharpe answers of the Doctor: *Chaumont* encouraged them to

obey neceſſitie, and in giuing them ſelues wholy vp to the wil of the Prince, to ſeeke to appeaſe his wrath: he comforted them in the ſingular humanitie and curteſie of Cæſar, in whome beeing a Prince of ſo noble race and an excellent Captayne, was not to be exſpected that he woulde doe a thing vnworthy of his name and vertue: he wylled them not to bee amaſed with the ſeuere aunſwere that was made, but ſayde it ſerued better for their turne that noble and free myndes ſhould ſometymes burſte oute ſharpe and byting wordes, for that deliuering by that meane ſome parte of their anger, the rygour of their dooings was thereby ſomewhat the more abated: he offred to doo all that he coulde to moderate the minde of the Prince, ſo farre foorth as they woulde preuente the worſte by humbling them ſelues ſimply to his diſcreſſion: by whoſe counſayle and conſideration of their owne neceſſitie, the poore afflicted *Vincentins* falling eftſoones proſtrate on the grounde, referred abſolutely both their honours, lyues, and citie to the power of him in whome they coulde yet diſcerne no hope of mercy: Then *Monſr de Chaumont* beganne to ſolicite for them, declaring to the Prince, that in chaſtiſing them he was to reſpect more the greatneſſe and glorie of Cæſar, then the qualitie of their offence: That he ſhoulde not ſet downe ſuche an example to others that were to fall into the lyke faultes, leaſt diſpayring to obteyne mercy, they woulde become obſtinate to thextremitie: That clemencie had alwayes brought foorth to Princes goodwill, ſuretie, and reputation, where crueltie was the cauſe of diſobedience, diſtruſte, and conſpiracie, not taking awaye (as manye vndiſcretly beleeue) impedimentes and difficulties, but rather ſerued as working inſtrumentes to redouble them and make them greater: laſtly he tolde him that it was worthy the vertue of a noble Prince, to forbeare to ſtrike when he had power to do it, and not by correction to encreaſe thaffliction of ſuche as are ſufficiently puniſhed with the remorſe of their proper tranſgreſſions: his authoritie accompanied with the petitions of many others, together with the miſerable waylings of the *Vincentins*, ranged the Prince at laſt to this moderation, to promiſe them ſafetie of lyfe, the diſpoſition of all their goods remayning wholly at hys will: A bootie greater in opinion then in effect, for that the Citie was lefte almoſte no leſſe deſolate of men then of goods. The *Almains* in this licenſe of warre ſearching after praye and ſpoyle, vnderſtoode that many of the towne and countrey were withdrawne with their goodes into two caues in a certayne mountayne neare to *Vincenſa* called the gutter of *Maſano*, where by the ſtrength of the place, and difficultie to enter, they ſuppoſed to finde ſecuritie, or at leaſt to be free from the furie of the ſouldiours: Thither went many trowpes of the *Almains* to make pillage of the Caues, and beeing not hable after long tryall and many harmes, to force ſuche as were within the great Caue, they went to the leſſer, where making a vayne experience of their ſtrength, they vſed at laſte the meane of fyres, and by the benefite of the ſmoake carried it, with the loſſe of more then a thouſande perſons: Suche are the inſolencies of ſouldiours when is no authoritie to bridle their furie, and libertie hath lawe to ouercome diſcipline.

The Vincentins yeelde to diſcreſsion.

Vincenſa being taken in this maner, greater difficulties appeared in other thinges carying more reſpect and importance then was exſpected in the beginning: for, not onely *Maxymylian* did not ſtirre againſt the *Venetians* as he had promiſed, but alſo the regiments which he had in *Italy* diminiſhed continually for want of paye: In ſo much as *Monſr Chaumont* was conſtrained to ſtay him ſelfe vpon the garding of *Vincenſa*, much leſſe that he was able to execute any other enterpriſe, thincertenties of

thempe-

th Emprour ſtanding as great impediments to his vallour, and moſt preiudiciall to the common fortune of them both: Neuertheleſſe he determined to goe incampe before *Leguaguo*, A towne of ſuch ſpecial regard, that if it were not taken, all that had bene done till that day ſerued to nothing: The riuer of *Adice* paſſeth by the towne of *Leguaguo*, and the leſſer part of the ſame which they call the hauen is towards *Montagnana*, where the *Venetians* not reappoſing ſo much in the ſtrength of the towne & vallour of the defenders, as in thopportunitie & impediments of the waters, had cut the riuer in one place: And in an other porcion of the banke where is the greater part of the towne, they had cut it in two places, ſo as the riuer comming falling through thoſe trenches and ſo ſpred it ſelfe by many armes into the loweſt places, had ſo couered the contrey about, that ſtanding drowned for many monethes, it was almoſt become a marriſhe: it hapned that the raſhnes and diſorder of the *Venetian* bandes, partly made theſe difficulties leſſer: for, *Monſr Chaumont* comming to incampe with his armie at *Minerua* three myles from *Leguaguo*, and hauing ſent before certeine of his horſemen and footemen, who as they would haue paſſed the laſt arme of the water which was within halfe a mile of *Leguaguo*, they encowntred the bandes of footemen which kept the warde of *Porto* who were yſſued out to ſtoppe them of paſſage: But the foote bandes of the *Gaſcons* and *Spanyardes* ruſhing reſolutely into the water vp to the breſt, repulſed them and purſued them with ſuch vallour & furie, that they entred with them pellmell into *Porto*, very fewe of the footemen of that place being ſaued, for that as ſome were ſlaine in flying, ſo the greater parte that ſought into *Leguaguo* were drowned as they would haue paſſed the riuer of *Adice*: This ſucces cauſed *Monſr Chaumont* to leauy his campe at *Minerua*, going the ſame night to lodge within *Porto*: And after he had cauſed to trayle vnder the water, the great artilleries which the firme bottom of earth did ſuſteine, he cauſed the laborers and poyners the ſame night to fill vppe and choke the trench of the riuer: And knowing that on that ſide to *Porto*, *Leguaguo* was inexpugnable for the largenes of the riuer, ſo great, that ſcarcely could they fight on that ſide, (notwithſtanding betwene *Leguaguo* and *Porto* for that it is incompaſſed with the hills, it is not ſo large as below) he cõmaunded to prepare a bridge for thartillerie and greateſt part of tharmie to paſſe on the other ſide: but finding the boates & barkes which he had cauſed to be brought thether, not to ſuffice for the largenes of the riuer, he incamped neare the riuer vppon the oppoſit of *Leguaguo* making to paſſe by the benefit of the boates and barkes to thother ſide of *Adice*, Capteine *Molard* with fower thowſand *Gaſcon* footemen and ſix peeces of artillery, aſſoone as they were ouer the riuer, they began on both ſides the riuer to batter the baſtillion which was vppon the riſing of a hill at the poynt of the towne, on that ſide aboue: And hauing battred a great parte of it, notwithſtanding the defendantes expreſſed great office and vallour in renforcing, yet the night following, the treaſorer of the *Venetian* campe, hauing more feare of his ennemie then hope or confidence in his owne people, withdrew him ſelfe ſuddeinly into the caſtell with certeine *Venetian* gentlemen: Aſſoone as it was day and their retyring vnderſtanded, the Capteine of the footemen that garded the baſtillion, rendred it to *Molard*, their liues and goods ſaued, which neuertheleſſe was not obſerued, for that when he was come out, he and his footemen were ſtripped by the ſouldiours of the campe: A licence contrary to the law and reputacion of armes: By the example of the baſtillion the towne was immediatly put to ſacke by Capteine *Molard*, & the bands of footemen who garded an other baſtillion made on the other point of the towne, fled through the mariſh, leauing their armor & weapons in entring the water: Thus

Leguaguo taken by Chaumont.

Leguaguo by the cowardiſe of ſuche as were within it, was conquered with a more ready facilitie and ſpeede then either was exſpected or imagined, the cowardiſe on the one parte giuing as great oportunitie to the victorie, as the vallour of the other ſide: The caſtell made no greater reſiſtance then the towne, for, the bulwarkes and defenſes being executed the daye following by the artillerie, and beginning to vndermyne one ſide of a tower with intencion afterwards to giue fire to it, they within fearing the perill which yet was but in demonſtracion, yeelded them ſelues with condicion that the gentlemen of *Venice* remeyning in the power of *Monſr Chaumont*, the ſouldiours ſhoulde departe with a white rodde in their hande: fortune in this victorie mixed the felicitie of *Monſr Chaumont* with ſome bitter compoſicion, for that in that place he had aduertiſement of the deathe of his Vncle the Cardinall *Amboiſe*, by whoſe great authoritie and regiment with the french kinge, he, hauing bene already rayſed to high promocions and honors, hoped ſtill to be lifted vp higher, and receiue farre greater aduauncements: ſuche a buſie humor is ambicion, for that in whome it ruleth, it makes them hard to be contented with thinges that they haue, ſince that which they haue gotten doth not content them, ſo longe as they hope to haue better: for that the *Almains* had not then ſufficient ſouldiours to leaue within *Leguaguo*, *Chaumont* reſupplied their garriſon with an hundred launces and a thowſand footemen, And ſo giuing licence to the *Griſons* and *Valeſiens* (footemen marcenarye in this ſeruice) he prepared to returne with the reſidue of his armie to the Duchie of *Myllan*, following the commaundement of the king who woulde no more enterteyne ſo great exſpenſes: of this armie, for that the prouiſions on *Cæſars* part aũſwered not the promiſes that were made, there came no effect of importãce (their fortune offring to bring to paſſe the things that either their policie could not foreſee, or their vallour durſt not attempt:) Neuertheleſſe the king ſent a new commaundement to *Chaumont* to ſtaye yet for the whole moneth of Iune, for that *Cæſar*, being thẽ come to *Yſpruch*, no leſſe repleniſhed with difficulties according to his cuſtom, then perplexed with plots & hopes, made inſtance that he ſhould not depart, promiſing from hower to hower that he would paſſe into *Italy*: About which time the *Almains* deſiring to reconquer *Maroſtiquo*, *Citadella*, *Baſciano* & other peeces there abouts, to make the diſcending of *Cæſar* more eaſy on that ſide, *Monſr Chaumont* with his armie encamped at *Lungaro* vpon the riuer of *Baguillon*, to thende to ſtoppe the *Venetian* companies for entring into *Vincenſa* (very weake in garriſon) and that they ſhould not oppoſe againſt the *Almains*: But, being there aduertiſed that the *Venetians* were retyred to *Padoa*, the *Almains* ioyning them ſelues of new with him, they went to the *Torricelli* vppon the high waye that leadeth from *Vincenſa* to *Padoa*, And from thence leauing *Padoa* on the right hand, they marched to *Citadella* with no litle diſcõmoditie of vittels, being troubled by the light horſemen that were within *Padoa*, and much more by ſuch as were at *Monſelice*: *Citadella* yelded without reſiſtãce, by whoſe exãple alſo *Marotiſto*, *Baſciano*, with other peeces thereabouts abandoned by the *Venetians*, came to compoſicion: In ſo much as thinges being diſpatched on that ſide, the armies returned to the *Torricelli*, and leauing *Padoa* on the right hand, and taking towards the mountaine on the left hand, they encamped aboue *Brenta* neare to the moũtaine within ten miles of *Vincenſa*: the chief reaſon why they went to that place, was, for that the *Almains* deſired to occupy *Eſcalo*, A paſſage very conuenient for the regiments that were to come out of *Germanye*, And a peece that onely of all other places from *Treuiſa* to *Vincenſa*, remeyned in the handes of the *Venetians*: from this place the Prince of *Hanavv* being departed with his *Almains* and an hundred french launces,

M. Chaumont incampeth at Lungaro.

launces,tooke the way of *Eſcalo* which was xxv. miles from thence: But he coulde paſſe no further,for that the paiſants and contrey people, bearing an incredible affection to the *Venetians*, and ſuch as being priſoners ſtucke not to offer their bodies to torments and death rather then to deny them or to ſpeake ill of them, had taken many paſſages in the mountaine: And after he had obteyned by compoſicion new-caſtell which is alſo a paſſage of the mountaine,he returned to the incamping place about *Brento*,hauing ſent by an other way towardes *Eſcalo*, many of his footemen, who,according to his direction forſooke the way of *Baſciano*,to auoyd *Couolo* which is a ſtronge paſſage in the mountaines there, And taking the tower more lowe by the waye of *Feltro*,they founde a very fewe people within *Feltro*, which they ſacked and burned,and ſo tooke the waye to *Eſcalo*, which, with the paſſage of *Couolo*,they founde abandoned: About that tyme alſo the ruynes were nothing leſſe in the contrey of *Fryul*, for that being ſometymes aſſayled by the *Venetians*, and ſometymes inuaded by the *Almains*,nowe defended and eftſoones pillaged by the gentlemen of the contrey,this daye aduaunſing, and that daye declining according to occaſions and tymes: there was ſeene in euery place nothing more then dead carcaſſes of men,townes ſacked,and fortreſſes burned: And as the calamities that a warre draweth with it be infinit, ſo it hapned often tymes that the places which had bene firſt ſacked by one armie,was eftſoones burned by the other,& except certayne ſtronge peeces, all the reſidue of the contrey put to miſerable deſtruction: But becauſe in thoſe actions there was nothing done worthy of memory,it would be no leſſe ſuperfluous to recompt the perticularities,then troubleſome to vnderſtande ſo many variable reuolucions which brought forth no effect importing the ſubſtance of the warre.

The time nowe approching that the french armie ſhould depart, there was made this newe conuencion betwene *Cæſar* and the french king, that his armie ſhould yet continue for the moneth following,with couenant that the extraordinary exſpenſes ſuch as ronne ouer and aboue the payes of the bandes which the king had defrayed till that time,ſhould be payed hereafter by *Cæſar*,together with the regiments of the footemen for that moneth: But becauſe *Cæſar* was not then prouided of money, the rate and ſumme ſhoulde be ſette downe of thoſe exſpenſes, and the Kinge to make it vp by way of loane to the ſumme of fifty thowſande duckats: which if *Cæſar* did not repaye within one yeare following together with the other fifty thowſande which were lent him before,the king ſhould reſume into his handes *Verona* with all the territories,and keepe it poſſeſſed til he were ſatisfied: *Chaumont* hauing the kings commaundement to follow ſtill thoſe warres, turned all his wits and deuiſes to take *Monſelice*,In which diſpoſicion aſſoone as foure hundred ſpaniſh launces led by the Duke of *Termyny* were arriued,who,being ſent by the king Catholike to the ſuccors of *Maxymylian*,had according to their cuſtom marched very ſlowly: The armies after they had paſſed the riuer of *Brento*,and afterwards the riuer of *Baguillon* at the village of *Purlo* within fiue myles of *Padoa*,arriued at *Monſelice*, not without ſuffering a wonderfull ſcarcetie of vittels and forrages by thincurſions of horſemen that were within *Padoa* and *Monſelice*,who beſides thoſe domages,tooke *S.Benzone de Cremo*, A Capteine for the french king being gonne with a very ſlender ſtrength of horſemen to view the ſkowtes: This Capteine,for that he was the Author of the rebellion of *Cremo*, *Andrea Gritti* reſpecting more that he was a ſubiect to the *Venetians*, then a ſouldiour of thennemies,cauſed him to be executed preſently.

Conuencion betwene Cæſar and the fr. king.

In the towne of *Monſelice* which ſtandeth in the plaine, is a riſing as it were a ſto-

ny hill,(by that reaſon it is called *Monſelice*) which is very high,in the top whereof is a caſtel,And at the backe of that hil which goeth alwaies leſſening be three waſtes of walls,the loweſt wherof embraſeth ſo much ſpace that it well needeth two thowſand men to defend it againſt a whole armie: The enemies abandoned ſuddeinly the towne wherein the french being beſtowed, planted their artillerie againſt the firſt waſt,and after they had wel battred it in many places,the footemen of the *Gaſcons* & *Spanyards* began to approch the wal in diſorder,ſtriuing to enter by many breaches: There were within for the defence of it, ſeuen hundred men, who ſuppoſing it had bene an aſſalt appointed and ordered, and ſeeing their diſabilitie to make reſiſtance if the aſſalt had bene followed in ſondry places,after they had made a ſmall defence, began to retyre according to an agreement made amongeſt them ſelues before as was beleeued: But they made their retraite in ſuch diſorder,that thennemy that began but now to enter,interteyning with them the ſkirmiſh & chaſſe,entred pelmell with them at the other two waſtes & ſo to the caſtel: There the greateſt part of them were ſlaine,and the reſidue which were withdrawne to the dungion offering to yeld vpon ſewertie of life,were not accepted by the *Almains*, whoſe furie ioyned to their fortune,led them at laſt to put fire in the dungeon: ſo as of ſeuen hundred footemen thexecucioners reſerued very few,euery one bearing leſſe compaſſion to their calamities for the cowardiſſe they ſhewed in their owne defenſe: There were amongeſt them fiue Conſtables & Mareſhals wherof *Martyn de Bourg* of *Tuskane* was the principall,who being parties in the confuſion, they founde ſeuerally their perticular fortune: The crueltie of *th Almains* was ſhewed nothing leſſe againſt the buildings and walls,for,not hauing ſufficient companies to gard them,they did not onely diſmantel the fortreſſe of *Monſelice*,but alſo conſumed the towne with fire,holding nothing vnlawfull which was within the compaſſe of their furie to accompliſh: After this iorney,thoſe armies did nothing of importance, ſauing that foure hundred french launces ronne vp to the gates of *Padoa*,rather declaring their goodwil,then doing any action worthy ſo great vallour: About this tyme the Duke of *Ferrara* departed from the campe,and *Monſr Chaſtillon* with him,whom *Chaumont* ſent with two hundred and fifty launces for the gard of *Ferrara* where the people liued in great ſuſpicion,for that the bands of the Pope were not farre from thence: The *Almains* perſwaded much *Monſr Chaumont* (vrging the traitie that was made betwene them before) to goe incampe before *Treuiſa*, laying affore him that the actions which had bene done with ſo great exſpenſes,were of litle importance,if *Treuiſa* were not taken: for, touching *Padoa*,there was no hope to be able to haue it: Of the contrary,*Chaumont* replied that *Cæſar* was not diſcēded againſt the *Venetians* with ſuch forces as he had promiſed,as alſo ſuch as were ioyned to his armie were reduced to a very ſmall number: That within *Treuiſa*, where the *Venetians* had made very great fortificacions, there were ſtrong companies of ſouldiours: laſtly he alleaged that the ſtore of vittels was worne out of the contrey, and no leſſe the difficultie to bringe prouiſion to the campe from farre places for the continual vexacion of the light horſemen and ſtradiots of the *Venetians*,who being aduertiſed by the diligēt eſpiall of the contrey men of euery litle mouing that they made,and being beſides in great number,diſcouered themſelues alwaies in euery place where they thought they might endomage them: Theſe diſputacions ceaſſed by a newe commaundement that came from the french king to *Chaumont*,that leauing in the armie of *th Almains* foure hundred launces and fifteene hundred ſpaniſh footmen of the kings pay, beſides thoſe that were in garriſon in *Leguaguo*,he ſhould ſuddenly returne with his armie to the Duchie of *Myllan*:

The taking of Monſelice

for

for that many troubles & daungers began to disclose by meane of the Pope: by reason whereof *Monsr Chaumont* leauing the gouernment of those companies to *Monsr Persi*, followed the kinges commaundement, And the *Almains* distrusting to be able to doe any thing of importance, put them selues into *Loniguo*.

The Pope had of longe time set downe in his minde an obstinate resolucion not only to repossesse the Church of many estates which he pretended to apperteine to him, but also to chasse the frenche kinge out of all that he helde in *Italy*: The matter that induced this disposicion was either a secrete and auncient ill will that he bare him, or els a setled suspicion and ielowsie which he had nourished a longe time and now was conuerted into extreame hatred: or happly it might be an ambicion of glorie to be the deliuerer (as he boasted afterwards) of *Italy* from forreine nations: To these endes he had absolued the *Venetians* of the Churche censures: To these endes was he entred into intelligence and straite alliance with the *Svvyzzers*, making semblance to proceede in those thinges more for his proper sewertie, then for desire to offend an other: And to these endes not being able to withdrawe the Duke of *Ferrara* from the deuocion of the french king, he was determined to doe all that he could to occupie that Duchie, blasing his deuises with this cooller, that he stirred onely for the quarrell of the salt and salt pits: And yet to thende not to disclouse the plainesse of his thoughts vntil he were better prepared, he had continuall negociacion with *Albert Pio*, to haue agreement with the french king, not sparing to protest openly, though he kept his intencions dissembled: The kinge for his parte interpreting all his discontentment to come for that he had taken the Duke of *Ferrara* into his protection, and hauing a carefull desire to auoyde his ill will, consented to contract with him newe couenants, referring him selfe to the capitulacions of *Cambray*, wherein was expressed that not one of the confederats shoulde intrude into the thinges apperteyning to the Church, and did insert with all such wordes and clauses as might make it lawfull to the Pope to proceede against the Duke of *Ferrara* so farre forth as concerned the perticularitie of the salt and saltmynes, to which endes the kinge supposed that the Popes thoughtes did chiefly aspyre: wherein he made such interpretacion of the protectiom which he had taken of the Duke of *Ferrara*, as though there was left to him a lawefull libertie to contract with the Pope in that manner: But the nearer the king approched to the demaundes of the Pope, the further was he estranged and seperate from him, inclining nothinge the more for the newes he heard of the death of Cardinall *Amboise*: for, to such as perswaded him to the peace, and tooke their argument vppon this, that his suspicions were nowe finished, he aunswered that the same king liuing, the same ielowsies did yet endure, confirming his opinion by this that the accord made by the Cardinall of *Pauya* had bene violated by the king of his proper deliberacion contrary to the will and councell of the Cardinall *Amboise*: yea such as looked deepely into the intencions of the Pope and his manner of dealings, founde that his stomacke and hopes were so much the more increased and not without occasion: for, the qualities of the kinge being such as he stoode in more necessitie to be gouerned, then that he was able or proper to gouerne, it is without dout that he was much weakened by the death of the Cardinal, since that besides his longe experience, his abilitie of witte was great, and stoode withall in such grace and authoritie with the kinge and had such power ouer his directions and councells, that he would often tymes take vpon him to giue of him self a forme and resolucion of affayres: A matter which could not be founde in such as succeeded him in the gouernment, who durst not communicat with the kinge in af-

The Popes deliberacion to chasse the french out of Italy.

faires which they thought would displease him, much lesse that they had authoritie to deliberat: Besides, he reaposed not the same faith & confidence in their councels, and being a body of a councell compounded vpon many persons, & they respecting one an other without any great trust in their new authoritie, they proceeded both more coldly and carelesly then either thimportance of the present affaires required, or was necessary against the heate and importunity of the Pope: who not accepting any of the offers that were made to him by the king, required him at last to renoūce, not with condicion and limitacion, but absolutely and simply, the protection which he had taken of the Duke of *Ferrara*, not weighing to aduaunce his owne purposes with the kings dishonor: And albeit the king perswaded him much that such a renunciacion would bring him great infamie, yet it was in vaine to labor to stay him with wordes and reasons, whose ambicions were infinit and his intencions full of malice, with which propertie of minde he aunswered the king, that seeing he refused to renownce simply, he would also take libertie not to contract with him, nor yet to be against him, and not binding him selfe to any person, he woulde studye to mainteyne the state of the Church in peace, beginning euen then to complayne more then euer of the Duke of *Ferrara:* whose friendes waighing wisely with what aduersary he had to doe, perswaded him to giue ouer the working & making of salt, which he aūswered he could not do without preiudicing the rights of thEmpire to whom the iust iurisdiction of *Comacho* apperteyned: many entred into a certeine dout and opinion which tooke increasing with time, that *Albert Pio* the french kings Embassador, not proceeding sincerely in his lagacion, stirred vp the Pope against the Duke of *Ferrara*, for a burning desire he had (wherein he continued till his death) that *Alfonso* should be deposed from the dukedom of *Ferrara:* The reason was for that *Hercules*, father of *Alfonso*, hauing had certeine yeares affore, of *Gilbert Pio*, the moyty of the dominion of *Carpy*, giuing him in recompense the borow of *Sassola* with certeine other landes, *Albert* feared least in the ende the other moytye eyther by compulsion or corrupcion woulde deuolue to him, thexperience often hapning that the neighbour lesse riche and able yeldeth to the couetousnes of the most welthye and mightie: A matter which in all common weales hath bene seene to ministe no
" small troubles, and therefore it hath not bene thought good that the poore and rich
" should dwell neare together, for that as in the wealth of the rich man are sowne the
" seedes of enuie in the mind of the poore man, so of the wants of the poore, & super-
" fluities of the rich, are nourished the disorders of a whole people: But what so euer was the simplicitie and truth of it, the Pope expressing tokens of a person vnappeasable against *Alfonso*, and hauing a full resolucion to leauye warre against him, prepared first to proceede with thauthoritie and censures of the Church: Wherein seking to giue some iustification to the groundes of this action, he gaue it out that he had founde amongest the recordes of the chamber apostolike, thinuestiture of the towne of *Comacho*, giuen by Popes to the house of *Este:* These were the publike and manifest behauiours of the Pope, but in secrete he solicited to sette abroache farre greater mouinges, wherein he seemed to haue giuen a good foundacion to his affaires in contracting amitie with the *Svvyzzers*, and to haue at his deuocion the *Venetians* who nowe were vppon their feete: Besides, he sawe that the kinge of *Aragon* respected the same ende that he did, or at least was not sowndly ioyned with the french kinge: That the forces and authoritie of *Cæsar* were so weakened that there was left no occasion to feare him: And lastly that he was not without hopes to procure the king of *England* to stirre: But that which should most haue appeased him,

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he made to ſerue moſt to ſtirre vp & kindle his ſtomacke, which was the knowledge he had that the frēch king hauing no diſpoſicion to make warre againſt the church, nouriſhed a ſetled deſire to haue peace, In ſo much as it ſeemed that it would alwaies remeyne in his power, to drawe him to peace yea though he had leauyed armes againſt him: The reaſon of theſe matters making him riſe dayly more inſolent, and redoubling openly his complayntes and threates agaynſt the Frenche Kinge and Duke of *Ferrara*, he refuſed in the feaſte of the celebracion of *S. Peter* (A day wherein accordinge to auncient cuſtome are offered the tributes which are due to the ſeege Apoſtolyke) to accept the tribute of the Duke of *Ferrara*, ſaying that the euaſion of *Alexander* the ſixt who in marying his Daughter had from foure thowſande duckats reduced that offeringe to a hundred, coulde not take example to the preiudice of that ſea: Beſides, he woulde not affore this tyme giue licence to the Cardinall of *Achx* and other frenche Cardinalls to returne into *Fraunce*, and vnderſtanding that daye that the Cardinall of *Achx* was gone to take the pleaſure of the fieldes with certein greahowndes, he entred into a vayne ſuſpicion that he would ſecretly ſtart away, and therefore ſent ſpeedely after to take him and helde him priſoner in the caſtell *S. Ange:* Thus diſcloſing openly his manifeſt contencion with the Frenche Kinge, and for that cauſe ſeeing him ſelfe ſo much the more conſtrayned to laye great and aſſured foundacions, he graunted to the King Catholike thinueſtiture of the kingdome of *Naples* vnder condicion of the ſame tribute with the which the kings of *Aragon* had obteyned it, notwithſtanding he had refuſed affore to beſtow it otherwaies then for forty thowſand duckats, A rate affore time impoſed vpon the french when he obteined it: In this action the Pope reſpected not ſo much the bond which in other inueſtitures of the ſame kingdom, was wont to be made to him to enterteyne euery yeare for him as often as neede required 3. hundred men at armes for the defence of the Church: as the deſire he had to make him his friend, ioyned to a hope that his aydes (vpon occaſion) might doe much to leade him into open contencion with the french-king: Whereof were already diſcerned certeyne ſeedes and beginnings for that the king Catholike, ſuſpecting much the greatnes of the french, and no leſſe ielous of his ambicion, for that not content with the limits of the league of *Cambray*, he aſpired to draw to his obedience the citie of *Verona*, and beſides all this, being puſhed on by the memorie of auncient quarrels, deſired greatly that there might be found ſome impediment in his affayres, And therefore ceaſſed not to councell a peace betweene *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, which was not a litle deſired by the Pope: And albeit he proceeded ſecretly in thoſe actions, yet he was not able altogether to couer his thoughtes: In ſo much as his armie by ſea beinge ſalne vpon *Sicile*, which he ſent to aſſayle the Ile of *Gerbes* (an yland aunciently called by the *Lattins* the great *Sirta*) the king was entred into ſuſpicion, and the mindes of men that were well acquaynted with his ſuttletyes, were occupied with many dowtes.

But as in worldely dealinges it often hapneth that the thinge that is feared leaſt, doth ſooneſt chaunce, and hurteth moſte, ſo troubles and perplexities beganne to riſe to the Frenche Kinge, from thoſe partes which he dowted leaſt, and in a tyme wherein he had no exſpectacion of any mouing of armes to be prepared agaynſt him: for, the Pope betweene whoſe ſuttletye and ſecrecye was no difference, working alwayes vnder hande, ſolicited that at one tyme *Genes* might be aſſayled both by ſea and lande: That twelue thowſande *Swyzzers* might diſcende vppon the Duchie of *Myllan:* That the *Venetians* ſhoulde take the fielde to recouer their

townes holden by *Cæsar*: And that his owne armie should enter vpon the contrey of *Ferrara*, with intencion to passe afterwards into the Duchie of *Myllan* if things begā to succeede happely to the *Svvyzzers*: he hoped that *Genes* being assailed vpon the suddein, there would easily arise some mutacion or mutinie, both for that there were many that bare no sownd affection to the french, and also that the faction of *Fregosa* would minister ayde, going thether vnder cooller to make Duke, *Octauian*, whose father and Vncle had possessed the same dignitie: That the french men amased for the commocion of *Genes* and inuasion of the *Svvyzzers*, woulde reuoke to the Duchie of *Myllan*, all the bandes which they had with *Cæsar* and the Duke of *Ferrara*, which would be a cause that the *Venetians* should easily recouer *Verona*, and afterwards set vpon the Duchie of *Myllan*: lastly that his regiments shoulde doe the like after they had made an easie conquest of *Ferrara* beinge abandoned of the french, making a iudgement vpon these computacions, that the state of *Myllan* would haue no abilitie of defence against so many enemies, and so suddeine a warre: he began at one time the warre against *Ferrara* and against *Genes*: And albeit the Duke of *Ferrara* (against whom he proceeded the more to hasten the execucion as against a notorious offender) offered to giue him the saltes that were made at *Comacho*, with obligacion that hereafter there shoulde be no more made: yet (nothinge can satisfie a mind possessed with malice) after he had licensed his Embassadors he caused his armie to march against him, which with the onely somonce of a trompet, and no defence appearing, obteined *Cente* & *Pieua*: Which borowes apperteining first to the bishoprike of *Bolognia*, Pope *Alexander* in marying his Daughter, had annexed them to the Duchie of *Ferrara* recompensing the bishoprike with other reuenues: Against *Genes* were sent eleuen gallies of the *Venetians* guided by *Grillo Conterin*, and one speciall gallie of the Popes, carying *Octauian Fregosa*, *Ieronimo Dorea* with many other of the banished men of that state: And by land at the same time and for the same expedicion was dispatched *M. Anth. Colonno* with a hundred men at armes and seuen hundred footemen: This Capteine hauing left the pay of the *Florentyns*, and being interteyned by the Pope, aboade vpon the territories of *Lucqua* vnder cooller to furnish his band, giuing out a brute that he was afterwards to goe to *Bolognia*: And albeit *Monsr Chaumont* entred into some suspicion of *Genes* by reason of his abiding, yet not knowing that the armie by sea was to come, and the Pope spreading a suttle and dissembling brute that the preparacions of the *Svvyzzers* and houering of *M. Anth.* were to execute some surprise vpon *Ferrara*: *Chaumont* made no other prouision for *Genes* then a certeine smal crew of footemen whome he sent thether.

The Popes armie against Ferrara and Genes.

Marke Anth. marched with his companies vp to the vale of *Visagna* within a mile of the walls of *Genes*, notwithstanding he was not receiued (according to the Popes hopes) either into *Serezana* or into the towne of *Spetia*: and at the same time the armie by sea which had occupied *Sestria* and *Chiauara*, was come from *Rapalo* to the mouth of the riuer *Entelle* which falleth into the sea neare the porte of *Genes*: But there were entred into *Genes* for the french kinge at the first brute that thennemies approched, the sonnes of *Io. Lovvys de fiesquo* with eight hundred mē of the contrey, with whom was ioyned the Catdinalls Nephew of *Finalo* with an equal proporcion of souldiours, which both assured the towne, and kept suppressed all sturres & commocions: By this succor and prouidence, the Pope and the exiles being deceiued of their principall hope, seeing besides a continuall flocking and concurse of people, out of *Lombardye* and the riuer of *Ponaut* together with six great gallies entring the hauen guided by *Pressan*, they thought that to tary longer there could not but bringe

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more perill then profit: And therefore both the nauie by sea, and tharmie by lande returned to *Rapalle*, where in assaying to take *Portofino* dyed *Francisco Bolani* a patron of one of the *Venetian* gallies: from thence their armie by sea hoysting sayle to goe to *Ciuita uechia*, *M. Anth. Colonno* dowting his sewertie to passe by land for the commocions of the contrey men and popular furie alwayes raging against souldiours that retyre in disfauour, embarked him self in the gallies with three score of the best horsemen, sending the residue by lande to *Spetia*, who were all stript aswell vpon the contrey of *Genes*, as vppon the marches of *Lucqua*, and frontyers of the *Florentyns*: This attempt was done with very small honor to *Grillo* and *Octauyan*, for that of feare they absteyned to charge the vessells of *Preian*, who being inferior, it was beleeued that before he entred the hauen they would haue set vpon him with a great aduauntage: Assoone as they had weied anker and gone, *Preian* issued out of the hauen with seuen gallies & foure ships, taking his course to pursue the *Venetian* nauie which was stronger then he in gallies, but weaker in number of ships: Both the one and other fell with the Ile of *Elbo*, the *Venetians* in the port of *Lungano*, and the french men in the hauen of *Ferrat*, who returned eftsoones to *Genes* after they had accoasted thennemy to the Mount *Argentaro*: About this time the Popes souldiours were entred into *Romana* vnder the Duke of *Vrbyn* against the Duke of *Ferrara*, where hauing taken the towne of *Lugo*, *Vaguacaual*, and all the residue that the Duke held on this side *Pavv*, they held the castell of *Lugo* beseeged: And whilest they lay there both in disorder and without effect, being suddeinly aduertised that the Duke of *Ferrara* with the french bands, & a hundred & fifty men at armes of his owne, with many trowpes of light horsemen, was marching to the reskewe of it, they leauied their seege, and leauing in praye to the enemie 3. peeces of artillerie, they retyred to *Ymola* nothing being able to assure them whom feare had compelled to flee: *Alfonso* taking thaduauntage of this occasion, recouered with a wonderful facilitie al that they had take from him in *Romagnia*: But the campe Ecclesiastike being eftsoones reassembled & reassured, reconquered eftsoones the selfe same places, and immediatly after forced the castel of *Lugo* hauing battred it many dayes: And after the taking of it, their fortune presented to them an occasion of greater succesſe: for, being no garrison in *Modona*, for that the Duke being occupied in defending other places where the daũger was neareſt, was not able to refurnish it of him selfe nor obteine of *Monsr Chaumont* to send thether two hundred launces, The Cardinal of *Pauya* passing with tharmy to *Frank castell* obteined by composicion that citie, whether he was inuited to come by *Gerrard* and *Frauncis Maria Rargons* gentlemen of *Modona*, whose authoritie was so great as they were able to dispose of it as best liked them, And in this action it was beleued that they were pushed on more by ambicion and desire of innouacion, then by any other occasion: The losse of *Modona* was a warning to the Duke against other harmes, who fearing lest the like would happen to *Regge*, bestowed present garrison there, as also *Chaumont*, doing after the hurt receiued that which woulde haue profited more in the beginning, sent thether two hundred launces, notwithstanding he had many impediments for the discending of the *Svvyzzers*.

The descending of the Swyzzers to the Duchie of Myllan.

The confederacion betwene the french king and the *Svvyzzers* was determined many moneths before, the king continuing his resolucion not to augmẽt their pensions, contrary to the coũcel of al his Nobles, who aduised him to cõsidẽr of what importãce it would be to make those armies his enemies with the which he had before achieued his greatest fortunes: And they already drawn into armes vnder thauthority of the Popes promises, but specially made angry with the kings obstinacy in deny-

ing their demaundes, were resolued by an vniuersal consent of the Communalties in an assembly holden at *Lucerna*, to conspire against him: But *Monsr Chaumont* looking into the perill of these leauies and stirs, let good gard vpon the passages towards *Coma*, tooke away from the riuers all boates & barkes, withdrew into places of strength all vittels and prouicions, and lastly cut from the mylles their instruments to grinde by, leauing nothing that might be imployed to the seruice of thennemie but the riuers and lande which he coulde not remoue: And being vncerteyne whether the *Svvyzzers* would make their discending vpon the Duchie of *Myllan*, or els passing the Mount *S. Barnard*, to enter into *Pyemont* by the vale of *Augusto*, and so goe to *Sauona*, with intencion to endomage *Genes*, or els from thence passing the *Appenin*, to make inuasions vpon the Duke of *Ferrara*: he had also induced the Duke of *Sauoy* to deny them passage, and for their more impediment, he sent with his consent fiue hundred laũces to *Turea*, not ceassing neuertheleſſe to do all that he could to corrupt with presents & promisses the chiefe cõmaunders of that nation to draw them from their rising, holding it but iust to obiect practise against them in whom was so great lightnes to stirre vpon so smal occasion: But in vaine did he labor and solicite those communalties whose mindes did not reteyne any thing more willingly then the memory of the kings denial, being growne from a hatred to a violent desire to be reuenged of the french nation: In so much as the Commons (thinking it to be their proper cause) notwithstanding the difficulties that were in the Pope to send thẽ money for that the Fookers bankiers of *Germanye* who had promised to defraye it for him shronke backe for feare to offend *Cæsar*, 6. thowsand of them leauyed by the Pope entred really into thaction in the beginning of September: Amongest whom were 4. hundred horsemen, halfe armed with shot, 2. thowsand fiue hundred footemen with halfacques, & fifty harquebusiers, without artillerie or other prouision of bridges or vessels: In this forniture, they marched turning to the way of *Belinsone*, & taking the bridge of *Tresa*, with a garnison of 5. hundred french footemen left abandoned, they incamped at *Varesa* exspecting there (as they said) the Bishop of *Sion* with new companies: Albeit these beginnings troubled much the mindes of the french, both for an ordinary feare they had of the *Svvyzzers*, & also perticularly respecting their owne weaknes hauing at that time in *Myllan* a very smal number of men at armes, for that part of them were distributed for the gard of *Bressa*, *Leguaguo*, *Valegge* & *Pesquiero*, 3. hundred launces sent to the succors of the Duke of *Ferrara*, & 5. hundred being ioyned with the armie of *Almains* against the *Venetians*: yet *Monsr Chaumont* assembling his forces & expressing his vallour euen amyd his hard fortune, marched with 5. hũdred launces & 4. thowsand footemẽ, & tooke the plaine of *Chastillon* within 2. miles of *Varesa*, hauing sent to the Mount of *Briansa Ioh. Ia. Triuulce*, to thend that not so much with the bands which he brought with him which were in very smal number, as with the fauour & further strength of the men of the contrey, he might be an impediment to the *Svvyzzers* for taking that waye: The *Svvyzzers* assoone as they were ariued at *Varesa*, sent to demaũd passage of *Monsr Chaumont*, saying they would goe to the seruice of the Church: By reason whereof it was douted that they would passe to *Ferrara*, either by the Duchie of *Myllan*, by which way, besides thimpediments of the french companies, they should haue found difficultie to haue passed the riuers of *Pavv* and *Oglia*: or els by taking the left hande and coasting by the hils belowe *Coma* and *Lecqua*, And passing the riuer of *Adda* which there is narrow and not rough, from whence they might haue bene guided by the hill of the contrey of *Bergamo* and *Bressia* to the riuer of *Oglio*: And hauing passed ouer there, they might

haue

haue discended eyther by the contrey of *Bressa* or by *Guiaradda* vpon the marches of *Mantua*, which is a contrey large & beareth no places of force to haue resisted them: So great was the reputacion of the vallour and order of that nation, that in all euents *Monsr Chaumont* had no intencion to set vpon them, although they made their discending into the plaine, but with his horsemen & footemen ioyned together & with his field peeces, to accoast and houer vppon them to cut of their vittells, and to giue them as many impediments as he could without assaying the fortune to passe the riuers: And in the meane while, for that the places neare *Varesa* were well furnished with horsemen and footemen, he visited them often times with false alarms keeping them in breath all the night: At *Varesa*, where the *Svvyzzers* suffered great want of vittells, A new supply of foure thowsand came & ioyned with them, And the fourth day after their comming, they marched altogether towardes *Castillon* keeping vpon the left hande a long the hills, marching alwaies in cloase ranke, in good order, more respecting to march in sauetie then to make speede: They were in euery esquadron foure skore or an hundred, the last ranks being all halfaques & harquebusiers: Their obseruacion was such in marching, that much lesse that thēnemy could auoid them by any aduaūtage, but of the contrary they made a valiant defense against the french army which alwaies accoasted them & put them to the skirmish both behind & before, yea some times they would draw out of their squadrons an hundred or fiftye to entertein the skirmish, some times aduauncing, some times staying, some times retyring, not that there coulde be discerned in their doinges the least disorder: They thought it no dishonor to retyre, when by giuing of place they might profit them selues & endaunger thennemy: In this order they arriued the first day at the passage of the bridge of *Vedan*, which was garded by Capteine *Molard* with certeine *Gascon* fotemē, who being driuē back with the shot of their halfaques, they lodged the same night at *Appyana* eight miles from *Varesa*, & *Chaumont* encamped within *Assaron* towards the hil of *Brianso* six miles from *Appiano*: The day following, they drew along the hils, towards *Cantu*, *Chaumout* accoasting them alwaies with two hundred laūces, for that by the sharpnes or steepenes of the places, thartilleries remeined more lower together with the footemen that garded them: And yet in the halfway eyther for the domages which the frenche had giuen them that day (whereof *Chaumont* made not a litle glory) or for that such was their resolucion, leauing the way of *Cantu*, and turning more on the left hand, they went retyring by the high places towards *Coma*, encamping for that night in a subberbe of that citie and in the villages thereabout: from the subberbe of *Coma*, they made an other lodging at *Chiasso* three myles more forward, keeping the french men in dout whether they would returne to *Belinsone* by the valley of *Lungaro*, or draw towards the riuer of *Adda*, where, albeit they were not furnished with bridges, yet many supposed that their vallour would opē them a way to passe, necessitie making them to vse plankes in steade of bridges: But putting them out of dowt the daye following, they went and harbored at the bridge of *Trese*, and from thence retyred by trowpes into their houses, being reduced into the vttermost extremitie of vittells and wantes of money: it was beleeued that this retraite so suddeine was done for want of money, for the difficulties to passe the riuers, but much more for the necessitie of vittells, impediments of great importance to hinder both the fortune, the vallour, and felicitie of an armie: In this sorte the frenche men were deliuered for this tyme of a daunger which they esteemed not litle, notwithstanding the kinge making those thinges greater then they were in deede, affirmed that he coulde not but holde it profitable for his affayres to suffer them to passe, making

this queſtion whether of theſe two thinges would make the Pope more weake eyther to be without ſouldiours, or to haue an armie that came to offend him as did the *Svvyzzers* whome, with ſo many forces and ſo much treaſor, he had had all the paine in the world to manage.

The Venetians recouer moſt part of their townes after the departing of Chaumont.

The perill of the french had bene farre greater if at one tyme they had bene aſſayled in many places according to the deuiſes of the Pope: But as thenterpriſe of *Genes* was affore the mouing of the *Svvyzzers*, ſo the armie of the *Venetians* aduaunced not ſo ſoone as was determined, notwithſtanding they had a ſinguler occaſion and commoditie, for that the *Almain* bandes within *Vincenſa* with whom were the Spaniſh footemen and the fiue hundred frenche launces, beinge muche diminiſhed ſince the departure of *Monſr Chaumont*, the *Venetians* yſſuing out of *Padoa* recouered without great trauell *Eſte*, *Monſelice*, *Montagnano*, *Mareſtiqno*, and *Baſciana*: And ioyning vallour to their fortune they paſſed further, & taking aduauntage of the retyring of *th Almains* drawing the way of *Verona*, they entred into *Vincenſa* which they had abandoned: except *Leguaguo*, they reconquered with this felicitie all thoſe peeces which with ſo great exſpenſes & trauel of the french men, they had loſt in the whole ſommer: And ſo they came to *S. Martyn* fiue miles from *Verona*, into which city thennemies retyred, their retraite not being without daunger by the doutful vallour of *Luke Maluezzo*: who being then their general for that *Io. P. Ballon* had left their pay, ſhewed a courage inferior to the reputacion of the place which he held: for, the *Venetians* being come to the village of *Tovvre*, thennemies leauing great prouiſion of vittells in their lodgings, tooke the way to *Verona*, being followed with the whole *Venetian* armie, & continually ſuffering by their light horſemen: And yet the french ſuſteining valiantly the rearegard chiefly with their ſhot, they paſſed the riuer of *Appan* and marched without daunger to *Nevv tovvne*, the *Venetians* incamping within halfe a mile of them: who, forbearing to followe the daye after, with that diligence they did before, for that their footemen were not able to hold chaſſe with the horſemen, they retyred in ſauetie to *Verona*: from *S. Martyn*, after they had remeined there certeine dayes, approching neare *Verona* not without being blamed for the vnprofitable ſtay they had made, they began to employ their artilleries (which they had plãted vpon the other mountaine) againſt the caſtell of *S. Felix* and the next wall: perhaps they made choiſe of that place for the difficultie to be refortified, and that the horſemen could not execute but with great diſcommodities.

Verona beſeged by the Venetians.

The *Venetian* armie conteined eight hundred men at armes, three thowſand light horſemen, the moſt part eſtradiots, & ten thowſand footemen with a great trayne & quantitye of peyſants that followed: And within *Verona* were three hundred ſpaniſh launces, one hundred launces of *Almains* & *Italians*, and foure hundred french launces, fiue hundred footemen paied by the king, and foure thowſand *Almains*, no longer vnder the guiding of the Prince of *Hanavv* who was dead certeine daies affore: The people and inhabitants of *Verona* very ill diſpoſed to the *Almains*, were vp with their weapõs in their hands, A matter wherin the *Venetians* had much hoped, whoſe light horſemen paſſing at the ſame time the riuer of *Adice* at a foard vnder *Verona*, ronne ouer the whole contrey: Thartilleries of the *Venetians* battred the wall in great furie, notwithſtanding the artillerie planted within by the french and couered with defenſes, did greatly diſtreſſe thoſe that were without who had no rampiers: *Lactance Bergame* A Colonell of the greateſt account with the *Venetians*, was ſtriken with a ſhot of thartillerie, of which he died within few dayes after: At laſt thartillery without hauing done a wonderful execucion and diſmantled a great part of the

wall

wall, euen to the beginning of the skarpe, and ſo diſmounted and broken their cannons that thartillerie within was of little ſeruice, *th Almains* were not without feare to loaſe the caſtell notwithſtanding it was well rampired: To which loſſe, to thende the loaſing of the citie were not ioyned, they determined in caſes of neceſſities to retyre to certayne rampiers which they had made in a place neare, to beate vpon the ſodayne with their Cannons which they had already planted, the face of the inner parte of the caſtell, hoping to make ſuche an opening, that thenemies ſhould finde ſmall ſafetie to tary there. But the vallour of thoſe that were within, was farre aboue the vertue of the other, for that in the *Venetian* armie were no other bandes of footmen then Italians, who beeing ordinarily payed euery fortie dayes, followed that ſeruice more for that they founde in other places very ſlender preferment, then for any other reaſon: Beſides, *th Italian* footmen not accuſtomed to the order of ſeruice beyonde the Mountes, neither aſſured in holdes nor reſolute in the fielde, were at that time almoſt reiected of euery one that had meane to furniſhe their ſeruice with footemen ſtraungers, ſpecially with *Svvizzers*, *Almains*, and *Spaniards*. Therefore the towne beeing defended with a greater vallour then it was aſſaulted, there iſſued out one night about eightene hundred footemen with certayne Frenche horſemen to charge the artillerie, and the footmen that garded it beeing eaſily put to flight, they choaked two great peeces, ſtriuing to draw them into the towne: The Alarme was ſodenly through all the campe, when *Zitolo Rerouſo* bringing a reskewe of footmen, and making haſte more then others to the misfortune that attended him, in fighting valiauntly finiſhed his life with great glorie: But *Denis de Naldo* comming on with the greater part of tharmie, thenemie was compelled to reabandon thartillerie and retyre, notwithſtanding with great prayſe, for that in the beginning they brake the garde that defended thartillerie, and after made ſlaughter of a great parte of ſuche as came firſt to the reskew, and laſtely retyred almoſt all in ſafetie. This accident brought great diſcouragement to the *Venetian* capteines, who ſeeing the inhabitantes made no mutinie, and iudging withall that their abyding there would be no leſſe vnprofitable then full of perill for the yll ſuretie of their campe (their footemen beeing lodged in the mountayne, and their horſemen in the valley) they determined to retyre to their olde lodging at *S. Martin*, wherein they made ſo muche the more ſpeede, by howmuche they vnderſtoode that *Monſr Chaumont* woulde come to the reskew of the towne, hauing already auoyded the perill of the *Svvizzers*. At ſuch time as the campe leauyed and brake vp, the forragers of *Verona* accompanied with a great ſtrength entred the valley of *Poliente* ioyning to the mountayne of *S. Felix*: but many light horſemen of the *Venetians* being ſent out for reskew, and ſeaſing firſt of the entrie of the valley, put them all to the ſworde, or to the fortune of priſoners. From *S. Martin* the *Venetian* armie drewe to *S. Boniface*, beeing fearefull of the comming of *Monſr Chaumont*. About this time the garriſon within *Treuiſa* tooke by compoſition the towne of *Aſola* neare the ryuer *Muſone*, wherein were eight hundred *Almain* footmen: The caſtell alſo ſuffring the ſame fortune: And in the countrey of *Friul* they proceded with the ſame variations and cruelties accuſtomed, not ſeeming to make warre vpon enemies, but proſecuting on all partes the extreme deſtruction of buyldings, places, and whole countreis: The like calamities alſo conſumed *Iſtria*, the libertie of the warre making all things lawfull to the furie of the ſouldiours, whoſe inſolencies left no other comfort to any ſortes of people, then ſuch as may be exſpected in an vnbridled furie of warre.

About this time the Marquis of *Mantua* was deliuered out of priſon by a ſtrange

Marquis of Mantua escapeth out of prison.

deuise practised by the Pope, wherevnto he was induced by an auncient affection which he bare to him before, ioyned to a desire to serue his turne of him, and the cõmoditie of his estate, in the warre against the French king: It was spread throughout all *Italie*, that in these respects he was the worker of his deliuerie, and set him at libertie: But it was credibly knowen by an Author worthy of fayth, and through whose handes at that time passed the whole gouernment of the state of *Mantua*, that his libertie was wrought by an other meane: There was great doubt least the *Venetians*, either for the hate they bare him, or for the suspicion they had of him, woulde not hold him a perpetuall prisoner: and therefore after there had bene vsed in vaine many tryals and remedies, it was determined in the councell of *Mantua* to haue recourse to *Baiazet* Prince of the Turkes, whose amitie the Marquis had enterteined many yeres, by visiting him oftentimes with many presentes and other offices of goodwill and honor: Assoone as he vnderstoode the calamitie of the Marquis, he sent for the gouernour of the Venetian Marchaunts lying at *Constantinople*, & commaunded him to make him promise that the Marquis should be deliuered: The gouernour aunswered, that it was not reasonable he should promise that whiche was not in his power to performe, onely he offred to write to the state of *Venice*, who he doubted not would set downe a resolution conformable to his desire. But *Baiazet* speaking in the person and authoritie of a tyrant, replied proudly that it was his wil that he should make an absolute promise, wherevnto he was constrayned to condiscende, obeying the will of the tyrant as a lawe forced and vnrighteous, whiche he signified with expedition to te state of *Venice*, who considering that it was not nowe time to stirre vp so mightie a Prince, determined to set him at libertie. But he, to hide his dishonor, and to reape some frute of his deuise, inclined to the desire of the Pope, by whose meane being concluded (but secretly) that to assure the *Venetians* that the Marquis should not moue agaynst them, his eldest sonne should be put into the Popes handes. The Marquis was conueied to *Bolognia*, where after he had deliuered ouer his sonne to the Agents of the Pope, he went to *Mantua*, excusing himselfe both to Cæsar and the French king by the necessitie he had to go redresse his owne estate, that he visited not their armies to do them seruice, as freholder to the one and souldiour to the other (the French king holding him alwayes in the number of his pensioners) notwithstanding his intention in deede was to remayne a newter.

The Pope determineth to assaile Genes.

The yll succesſe of things no lesse rashly attempted then vainely prosecuted, had nothing diminished the hopes of the Pope, who promising himselfe more then euer of the mutations of *Genes*, determined to assayle it of new: By reason whereof the *Venetians* following him more by necessitie, then that they allowed of his furious dealing, augmented their Nauie which was at *Ciuita vecchio* by foure greate shippes, to the which after the Pope had ioyned one of his Galeasses with other vessels, and perswading that by the publication and authoritie of his name, the *Genovvaies* would be the more easie induced to rebell, he gaue publike benediction to his banners with ceremonies Pontificall as though in that maner of celebration were power eyther to worke effect to his intentions, or to make better his fortune. It was maruelled that nowe that his thoughtes were made manifest and discouered, and that within *Genes* were many souldiours, and a strong Nauie within the hauen, howe he could hope to obteine that which he was not hable to winne when the hauen was disarmed, the garrison very weake within the Citie, and when there was no doubt at all of him: But as nothing can satisfie the ambition of man, so the mind

that

that hath malice mixed with the desire of glory, is alwayes made more apt to hope for honor then hable to get it. To the armies at sea which were followed with the banished faction, and also with the Bishop of *Genes* sonne of *Obietto de Fiesquo*, were to be ioyned the forces of the lande: for *Federike* Archbishop of *Salerne* brother to *Octauian Fregosa*, leauied with the Popes money companies of footmen and horsemen, *Iohn de Sassatelle* and *Reinold de Sassete* his captaynes hauing commaundement to be readie with their regimentes at *Bagno*, to make an approche to *Genes* as occasion should require. The warning of a mischiefe brings with it his remedie, and the harme that is looked for before hurteth little when it commeth: for in that Citie had bene made mightie prouisions both by sea and lande, In so muche as at the first brute that the Nauie of the enemie approched wherein were fifteene light galleys, three great galleys, one galeasse, and three *Biskain* shippes, the Frenche Nauy launcing out of the hauen of *Genes* with xxij. light galleys, went proudly to meete them at *Portouenere*: The diuersitie of vessels was to them a suretie, for that beeing inferiour to thenemies being vnited together in one strength, but at least equall with him in force touching galleis, they might alwayes finde safetie in their swiftnes, and by dispersing, they might make an easie euasion from the shippes. The two Nauies approched one another aboue *Portovenere* within daunger of artillerie, and after they had exchaunged betwene them certayne vollies of shot, they brake of, the Popes nauie going to *Sestry* which is in the coast of Leuant, from whence they presented themselues afore the port of *Genes*, (*Iohn Fregosa* entring within the port with a Brigantin:) but the towne beeing so straitely garded that the contrarie faction coulde not rise, and thartillerie of the towre of *Godisa* thundring without ceassing, they were constrayned to retyre, their fortune beeing inferiour to their valour: Afterwardes they sayled to *Portovenere*, where they spent certaine howres afore it without commendation, vnlesse they sought prayse in an action wherevnto they had no possibilitie of power to preuayle: And so beginning to expresse a manyfest dispayre of the succesee of the whole enterprise, they returned to *Ciuita vecchia*, from whence the *Venetian* vessels departing with the Popes consent to returne into their owne seas, they fell distressed at *Far de Messina* with suche a furious tempest, that fiue of their gallies being lost, the others were cast vppon the coast of *Barbarie*, from whence, being brused and broken, they fell at last with many harmes with the hauens of the *Venetians*. The forces that shoulde haue come by lande, were not concurrant in this action, for that the companies that were leauyed in the contrey of *Lunigano*, stirred not, iudging it an enterprise full of perill to enter the coast of *Leuant*, for the preparations which the French had made: And suche as were ready at *Bagno* making excuse by the *Florentins* that would not suffer them to passe, marched no further: But entring into the mountaine of *Modena* which yet obeyed the Duke of *Ferrara*, they assayled the towne of *Fauana*, which though they founde difficult to obtayne at the beginning, yet they compelled it in the ende to come to rendring (the mountayne men bearing no minds to expresse further fayth to their Duke, in whom they sawe so small apparance or hope of succours.)

Thus till this day did nothing succeede to the Pope of all that he had attempted agaynst the French king: for, neither was there any mutation at *Genes* as he did assuredly promise himselfe, neither did the *Venetians* after they had in vayne assayed to take *Verona*, hope for any aduauncement on that side: neither did the *Svvizzers* accomplish any thing, their action being rather in demonstration and shewes then in matter and effect. And touching *Ferrara*, what by the ready succours whiche the

French had ſent, and the oportunitie of the winter already come on, there was no apparance of any daunger: onely he had taken *Modena*, which was no recompence worthy of ſo great a mouing. But ſuche is the nature of hope, rather to prolong then to ſatisfie, and guyding a minde vayne and glorious, it noriſheth him in infinite exſpectations. And touching this Pope (diſappoynted of ſo many hopes) we may lay him in compariſon with that which is written by the Poets, of *Anteus*, that beeing tamed by the forces of *Hercules*, as often as he was throwen to the grounde, ſo often did appeare in him a greater ſtrength and courage: Suche weening had the Pope amidde his aduerſities, for when he ſeemed moſt abaſed and oppreſſed, it was then that he did moſt lift vp him ſelfe with a ſpirite more conſtant and reſolute, promiſing better of his fortune then euer: And yet he had almoſt no other foundations then of him ſelfe, and he would openly ſay, that albeit he was made naked of valiant and loyall armes, hauing no other aſſured friendes then the *Venetians*, yet for that his enterpriſes moued not of any particular intereſt, but of an onely franke deſire to ſet *Italie* at libertie, he doubted not with the ayde of God to manage them to an iſſue honorable, happie, and commendable. He could not hope muche of the *Venetians*, for that they were already drayned of money, and oppreſſed with many difficulties and afflictions: And touching the king Catholike, he ſeemed rather to counſel him ſecretly, then to ayde him openly, vſing his ordinarie ſutteltie, to keepe enterteined on thother ſide *Maximilian* with the French king: And albeit he made him many promiſes, yet he helde them ſuſpenſed with many conditions and impedimentes: And for the trauell he had vſed to ſeperat Cæſar from the French king, and to make him agreed with the *Venetians*, it ſeemed euery day no leſſe doubtfull then vnprofitable: for that Cæſar, at ſuche time as the Pope had ſent out an armie agaynſt the duke of *Ferrara*, had ſent an Herald to charge him not to moleſt him: And *Conſtantin de Macedonio*, being gone in the Popes name to ſolicite an accorde betwene him and the *Venetians*, he did not onely refuſe to heare him, but alſo giuing to know that he would more firmely knitte with the Frenche king, he determined to ſende into *Fraunce* the Biſhop of *Gurce* to negociate with him of all their affayres: Alſo the electors of thempire, notwithſtanding they bare great inclination to the name of the Pope, and to the deuotion of the ſea Apoſtolike, would not heare ſpeake of the expences: in ſo much as being addicted onely to thaffayres of *Germanie*, they were not to do him any great ſeruice in thoſe actions: And laſtly, it ſeemed he could not hope muche more of the king of *Englande*, notwithſtanding he was young and deſirous of innouations, & had made profeſſion to affect the greatnes of the Church, and heard his Embaſſadors not withont ſome inclination of minde: for that beeing ſo farre remoued from *Italie* aſwell by lande as ſea, he was not hable of him ſelfe to embaſe the French king, hauing withall ratified the peace with him, and by a ſolemne embaſſage ſent to that ende, receiued the full confirmation. Sure there is no man buylding vpon ſo weake fundations, and encountring ſo many great impedimentes and aduerſities, who would not haue abated and reſtrayned his courage, ſeing withall he had meane to obteine peace with the French king with ſuch conditions as a conquerour could not in reaſon deſire greater: For the king conſented to abandon the protection of the Duke of *Ferrara*, though not directly (in regarde of his honor) yet indirectly to ſatisfie the Pope, referring it to the arbitration of the lawe, but vnder thauthoritie of ſuche iudges as would haue pronounced according to the Popes will: And albeit he was certayne that he might obteine this forme of peace to his quiet and honor, yet he added that ouer and beſides theſe, he woulde haue

Pope Iulio.

haue the king to leaue *Genes* in full libertie, proceeding in these actions with suche an implacable obstinacie, that not one of his deerest familiars durst once aduise him to the contrarie: yea thembassador of *Florence* offering to sound him according to the kings commaundement, purchased by his labour more displeasure then profite: His resolution that way coulde suffer no counsell to the contrarie, for a messanger whom the duke of *Sauoy* had sent to him about other affayres, offring that his prince (if it so lyked him) would enterpose in the working of the peace, he cryed out that he was sent to espie, and not to negociate, committing the messanger to prison, and to be examined with tormentes: his singuler courage carying him euery day into higher weenings, made him also confirmed in the difficulties that appeared, that not respecting the impediments nor daungers, and determining to laye aside all his other thoughtes sauing suche as tended to the taking of *Ferrara*, he resolued to go in person to *Bolognia*, both to hasten things by his presence, to giue more authoritie to his affayres, and to encrease the courage of his captaines, whose vallour seemed farre inferiour to his furie: he assured himselfe that to take *Ferrara* his owne forces suffised ioyned with the *Venetians*, who laboured to feede him in that perswasion, for feare least in the ende loasing all hope of good succesſe, he came not to accorde with the French king.

The kings disposition agaynst the Pope.

On the other side, the French king being nowe made certayne by so many experiences of the affection and intention of the Pope, and seeing howe necessarie it was to prouide agaynst other dangers that might happen to his estates, determined to defende the duke of *Ferrara*, and keeping established the amitie he had with the king of *Romains*, he resolued to persecute (by his consent) the Pope with armes spirituall, and in the meane while to enterteine and support things vntill the spring, when he would passe into *Italie* with a puissant armie both by sea and lande, to make warre eyther vpon the *Venetians*, or against the Pope, as the estate of affayres should require. He perswaded the king of *Romains* that he would enter into action agaynst the *Venetians*, not onely as he was wont to do, but also to ayde him (knowing well his auncient desire) to occupie *Rome* together with the whole estate of the Churche as apperteineth of right to thempire: and likewise to dispose all *Italie* except the estates of *Millan*, *Genes*, *Florence*, and *Ferrara*: By these alluremente he ranged him easily to his opinion, but specially that by their authoritie, ioyning with them the consent of the nations of *Fraunce* and *Almain*, they might call a generall councell, wherein they hoped would be concurrant the Spanishe regions and the king of *Aragon*, not daring to do any thing agaynst their will. To these was added an other most great fundation, that many Cardinals of *Italie* & beyond the Mountes, hauing minds ambicious and stirring, promised to make open profession to be the authors of the councell. The king for the better direction of these things expected with no small desire, the comming of the Bishop of *Gurci* whom Cæsar had determined to to sende to him: And in the meane while, to laye a beginning to the institution of the councell, and to remoue presently from the Pope the obedience of his kingdome, he made somonce to all the prelates of *Fraunce* to assemble at *Orleans* in the middest of September. Suche were the resolutions and preparations of the French king, not altogether approued by the wise men of his councell and his Court, who seeing howe vnprofitable it would be to giue leasure to thenemie, perswaded him not to deferre the mouing of armes to a newe time, whose counsell if it had bene followed, the Pope had bene easily brought to suche necessitie, and his affayres so confused, that he had not bene hable with that fortune and facilitie to stirre vp a-

gaynſt him ſo many Princes as he did after: But ſuche was the deſtinie of thoſe affayres, that the counſell of wiſemen were of leſſe credit with the king then his owne opinion, who ſeemed to ſtande confirmed either through couetouſnes which ouerruled him, or by feare that other princes would be ielouſe of his greatnes if he onely made warre againſt the Pope: or perhaps he abhorred ſuch an action as contrary to the ſurname of *Right Chriſtian*, & vnworthy of that profeſſion to defend the Church wherwith his predeceſſors had bene honored of long time.

The Popes armie and the Venetiãs vpon the countrey of Ferrara.

The Pope made his entry into *Bologna* vpon the ende of September, with reſolution to inuade *Ferrara* aſwell by water as by land, vſing only his owne forces and the ſupplies of the *Venetians:* who at his requeſt ſent out two fleetes armed againſt *Ferrara*, & they entring into the ryuer of *Pavv*, the one by *Fornaci*, and the other by the port of *Primaro*, began to do many domages to the people of *Ferrara*, as did alſo at the ſame inſtant the Popes companies, who ouerranne and pillaged the whole contrey, but not comming neare to *Ferrara*, in which citie was a ſtrength of two hundred and fiftie French launces, beſides the Dukes garriſons: fot albeit the campe eccleſiaſtike was payed for eight hundred men at armes, ſix hundred light horſemen, and ſix thouſand footmen, yet, beſides that they were bodyes vntrayned & taken vp at random, the numbers were farre leſſe, (the Popes hauing by cuſtome to be very ill ſerued in warres:) Beſides *Monſr de Chaumont* hauing ſent, after the loſſe of *Modena*, to *Regge* and *Rubiero* two hundred and fiftie launces, and two thouſande footemen: *Mark Anth. Colonno* and *Iohn Vitelli* were departed from thatmie by the Popes commaundement with two hundred men at armes and three hundred footmen, to go to *Modena:* For theſe reaſons the Pope made inſtance that of the *Venetian* army, which now that the forces of Cæſar were ſo diminiſhed at *Verona* and euery where, had without great difficultie recouered almoſt all *Friull*, he might paſſe one part of it vppon the countrey of *Ferrara*, where they had newly recouered *Poleſina de Rouigno*, left abandoned by the neceſſitie of thaffayres which the duke had about *Ferrara:* The Pope alſo exſpected three hundred launces Spaniards, whome the king of *Aragon* ſhould ſend to him vnder the leading of *Fabricio Colonno* whenſoeuer he would demaund them, according to the bond & contract of the inueſtiture: Aſſone as they ſhould arriue in his armie, he made his purpoſe to ſet vpon *Ferrara* on his ſide, & the *Venetians* to do the like on their part. He perſwaded himſelfe that aſſone as the people of *Ferrara* ſaw the armie approch the walls, they would take armes againſt the Duke, notwithſtanding his capteins tolde him that the garriſon within was both hable to defende the citie, and kepe the people conteined, what diſpoſition ſoeuer they had to runne into tumult: Neuertheles his deſire raging aboue all reaſon or counſel, he forbare not to leauie with an incredible care in many places, many bandes of footmen: But the *Venetians* were more ſlowe in comming forward then eyther the Pope exſpected, or ſtoode agreable with the plottes he had layde, for that hauing brought by water vpon the marches of *Mantua* many barkes to make a bridge, the duke of *Ferrara* charging them vpon the ſodayne with certayne french bandes, did not onely take them from them and defeate their paſſage, but alſo within certayne Creekes of *Poliſena* tooke many barkes & other veſſels, together with the treaſorer of the *Venetian* armie. About this time vpon the diſcloſing of an intelligence which the *Venetians* practiſed within *Breſcia* to make it rebell againſt the French king, the Counte *Iohn Maria de Martinengo* was committed to iuſtice, and payed the price of the practiſe with the loſſe of his head. But farre more ſlowe in marching were the companies of the Spaniards, who being arriued vpon the frontiers of the kingdome

of

of *Naples*, refuſed, according to the direction of their king, to paſſe the ryuer of *Tronto*, vnleſſe he woulde firſt deliuer to his Embaſſadour the Bull of inueſtiture whiche hād bene promiſed: The Pope on thother ſide woulde not preſent the Bull, but at ſuche time as the bandes of ſouldiours were come to *Bolognia*, doubting leaſt after he had diſpoſſeſſed him ſelfe of it, the companies that were promiſed woulde not be ſent at all: And yet, neither for any declaration that his Captaynes coulde make to him, neither for the preſent difficulties, did his hope diminiſhe that he was hable to carrie *Ferrara* with his owne ſtrength onely: But as one whoſe priuate deſire was ſtronger then all the reaſonable perſwaſions that coulde be made, he looked into all thexpeditions of warre with a wonderfull trauell and affection, notwithſtanding that at the ſame time he fell into a great maladie, whiche (gouerning his body contrary to the counſayle of Phiſitions) he diſpiſed no leſſe then the other difficulties, promiſing no leſſe to ouercome that, then he aſſured him ſelfe of the victorie of the warre, hauing this firme perſwaſion, that it was the conſent and will of God that *Italie* ſhoulde be reſtored to libertie by his meane: Suche was the greatneſſe of his minde, and ſo muche reſpected his authoritie, that it was daungerous to giue him counſel agaynſt his will and lyking, and that which in other men might be called fury and raſhnes, was vnder the terror of his authoritie holden for temperance and wiſe proceeding: He brought to paſſe likewiſe that the Marquis of *Mantua*, whom he had called to *Bolognia* & honored him with the title of *Gōfalonnier* of the church, ſhould take pay of the *Venetians* vnder the name of their capteine generall (the Pope participating for an hundred men at armes, and xij. hundred footmen. This matter was kept ſecrete vpon the requeſt of the Marquis for this reaſon, that it was neceſſarie that he prouided firſt for the ſtay and order of his owne countrey, to thende to withſtande the harmes of the frenchmen: But in truth this was his meaning, that taking this charge vpon him, not of goodwill, but by neceſſitie of the promiſes he had made, he ſought to defer thexecution, the better to deliuer himſelf of it by ſome occaſion or helpe of the time.

The great deſire which the Pope had to offend others, was turned into a neceſſity to giue defence to his owne things: and this deſire had bin yet both more ready and more greater, if new accidents had not conſtrained *Chaumont* to defer his purpoſes: for after the *Venetian* army was broken vp frō before *Verona*, *Chaumont* being comē as far as *Peſquiero* to march to the reskew of that citie, determined to returne ſpeedily, and employ his army in the recouery of *Modena*: in which quarter, his bandes that were at *Rubiero* had taken by aſſault the towne of *Formingo*: if he had gone forwarde in this action, it was thought he might haue eaſily obteined it, bothe for that the garriſon was ſlender, the towne not fortified, and thinhabitantes nothing brooking the iuriſdiction of the Churche: But it happned as he thoughte to go his way, that the *Almain* footemen that were within *Verona* began to drawe into tumulte, for that they were yll payed of Cæſar, by reaſon whereof, leaſt that Citie ſhoulde remayne abandoned, *Chaumont* was conſtrayned to abyde there tyll he had reaſſured them, diſtributing nyne thouſande duckets for their preſent pay, and promiſing the reſidue the moneth following. In warre one misfortune draweth on an other, for he had no ſooner giuen order to theſe diſorders, then there happned an other accident, for that the *Venetian* bands beeing retyred towards *Padoa*, & *Grotto* the gouernor of *Leguaguo* thinking now that thoccaſion offred to ſack the town of *Montagnana*, he cauſed to march thither al his men at armes & foure hūdred footmen: againſt whom whileſt they of the towne (who could not be without feare of a ſacking) made

defence, many trowpes of the *Venetian* light horſemen finding them in diſorder, brake them eaſily to their great harmes, for that the meane to flee was taken from them by thenemie that had battred & beaten downe a bridge. By this aduenture *Leguaguo* being almoſt made naked of men, it is without doubt that if the *Venetian* bāds had put diligence to their fortune, they had made it a glory of their valour, and a reward of their victory. But as in al worldly things, ſo chiefly in actions of war, fortune continueth not all one: this oportunitie paſſed away foorthwith, for that *Chaumont* being aduertiſed of all that was hapned, diſpatched thither in great diligence other bands, preſeruing that by his policie whiche thenemie had miſſed to take by their vertue. But by theſe impediments he loſte thoccaſion to recouer *Modena*, into the whiche in this reſpite of tyme, were entred many footebandes, and many fortifications had bene made with great deuiſe and ſtudie: And yet for his comming to *Rubiero*, the Pope was compelled to addreſſe to *Modona* that armie that was appoynted to go agaynſt the Duke of *Ferrara*: There all his forces beeing aſſembled vnder the Duke of *Vrbin* Captayne generall, and the Cardinall of *Pauia* his Legate, and vnder *Iohn Paule Baillon*, *M. Anth. Colonno*, and *Iohn Vitelli*, all Capteines of name and authoritie, he made requeſt to giue battell to thenemies: A matter which all his capteines did impugne, as knowing that the forces of the Frenche were without all compariſon both greater in numbers, & more approued in valour: both for that the footemen of the Church had bin leauyed in haſt, and in the armie was no ſuch obedience and diſcipline as apperteined: and betwene the duke of *Vrbin* and the Cardinall of *Pauia* a manifeſt emulation & diſcorde, the ſame extending ſo farre, that the Duke accuſing him of infidelitie to the Pope, ledde him priſoner to *Bologna*, eyther of his proper authoritie, or by the Popes commaundement: But the Pope eſtſones holding him purged from all crimes and imputation of crimes, helde him in better degree of fauor and authoritie then before. Whileſt the two armies laye one right agaynſt the other, *Chaumont* lying with his horſemen at *Rubiero*, and his footemen at *Marſaglio*, and on the other ſide, the Eccleſiaſtikes keeping at *Modena* in the ſuburbes of *Rubiero*, many skirmiſhes and enterchaunge of feates martiall paſſing betwene them. The Duke of *Ferrara*, who a litle before had recouered without reſiſtance *Poliſena de Rouigno*, ioyning to him the Lorde *Chaſtillion* and the French launces, recouered without impediment *Finale*, & from thence entring into the towne of *Cento* (which the Pope had taken before) by the Caſtell that helde for him, he ſacked it and burned it, preparing himſelfe to go ioyne with *Chaumont*. The Churche armies fearing muche by theſe behauiours, retyred within *Modona*, beſtowing one part of their footmen in the ſuburbe that is towarde the mountayne: But ſuche is the variation of warre, not carried alwayes with one fortune: the Duke was no ſooner remoued then he was conſtrayned eſtſones to abide for the defence of his own, for that the *Venetians* cōteining three hundred men at armes, many light horſmen, & foure thouſand footmen, to win the paſſage of *Pavv*, & ſo to ioyne with the Popes armie, were encamped before *Ficquerolei*, which is a litle & weake borow vpō *Pavv*, but of great renowme, both for the lōg time that *Robert* of *S. Seuerin* was afore it in the warre which the *Venetians* had with *Hercules* duke of *Ferrara*, & alſo for the defence made by *Federike* Duke of *Vrbin*, captaynes of great vallour in that time. The *Venetians* tooke it by compoſition, and afterwards forced the towne of *Stellate* which is vpon the ſhore oppoſite: And cōmanding in that ſort the paſſage of *Pavv*, there reſted no more to marche ouer but to caſte the bridge, whiche, *Alfonſo* after the loſſe of *Stellate* beeing come with his army to *Bondin*, hindred with his artillerie

which

which he had planted vpon a poynt of the lande from whence he beat easily that place, and besides that skowred the whole ryuer of *Pavy* with two gallies, which retyred immediatly, for that the *Venetian* fleete, who in the beginning could not enter *Pavi*, the mouthes of the riuer being garded by thordinance of the Duke, found entring now, being come vp by *Adice* against the streame, insomuch as the countrey of *Ferrara* suffred many domages by the presence of two fleetes of the *Venetians*. But those harmes ceassed forthwith together with the feares of the peoples, for that the Duke issuing out of *Ferrara*, set vpon that fleete whiche was entred by *Primaro*, and come vp to *Adria*, with two gallies, two foystes, and many small barkes: and hauing repulsed them with an easie fortune and no great hazarde, he came to the other, which being compounded but of foystes and other small vessels, was entred by *Fornacei* and come vp to *Fulisella*: and as they would haue entred within *Adice* by a ryuer neare it, they found impediment by the shalownes of the water: in so muche as standing open to perill without any apparance of succors, & being continually beaten with thartilleries of thenemie, they left their vessels abandoned, seking their safetie in those meanes which their present fortune prouided for them.

In these stirres of temporall armes, the spirituall thonderboltes began to make noyse on all partes: for the Pope ioyning authoritie to his furie, excommunicated *Alfonso d'Este*, and all suche as either were come or woulde come to his succors, but particularly *Monsr Chaumont* with all the principalls of the Frenche armie: And in *Fraunce* the assembly of prelates that had bene transported from *Orleans* to *Tours*, had consented (notwithstanding more not to oppose agaynst the will of their king assisting oftentimes their assembly, then of their proper will or iudgement) to many articles propounded agaynst the Pope, with this only modification, that before they went from his obedience, there should be Embassadors addressed to him, both to cõmunicate such articles as were agreed vpon by the clergie of *Fraunce*, and also to admonish him that hereafter he should obserue them, and in case of impugning or resisting he should be cited to the councell, wherin request solemne should be made to all Princes of Christendome to be concurrant in thaction. There was also agreed to leauie a great impost of money vpon the Churches of *Fraunce*. And a little after in an other session of the xxvij. of September, they published the councell to begin at *Lyon* in the beginning of Marche next: The same day the Bishop of *Gurce* entred into *Tours*, where he was receyued with so rare and incredible honor, that vppon thexcessiue pompes that were vsed to him, was sufficiently expressed with what long and great desire his comming had bene expected: besides, now began to be disclosed the diuision of the Cardinals agaynst the Pope, for that the Cardinals of *S. Crosse* and *Cosenso*, Spanish, & the Cardinals of *Baieux* & *S. Malo*, French, together with the Cardinal *S. Seuerin*, leauing the Pope going to *Bolognia* by the way of *Romagnia*, and visiting in his iourney the temple of our Lady of *Loretta*, very notable by many miracles, they tooke with his leaue their way through *Tuskane*: But beeing come to *Florence*, and obteining of the *Florentins* safeconduit, not for any time determined, but vntill they reuoked it, and fiftene dayes after the reuocation should be signified to them, they delayed with many excuses to passe further: Their long abyding gaue cause of suspicion to the Pope, who after many generall requests to haue them to go to *Bolognia*, wrote priuatly to the Cardinalles of *S. Malo*, *Baieux*, and *S. Seuerin* to come to the Court vpon payne of his indignation: and proceeding more gently with the Cardinalls *Cosensa* and *S. Crosse*, a Cardinall of marke both for his nobilitie, his knowledge, and his other merites, and also very notable for the greate

and weightie embaſſages which he had managed for the ſea Apoſtolike, he delt with them by perſwaſions & inducements of friendſhip to returne to the court. But they not diſpoſed to obey him whom they did not loue, tooke the way to *Millan* by *Lunigiana*, after they had in vayne ſolicited the *Florentins* to giue not only to thē, but alſo to all the cardinals that would come thither, an aſſured ſafe conduit for a long time.

In this meane while *Chaumont* deuiſing to recouer *Carpy*, which had bene taken before by the ſouldiours of the Church, ſent thither *Albert Pio* & *Monſr Paliſſo* with foure hundred launces & foure thouſand footmen, *Albert Pio* going before with a trompet, & accompanied with a ſmall troupe of horſmen, the towne that loued well his name, hearing of his cōming began to tumult: for feare of which perill the eccleſiaſtikes lying there in garriſon to a number of xl. light horſmen, and fiue hundred footmen, forſooke their charge & tooke the way to *Modona*: But beeing purſued by the French which came ſoone after, they were broken & put to flight in the medow of *Cuntille*, which is almoſt in the halfe way betwene *Carpy* and *Modena*: The horſemen found ſafetie in the ſwiftnes of their horſes, but moſt part of their footmen fell into the laſt calamities of warre, which was ſlaughter and impriſonment. *Chaumont* eſteemed it the beſt policie, and to better purpoſe for the preſent warre, to ſet vpon the enemie afore the arriuall of the Spaniſhe launces, whom to aduaunce and haſten the more, the Pope had deliuered into the handes of Cardinall *Regine* the bull of inueſtiture: He iudged it alſo very conuenient to go to the charge afore the *Venetian* companies ioyned with them, who hauing rayſed certaine rampiers agaynſt thartilleries of *Alfonſo*, hoped ſpeedily to haue caſt downe their bridge. In this minde he drew neare to *Modona*, where after was ſpent a long time in skirmiſhing betweene both partes, the eccleſiaſtikes looking into their weaknes, would neuer iſſue out with all their forces, not ſeeking perill by ſeparation, where they were aſſured of ſafetie keeping together in one ſtrength. This hope being loſt, he determined to put in execution that whervnto many of his braueſt capteines, and namely the *Bentiuoleis*, dyd perſwade him with ſundrye offers: They aduiſed him not to conſume time vnprofitably about matters of ſo ſmall reſpect, that the difficulties were farre greater then the profites: but rayſing his minde equall to the offers of his fortune, that they wilde him to ſet vppon the body of the warre: and the principall head from whom proceeded ſo many perilles and troubles: They alleaged that he had nowe a good occaſion, for that within *Bolognia* were very fewe forrayne ſouldiours, and amongſt the people many mindes that fauoured the *Bentiuoleis*, the moſt part of the reſidue beeing inclined rather to exſpect thiſſue of things, then to take armes to ſowe the ſeedes of newe daungers, and reape the frute of newe hatreds and harmes: That if thattempte were not nowe giuen, the preſent occaſion paſſing, fortune woulde alſo vaniſhe and make vayne thexploite hereafter: for that comming the bandes of the *Venetians* and *Spaniards* that were exſpected, there was no hope to do that with an armie mighty, which now the occaſion and time made eaſie with far leſſe forces.

Chaumont beſiegeth the Pope vvithin Bolognia.

Thus the whole armie beeing aſſembled which the *Bentiuoleis* followed with certaine horſmen and a thouſand footmen of their owne paye, tooke the way betwene the mountaine and the high way, and aſſaulted *Spilinberto*, which is a borowe of the *Counts Rangons*, wherein was a garriſon of foure hundred footemen ſent thither by the Pope: They had no ſooner begon to batter it, then they had it by compoſition, the vallour of the ſouldiours doing nothing to helpe the weake ſituation and plot of the place: The next day *Franke* caſtell rendred vpon conditions more eaſie then honorable, ſauing that the fortune of the victors did ſomewhat defende their diſhonour:

nour: And from thence they marched and incamped at *Cresplano* a village tenne myles from *Bolognia*, with intention to presẽt them selues the day after affore the gates of the Citie, wherin, what by the comming of tharmie, and what by the reapport that the *Bentiuoleis* were in it, all things were full of confusion and tumult, and the Nobles no lesse then the Cõmons expressed an vniuersall disposition to change, the one parte fearing, and the other parte desyring the returne of the familie of *Bentiuoley*. But greater confusions and feares occupied the myndes of the Prelates and Courtiers, better acquaynted with the delightes of *Rome*, then accustomed to the daungers of warre: The Cardinalls full of tymerous passions ranne to the Pope, complayning that he had put him selfe, the sea Apostolike, and them in so great perill: their tymerous condition tooke away the reason that in cases of daunger is wont to rule wise men, and the same feare that moued their confusion, suppressed in them all respect and reuerence to the dignitie of the place and person, but pushed on with those passions whiche they were not hable to moderate, they besought him with great importunities, eyther to make some sufficient prouision for their defence (whiche in suche a shortnesse of tyme they helde impossible) or at least to seeke to appease and reassure thinges by composition vnder suche conditions as the necessitie of their estate required, wherevnto they supposed thenemie woulde incline: or at least that he woulde make his departure out of *Bolognia* together with them, and to consider that if his particuler daunger touched him not, of what importance it woulde be for the sea Apostolike and for all Christian religion, if there happned any inconuenience to his person. His deareſt fouourits and most acceptable ministers and seruantes did communicate in these complaintes, and hauing all one feare they followed all one sute, like men that neuer feling but securitie, had least rule ouer their passions when they sawe perill and danger at hande: But he onely, amidde so great a tumult & disorder of things, no lesse vncertayne of the fidelitie of the people, then yll contented with the slowe comming on of the *Venetians*, made obstinate resistance agaynst all these aduersities, neither amased with the perills that he sawe, nor once moued with the perplexities of his Cardinals, & ioyning to these afflictions the maladie that had muche weakned his body, they had all no habilitie to bende the greatnes of his minde. At the beginning he had caused to come thither *M. Anth. Colonno* with one part of the souldiours that were within *Modona*, and likewise had sent for *Ierome d'Onato* Embassador to the *Venetians*, to whom he complayned with bitter exclamations, that for the long delaying of the aydes which had bene so many times promised him, his person and his estate were in manyfest daunger, not onely with an ingratitude abhominable towardes him that had begonne the warre chiefly for their safetie, and who with his great expences and daungers hauing brought the whole empire and the french king to be his enemies, had bene the cause of the preseruation of their libertie till that daye, but also with an incredible indiscression for the regarde of themselues, seeing if he shoulde eyther be vanquished, or constrayned to yeelde to any composition, there coulde be no hope of their safetie, and lesse exspectation of good degree for their common weale: he lastly protested with wordes and action full of furie and resolution, that he would fall to agreement with the frenche if the next day past ouer and no succours of their people which lay at *Stellata* entred into *Bolognia*, hauing this difficultie to builde a bridge and to passe the ryuer vppon barkes and other vesselles: He assembled the gouernment and Colleages of *Bolognia*, with whome he occupied perswasions of great grauitie, that remembring the myseries of their tyrannie paste, and

howe hurtfull and daungerous woulde be the returne of tyrantes after they were expulsed, they would lifte vp themselues to the defence of the iurisdiction of the Church, whiche they had founde so easie and tractable: And to induce them to a more readines, besides the fauors he had graunted them before, he gaue thē exemption of the moytie of al the impostes exacted vpō the vittels that entred into *Bolognia* for the vse of man, with promise to gratifie them hereafter in greater benefites: he caused to publishe these fauours by proclamation, the better to moue the people to take armes for the defence of the state ecclesiastick: But as his purpose was corrupt, so his labour was without frute, for that not one body stirred, not one hande was holden vp, nor any signe made in his fauor. These cold affections of the people considered, with other causes and showes, brought him at last to looke into the daunger wherin he stood, and pitying withal the importunities & plaints of so many peoples, ioyned to the perpetuall interceſſion and labor of thembassadors of Cæsar, the king Catholike, and the king of *England* set on by the Cardinalls, he consented to send to *Monsr Chaumont*, to suffer *Iohn Fran. Piqua* Count of *Mirandola* to go to him in safety in the Popes name: And not many houres after he dispatched to himone of his chāber, to require him to send to him *Albert de Carpy*, not knowing but that he was in the army. And in the action of these things, to thend that in al aduētures the most precious Reliques of the Pontificacie might be in safetie, he sent *Laur. Pucci* his *Datario* with the *Regno* (so they cal the principal Myter) wōderfully garnished with precious stones, to be kept in the famous Monastery of the *Murato* of *Florence*. *Chaumont* by cōsideration of the requests that were made to him, hoped that the Pope would incline to peace, which he did so much the more desire, by how much he knew it was agreable to thintention & minde of the king: and therfore, not to trouble such a disposition, the day following he retayned the armie in their lodgings, suffring notwithstanding the *Bentiuoleis* with many horsmen of their friends & followers, to run euen to the walls of *Bolognia*, hauing marching a good space after thē an hundred & fifty french launces: At whose cōming notwithstanding *Hermes*, one of the brothers both youngest & most resolute, presented himselfe on that side of the gate, yet there was no mutinie made within, the expectation of peace that was then in action preuayling more to contayne the people, then any affection or obedience they bare to the Pope. *Chaumont* gaue gracious audience to *Fran. de Mirandola*, and returned him the same day to *Bolognia* to signifie to the Pope the conditions wherein he was content to accorde: That the Pope should absolue *Alfonso d'Este* of all accursings and paynes, together with all those whosoeuer, which for any occasion were parties to the defending or offending of the state ecclesiasticke: that likewise he should acquite the *Bentiuoleis* of all paynes and censures, and make them repossessed of the goods which manifestly apperteined to them, referring to arbitration and iudgement suche as they were possessed of afore their exile: That it should be lawfull for them to dwell in what place they would, so farreforth as they came not neare to *Bolognia* by lxxx. myles: That touching the *Venetians* there should be nothing done contrarie to that whiche had bene agreed vppon in the confederation of *Cambray*: That betwene the Pope and *Alfonso d'Este* shoulde be a surceasing of armes at the least for six monethes, euery one reteining all that he possessed: in which respite of time their controuersies should be decided by iudges assigned by common accord, reseruing to Cæsar the order of the things of *Modona*, which Citie should be incontinent deposed into his hands: That *Cotignole* should be restored to the french king: That the Cardinall of *Achx* should be deliuered: That the Cardinalls that were absent

sent should be pardoned: And that the collacion of benefices through all the dominions of the frenche kinge, should be dispoſed according to his nominacion: With this aunswer *Mirandola* returned to the Pope, not without hope that *Monsr Chaumont* would not continue so seuerly in all those condicions: The Pope, contrary to his custome heard the reapport with pacience, together with the peticions of the Cardinalls, who besought him with an incredible affection that he would haue regard to the estate of the tyme and their vniuersall calamities, not refusing the composicion that was offered, if he coulde obteine no better: They tolde him that he stoode in condicion to accept and not to exspect more then was offered, his owne fortune and the felicitie of his enemie striuing against him: But on the other part he complayned of the too bitter condicions that were offered, And mingling all his speeches with complaints against the *Venetians*, he consumed all that daye without expressing what was his resolucion, not shewing so much dout of the perill he was in, as hauing regard to the sorrowes of the Cardinalls and others that stoode before him: At the last he tooke hope for that *Chappin Vitelly* in the euening entred into *Bolognia* with six hundred light horsemen *Venetians*, And an esquadron of *Turkes* payed by them: he departed by night from *Stellato*, and comming vpon the spurre all the way, arriued at *Bolognia* in the euening being charged by the gouernor of *Venice* to omit no diligence to reskew the Popes daungers: The morning following *Chaumont* encamped with his whole armie at the bridge of *Rene* which is three myles from *Bolognia*, where the Secretories of th Embassadors of the king of *Romains*, the king of *Aragon*, and the kinge of *England*, went to him, and soone after th Embassadors themselues: who, together with *Albert Pio* which nowe was come from *Carpy*, returned many times that day betweene the Pope and *Monsr Chaumont*: But the dispoſicion of both the one and other party was greatly chaunged: for, *Monsr Chaumont* hauing now no hope, by thexperience of the day before, to be able to raise the people of *Bolognia* by meane of the *Bentyuoleys*, and beginning withall to fall into necessitie of vittells which would continually increase vpon him, had great distrust of the victorie: And the Pope taking courage by thaffection of the people discloſed in the fauour of the Church, reentred eftsoones into armes the same day: And because they looked for at *Bolognia* before night, two hundred other *Venetian* estradiots, 2. hundred light horsemen vnder *Fabricio Colonno*, and one parte of the spanish men at armes, he did not onely discerne that he was deliuered of daunger, but also returning to his accustomed glory, he threatned to assaile thennemies assoone as the *Spanish* bandes were come which were not nowe farre of: This confidence made him giue aunswer all that day, that he bare no inclinacion to peace, onles the french king would be bound to abandon wholly the defense and protection of *Ferrara*: The daye after were propowned new condicions, and during the negociacion, the Embassadors made many goings and returnings to *Monsr Chaumont*, but, such and so many were the difficulties that their labor remeined vaine: In so much as *Chaumont* distrusting to be able to profit much either by armes or by practising of peace, together that it was hard for him to remeine there both for the want of vittells, and distemperance of the tyme winter approching, he returned the same day to *Frankcastell*, and the day after to *Rubiero*, making shew that what he did was done at the requests of th Embassadors, both to giue time to the Pope to consider of the offers that had bene made, and leasure to him selfe to exspect the further will and direction of his kinge: At that time many accused the resolucion of *Monsr Chaumont* to be vndiscreete, and the execucion negligent: for that not hauing forces sufficient to take *Bolognia* (In his armie there were

Chaumont retyreth from before Bolognia.

but three thowſand footemen) it was a councell ill debated to ſtirre and moue at the perſwacions of men baniſhed, whoſe hopes beinge meaſured more by deſire then with reaſons, become for the moſt parte fallible and vaine: At the leaſt if he deſired to embrace this enterpriſe, he ought firſt to haue reſtored and repayred the weaknes of his forces: But of the contrary they vrged, that he had abuſed & corrupted thopportunitie by his too much tarying, for that ſince the commoditie he had to depart from *Peſquiero*, he had vnprofitably loſt three or foure dayes, and in the meane while conſidering the weakenes of his armie he was in dout whether he ſhould aſſaye any thinge of him ſelfe or exſpect the bandes of the Duke of *Ferrara* and the Lorde *Chaſtillion* with the french launces: And be it that that might be defended, yet what excuſe can be made that *Frankcaſtell* being taken, he made not ſuddeine approches to the gates of *Bolognia*, and not to giue leaſure to a citie to take breath, wherein not one ſuccour was yet entred, the people hanging in ſuſpenſe, and as it hapneth in ſuddein thinges, all diſpoſed into feares and confuſion: A ſinguler meane (if there be any at all) to make him obteine either the victorie, or ſome honorable compoſicion: But perhaps the authoritie of ſuch as reprehend thinges that haue ill ſucceeded, would be leſſe, if at the ſame tyme might be knowne what would haue hapned if they had proceeded otherwayes.

After the retyring of *Chaumont*, the Pope bearing a minde inflamed againſt the french king, began to make his complaints to all Princes Chriſtian, that the french king, vſing vniuſtly and againſt truth the title and name of right Chriſtian, and deſpiſing the confederacion ſolemnly made at *Cambray*, and laſtly no leſſe moued with ambicion to vſurpe all *Italy*, then wickedly thirſting after the blood of the Popes of *Rome*, had ſent out his armie to beſeege him with all the Colleage of Cardinalls and the whole eſtate of Prelats within *Bolognia:* And in this diſpoſicion of minde, returning eſtſoones with a courage redoubled to the thoughtes and ſtudies of the warre, he refuſed to heare ſpeake th Embaſſadors, who, following the ſolicitacion begon by *Chaumont*, offered him the meanes of peace, if firſt *Ferrara* were not deliuered to him: yea, ſuch was the violence and furie of the ſpirit that gouerned him, that notwithſtanding by the trauells he had ſuffered in ſo great an accident both in body & mind, his maladie was made much worſe, yet he began to make new leauies of ſouldiours and to ſtirre vp the *Venetians* (who at laſt had caſt a bridge betweene *Ficquerolo* and *Stellate*) to ſend vnder the Marquis of *Mantua*, one part of their armie to *Modena* to ioyne with his, and with the other part to vexe and moleſt *Ferrara*, aſſuring them that
" within few dayes he ſhould haue *Reggia*, *Rubiere*, and *Ferrara:* The ambicion of his
" mind made him apt to hope for all thinges and to diſpaire in nothing, And what ſeemed vnpoſſible in reaſon, arte or pollicie, he made no dout to bringe to paſſe by the
" benefit of his fortune, which he ſuppoſed was of power to remoue all the difficulties
" that could be obiected againſt him: The *Venetian* bandes deferred to paſſe the riuer for the perill they had ronne into, if the death of the Pope had hapned (as was douted:) But being in the ende compelled to yeelde to his wills, after they had left the other bandes vpon the ſhoare beyond *Pavv*, they ſent towards *Modena* fiue hundred men at armes, A thowſand ſix hundred light horſemen & fiue thowſand footemen, but not vnder the conduction of the Marquis of *Mantua*, who, ſtaying at *Sermydy* to leauye horſemen and footemen to thende to marche afterwards to tharmie (as he ſayd) notwithſtanding the *Venetians* were already entred into ſuſpicion of his longe abiding, went to *S. Felix*, A borow belonging to *Modena:* There he receiued aduertiſement that the frenche that were within *Verona*, were entred into the contrey of

Mantua

Mantua to pillage it, And therefore alleaging the neceſſity to go to defend his eſtate, he returned from thence to *Mantua*, hauing the Popes leaue, but not without great complaints of the *Venetians*: for that notwithſtanding his promiſſe to make preſent returne, being already entred into ſuſpicion of his faith, they beleeued (all *Italy* almoſt was partaking in that opinion) that *Chaumont*, to giue him an excuſe not to go to the armie, had ſuffered certeine french bandes to make incurſions vpon his contrey: This ſuſpicion was increaſed by a letter which he wrote from *Mantua* to the Pope, that he was not able to marche for a ſicknes that was newly befalne him, deſiring that his good will might be holden for recommended hauing his bodye ſubiected to his infirmitie: After the bandes of the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the ſpaniſh launces were reaſſembled and vnited into one armie about the confyns of *Modena*, if they had ioyned diligence to thopportunitie, and marched, it was thought that *Chaumont* had abandoned the citie of *Reggio* and reteyned the Citadell, hauing vpon his diſcamping from *Bolognia* diſmiſſed all his *Italian* footemen for auoyding of exſpences: But taking aduauntage of their ſlownes, and making their negligence a helpe to his fortune, he began of new to leauye bandes of footemen, determining onely to looke to the gard of *Saſſuola*, *Rubiera*, *Reggio* and *Parma*: But as the armie lay vpon the marches of *Modena*, without direction whether they ſhould paſſe further or turne againſt *Ferrara*, certeine trowpes of the Church which ronne vp towards *Reggia* being put to flight by the french, loſt an hundred horſes and *Count de Mateligne* taken priſoner: At which time the Duke of *Ferrara*, together with the Lorde of *Chaſtyllion* with the french bands, lay incamped vpon the riuer of *Pavv* betwene the hoſpitall and *Bondin* on the oppoſit to the *Venetian* regiments which were beyonde *Pavv*: whoſe nauy ſeeking to retyre for the ſharpnes of the ſeaſon and for the ill prouiſion that came from *Venice*, being charged by many barkes of *Ferrara* whoſe artilleries ſonke eight veſſels to the bottom, retyred with great paine by *Nevvcaſtell* vpon *Pavv*, into the ditch that falleth into *Tanare* and *Adice* and there is ſeperat: Immediatly after, the Pope gaue order that the armie (gouerned by *Fabricio Colonno* for that the Marquis of *Mantua* was not come) ſhould draw ſtreight to *Ferrara*, leauing the Duke of *Vrbyn* for the gard of *Modena*: And albeit moſt of the Capteines blamed this councel, being both preiudicial & daungerous, yet he eftſoones reaſſured them with a hope almoſt certeine that the people would draw into tumult, ſo violent was his deſire aboue all reaſon, aboue all councel, aboue all pollicie, and aboue all experience: But the mindes of men gouerned by deſire are full of variacions and ſubiect to mutabilitie and chaunge, for, the ſame day they departed, they were eftſoones returned by his commaundement, keeping from the knowledge of euery one thoccaſion that moued him ſo ſuddeinly to alter his determinacion: And leauing there his firſt deuiſes and plotts, the armie marched & incamped affore the towne of *Saſſuola*, whether *Chaumont* had ſent fiue hundred *Gaſcons* footemen: After they had battred it two dayes to the great pleaſure and contentment of the Pope, who hearde in the ſame chamber the noyſe of thartilleries that battred *Saſſuola*, wherin not many dayes before, he had heard to his great diſliking, the thundring of thennemies ſhot that were about *Spilimberto*, They gaue the aſſalt, which with ſmall a doe ſucceeded haply to them, for that the footemen that were within fell into diſorder: And after, the artillerie being immediatly preſented before the caſtell whether they were retyred, they yeelded almoſt without any compoſicion with the ſame infamie and infelicitie of *Iohn Caſalo* that was their Capteine, which he had felt & ſuffered at the ſame time that Duke *Valentynois* tooke the caſtell of *Furly*: he was a man of very lowe and baſe

place, but for that in the flower of his age he had bene conformable to *Lodouvyk Sforce*, he was now risen to some honorable degree, his fortune and not his vertues preferring him, and the fauor of others more then his proper merits making him able to the opinion & credit that he had: After the taking of *Sassuola*, the armie tooke also *Formingo*: And the Pope appoynting by his direction that they should goe and take *Montechio* which is a place of strength and importance standing betweene the high way and the Mounteine vpon the frontyers of *Parma* and *Reggia*, and part of the territory of *Parma*, notwithstanding it is holden by the Duke of *Ferrara*: *Fabricio Colonno* refused to execute the direction, alleaging that his king had forbidden him to moleste any thing that was vnder the iurisdiction of th Empire: *Monsr Chaumont* prouided not for these disorders, who hauing left within *Reggia* *Monsr d'Aubigny* with fiue hundred launces and two thowsand *Gascons* vnder Capteine *Molard*, was gon him selfe into *Parma*, the king hauing sent him word to absteine as much as he could from exspenses: for, the king perseuering in his deuise to temporise vntil the spring, made no purueyance for thaffayres on this side the Mountes: by meane whereof his reputacion declyned in *Italy*, and the courage of his enemies augmented more and more: And the Pope impatient that his armie aduaunced no more, not admitting any longer the excuses which his Capteines made vpon the season of the yeare with other difficulties, he assembled them al together at *Bolognia* and told them he would march to incampe affore *Ferrara*: A resolucion which was allowed onely by th Embassadors of *Venice*, either not to offende him in gainesaying his deuises, or that by that occasion their souldiours should returne more neare their frontyers: it was blamed of all the residue of Capteines and nations in the armie, but in vaine, for that he did not consult but commaund, his authoritie making him tractable to nothing that was not conformable to his liking and will: it was then determined that the armie should march to *Ferrara*, but with this conduction that to let the french for succoring it, they should attempt to take *Mirandola* if the difficulties were not greater then the aduenture: This citie together with the towne of *Concorda*, inherited by the sonnes of the Count *Lod. Picqua*, and by *Fraunciſſe* their mother & Tutor, was kept vnder the deuocion of the french king following the authority of *Ioh. Ia. Triuulco* naturall father to *Fraunciſſ*, by whose meane his Nephewes obteined thinuestiture of *Cæsar*: The Pope had receiued them long time before into his protection as appeared by writing: but now he excused him that by the condicions of the present times he was constrained so to deale, that those townes shoulde not be holden by persons suspected, offering, if they woulde willingly put them into his handes, to redeliuer them immediatly after the conquest of *Ferrara*: from that time it was douted (& the dout increased much more afterwards) that the Cardinall of *Pauya* who was already suspected to interteine secret intelligence with the french kinge, was artificially the Author of this councell: Wherein he ment by thenterprise of *Mirandola*, to hinder the beseeging of *Ferrara*, the which citie at that time was neither well fortefied, nor sufficiently manned: besides, the frenche men were made weary aswell in bodye as mind by their paynes and trauells passed, the Duke in great weakenes, and the kinge altered to make any more prouisions there.

Whilest the Pope with so great care and diligence managed thexpedicion of the warre, the french king who was more inclined to practises then to armes, recontinued with the Bishop of *Gurce*, the negociacion of things which had bene begon: And they carying in the beginning a shew of great facilitie, proceeded now with greater delayes, both for the slownes of the aunswers of *Cæsar*, and also for the dout that was

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conceiued of the king of *Aragon*, *Cæsar* and the frenche kinge iudged it neceſſary to make him aſſerteyned of their intencion, aſwell in regard of the continuacion of the league of *Cambray*, as for thaction that was to be done with the Pope, if he ſtill perſeuered in the amitie of the *Venetians*, and reſted poſſeſſed of his auncient ambicion & couetouſnes to get immediatly to the Church the territories of *Ferrara*: The cauſe of this dout againſt the kinge of *Ferrara* was, that beſides his other actions, he had newly called home to the kingdom of *Naples* his regiments that were within *Verona*, expreſſing this cooller, that towards *Ottranto* the nauie of the Turke was diſcouered comming with a mind preiudiciall to him and his Realme: The king Catholike after certeine dayes aunſwered to the demaundes of *Cæsar* and the french king taking in the ſame tyme occaſion to purge him ſelfe of many thinges wherein *Cæsar* and the french king complained againſt him: That he had ſent the bande of three hundred launces to the Pope according to the obligacion of thinueſtiture, reſpecting onely the defenſe of the ſtate of the Church, and to recouer the thinges that were thauncient demaynes of the ſame: That he had called backe his men at armes from *Verona*, for that the tearme was expired for the which he had promiſed them to *Cæsar*, and yet he woulde not haue reuoked them had not the feare of the Turke bene greater then other occaſion: That at *Bologna* his Embaſſador interpoſed with others to worke the peace with *Monſr Chaumont*, not to giue time to the ſuccors of the Pope, but to quench and put out ſo great a fire in Chriſtendom, knowing withal that to interteine warre with the Church was grieuous to the kinge: That he continued ſtill in one ſetled purpoſe to accõpliſh all that had bene promiſed in the league of *Cambray*, and that he would doe more hereafter ayding *Cæsar* againſt the *Venetians* with fiue hundred launces and two thowſand footemen: That this was not his intencion to bind him ſelfe to new bands, nor to be reſtrained to new capitulacions: both for that he ſaw no vrgent occaſion, and alſo, deſiring to keepe him ſelfe free the better to make warre vpon the Infidels of *Affrika*, he would not increaſe the daungers and calamities of Chriſtendom, which had neede of tranquillitie and reſt: That he liked well of the councell and reformacion of the Church, if it were vniuerſal, & that times did not repugne againſt it, of which diſpoſicion he aſked no better a witnes then the french king in the ſpeeches they had together at *Sauonna*: but now the ſtate of tymes were much contrary, ſeeing that as peace and concord betwene Chriſtians were the foundacions of councells, and that there could be nothing agreed vpon to the vniuerſall benefit without the vnion and conſent of wills: ſo it could not but be vnworthy to begin the councell at ſuch a tyme and in ſuch ſort, that it might ſeeme to take beginning more by diſdaine & deſire of reuenge, then for the honor of God, or zeale to the eſtate of the Chriſtian common weale: he ſayde laſtly but a parte to th Embaſſadors of *Cæsar*, that it ſeemed ſomewhat intollerable that he ſhould ayde him to preſerue & keepe his townes, ſince he diſpoſed them afterwards to the french king for money, meaning expreſly *Verona*: Thus the intencion of the kinge Catholike being knowne by this aunſwer, the Biſhop of *Gurce* on the one part, in the name of *Cæsar* and the french king on the other part, in perſon, delayed no longer to make a newe confederacion, reſeruing place to the Pope to enter into it within two monethes next, and to the king Catholike and the king of *Hungria*, within foure: And for a neceſſary foundacion of the couenants that were made, the kinge bownde him ſelfe to pay to *Cæsar* an hundred thowſand duckats, part in hande, and the reſidue at tymes limited: *Cæsar* promiſed to paſſe into *Italy* in the ſpringe with three thowſand horſemen and ten thowſand footemen, againſt the *Venetians*: In which action the

king was bownd to ſend him at his proper charges two hundred launces, and eyght thowſand footemen with ſufficient prouiſion of artilleries, And to rigge out by ſea, two light gallies,& foure baſtard gallies: That they ſhould obſerue the league made at *Cambray*,and in both their names require obſeruacion of the Pope and kinge Catholike: Whereunto if the Pope were heard to be induced for the regarde of *Ferrara*,that the king ſhould be bownd to hold him ſelfe contented with that that ſhould be reaſonable,But if the Pope would proue obſtinat & refuſe to conſent to their requeſt,that then they ſhould proſecute the councel, And for that cauſe *Cæſar* ſhould aſſemble the Prelats of *Germany*, as the french king had done the Clergy of *Fraunce*, to thende to proceede further as they ſhould after be aduiſed: Aſſoone as theſe capitulacions were publiſhed,the Biſhop of *Gurce* receiuing many honors & rich gratificacions of the king,returned to his Prince: And the kinge, with whome the fiue Cardinalls that were parties to the calling of a councell, had preſently contracted that neyther he without them,nor they without his conſent, ſhoulde capitulat any thing with the Pope,expreſſed with vehement demonſtracion in wordes, the forward deſire he had to diſcende into *Italy* in perſon,leading ſuch a power as ſhoulde be able for longe tyme afterwards to aſſure his affayres: And to thende that affore his marching they fell into no aduerſitie or declinacion, he ſent to *Chaumont* to miniſter ſpeedy ſuccours to the Duke of *Ferrara*,and at the ſame inſtant he added eight hundred launceknightes to the companie of two hundred launces which he had affore ſent to the Duke vnder the leading of the Lord of *Chaſtillon*.

On the other ſide the Popes armie,after they had made with great delayes,neceſſary prouiſions,and left *Mar.Anth.Colonno* for the gard of *Modona* with an hundred men at armes,foure hundred light horſemen and two thowſand fiue hundred footemen,went and incamped before *Concorda*,which they forced the ſame day thartillery was planted: And taking immediatly afterwards the caſtell by compoſicion,they approched neare to *Mirandola*: it drew now towards the ende of September,& happly the ſeaſon of that yeare was much more ſharpe then ordinarily it had wont to be: In which reſpects,and that the towne was ſtrong, & being alſo beleued that the french would not leaue a place ſo conuenient,the Capteines began to diſtruſt of the victorie, not hauing regard to the felicity of the Pope which made all things fal out well to him,but iudged according to experience and pollicie, which in matters of enterpriſe ought principally to guide men of warre: Neuertheles the Pope promiſing to him ſelfe ſo aſſuredly the victorie of the whole warre,that ſending Cardinall *Sinagale* a new Legat into tharmie,for the diſcord that was betwene the Duke of *Vrbyn* and the Cardinall of *Pauya*,he charged him in the preſence of many,that aboue all thinges when the armie ſhould enter into *Ferrara* they ſhould looke to the keeping of that citie: The fourth day after the armie approached neare *Mirandola*,the artillerie began to execute,notwithſtanding with no leſſe trauell then diſcommoditie,aſwel for regard of the preſent ſeaſon,as for want of vittels which came very ſparingly from *Modona*: The reaſon of this reſtraint of vittells grew by thimpediments that the frenche gaue,who hauing beſtowed fifty launces within *Guaſtallo*, as many within *Corregia*,and two hundred and fifty in *Carpy*,and hauing withall caſt downe al the bridges & occupied all the paſſages by the which reliefe might come from *Mãtua*,they kept the armie no leſſe diſtreſſed with want of foode,then the hardnes of the ſeaſon hindred their other actions:But as neceſſity is mighty to make men reſolute, ſo their extremitie ſtirred them vppe to a deuiſe that diminiſhed their ſkarceties,for that deliuering out a falſe brute that tharmie would come and aſſayle *Carpy*, ſuch as

Mirandola beſeeged.

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were within being fearefull for that they were not furnished with artillerie, did presently dislodge from thence, leauing the place abandoned, not by compulsion but by feare.

About the ende of this yeare there fell vpon the person of the Pope some imputacion and infamie as though it was conspired by his priuitie and consenting that by the meane of Cardinall *de Medicis*, there was practise with *Marke Anth. Colonno* and certeine younge gentlemen of *Florence*, to kill *Pe. Soderin Gonfalonier*, by whose working it was supposed that the *Florentyns* followed the french faction: This suspicion was aggrauated by this coniecture, that the Pope notwithstanding he labored by all his meanes and authoritie to winne that common weale, yet he was neuer able to bring that to passe by practise, by pollicie, nor by compulsion, which they refused for want of affection, opinion, and liking: Besides, a litle before at the french kings request, and to the Popes discontentment, they were broken of from the truce with the people of *Syenna*, although they had refused to moue armes vntill six monethes after: A thing which the king desired, to hold the people in feare: And lastly, they had sent to the king two hundred men at armes for the gard of the Duchy of *Myllan*, A matter demaunded by the king by vertue of their confederacion, not so much for thimportance and necessitie of such a succor, as for desire to make them enemies with the Pope: In this estate of affayres did ende the yeare a thowsand fiue hundred and ten.

But the beginning of the new yeare was made notable by a matter not exspected according to the time present, nor neuer read of in anye the actions or examples of ages past: The Pope was ielous that there was not vsed that diligence in the seruice of *Mirandola* that was eyther necessary to such an enterprise, or able to satisfie his desire, wherein taking occasion of their slowe proceedings, he interpreted to the ignorance and infidelitie of his Capteines, but chiefly to his Nephewe, that which reasonably proceeded of many difficulties: for these respects together with his ambicion which helde him altogether subiected, he determined to goe thether and aduaunce thinges by his presence, preferring thimportunitie and violence of his minde affore all other regardes: he considered not howe daungerous and vnworthye it was for the maiestie of suche a degree, that a Pope of *Rome* shoulde in person leade armies against townes of Christians, And much lesse was he carefull of the opinion and iudgement that the worlde woulde make of him, to giue an apparant cooller and almost a manifest iustificacion to those factions as were in practise, to call a councell and stirre vppe Princes agaynst him, making their suggestion that his gouernment was hurtfull to the Churche and his vices infamous and incorrigible: Suche speeches ranne thorow the Court: suche coniectures were made: some marueled at his furye: some blamed his intemperance: some feared the thinge they durst not vtter: And euery one comparing his actions with the importance of his place and calling, accused his indiscrecion, wherein the *Venetian* Embassadors were no lesse forward then the residue: The Cardinalls besought him with great instance, his fauorits made reasons to perswade, but durst not displease him, And his whole Court obiected against the vnworthines of the iorney, but his obstinat resolucion made vaine all their labours and deuises: his singuler passion was inuincible against all reason, in which disposicion he parted from *Bologna* the second of Ianuarie, accompanied with three Cardinalls, And being come to the campe, the necessitye of the place compelled him to be lodged in a litle contreye cottage subiect and open to the artilleries of thennemies, for that it was no further from the

The Pope in person at the campe affore Mirandola.

walls of *Mirandola* then a common crosbow will ſhoote at twiſe: There he diſpenſed with no trauell of his bodye nor forbare any care or ſtudie of minde, There he was no leſſe prodigall of his authoritie, then of his preſence, And riding continually thorow and about the campe, he had almoſt finiſhed the planting of thartillerie, whereof till that daye the leſſer parte coulde not be employed for thimpediments which the vnſeaſonable tyme and ſnowes gaue to all actions of warre: Beſides, the pyoners and laborers coulde not doe their office, who the more they were vrged and put forward, the more they ſhronke and gaue backe, the daunger of the ſhotte that came out of the towne being greater then their vertue: And for this reaſon being thought neceſſary to rayſe newe rampiers in the places where thartilleries were to be planted, and to refurniſh the campe with newe pyoners, the Pope, in that reſpit of tyme, withdrewe him ſelfe to *Concorda*, ſomewhat to eſchewe thincommodities of tharmie: At this place *Chaumont* addreſſed vnto him *Albert Pio* to make many offers and meanes of accord, which, (notwithſtanding the many labors and meetings of thone and other ſide) grewe to no reſolucion or effect, eyther for his accuſtomed hardnes and obſtinacie, or els for thinfidelitie of *Albert*, who was more and more ſuſpected not to negociat with that ſinceritie that apperteined: The Pope remeined not longe at *Concorda*, the ſame impatience and violence of minde cauſing him to returne, which firſt procured him to come to the campe: neither was his fury any thing abated by the hurtfull ſnowes that continually fell from heauen whileſt he was in the fielde, nor his rigor the more reſtrayned by the ſharpe cold, whoſe bitternes the ſouldiours could not endure but with great payne: he was lodged in a litle Church neare to his artilleries, but ſomwhat nearer the wals then was his former lodging: And being diſcontented with all thinges that either were already done, or ſtoode to be done, he complayned with bitter wordes againſt all his Capteines, except onely *Mar. Anth. Colonno* whom he had newly ſent for from *Modona:* he trauelled with great impacience about the armie, enforcing him to perſwade a diligence in the men in whoſe ſlownes he tooke griefe, he accompliſhed both in wordes and action the office of a Capteine, promiſing the ſoldiours for the reward of their vallours the ſpoyle of *Mirandola*, which he ſayd he would not take to compoſicion, but leaue it to their libertie to ranſecke or raunſom to their owne profit: In this action he forbare nothing which he thought might aduaunce his deſire, not ſparing to make that lawfull to the ſoldiours by his graunt & proper adminiſtracion, which of
" it ſelfe was iniurious, impious, and of example hatefull: This proueth that there is
" nothing more vnworthy then to adde to a naturall crueltie, A great authoritie, And
" that which we call coller in priuat men deſerueth the name of furie in him that ex-
" erciſeth publike charge: Truely it was a thinge notable, and to the eyes of men ſtraunge and newe, that a French king, A Prince ſeculer, in an age and diſpoſicion floriſhing, trayned from his firſt yeares in warres, ſhoulde take his reſt in his Court and Chamber at home, and adminiſter by Capteines a warre that was made againſt him abroade: And on the other ſide to ſee a ſoueraine Biſhop, a ſupreame Paſtour, a Viccaire of Chriſt in earth bearing a bodye diſeaſed, aged, and deiected, and nouriſhed in a calling contrarye to armes and warre, to goe in perſonne to a warre ſtirred vppe by him ſelfe againſt Chriſtian Princes, and to lye in campe affore a place of litle name where ſubmitting him ſelfe as a leader of ſoldiours to paynes and daungers, he reteyned no other thinge of the Pope then the habit and the name: By his extreame diligence and labor, by his complayntes and threats, and by his offers and promiſſes all thinges were more aduaunced then otherwayes they

would

woulde haue bene: And yet, for the reſiſtance of many difficulties, they had but ſlowe proceeding both for the ſmall numbers of poyeners, and alſo for that the campe bare no great proporcion of artilleries, and withall the weetenes of the ſeaſon was an impediment to the powder to do his office: They that were within made a valiant defence, hauing for their gouernor *Alexander Triuulce* with foure hundred footemen forreyners: And they ſupported all daungers with ſo muche the more vallour and reſolucion, by howe much they had hope in the ſuccors promiſed by *Monſr Chaumont*, who, being commaunded from his kinge not to ſuffer the Pope to take that towne, had ſent for all the bandes of ſpaniſh footemen that were at *Verona*, and making continuall leauyes of men from all partes, wherein was concurrant with him the Duke of *Ferrara*, he promiſed to ſette vppon thennemies in their campe before the twenty daye of Ianuarie: But theſe difficulties made that promiſſe both harde and daungerous: the litle tyme he had to make ſo great prouiſions, the leaſure giuen to thennemies to fortifie their campe, the much a doe to conueye thartilleries, municions, and vittelles in a ſeaſon ſo hurtfull by wayes ſo troubleſome, and thorow ſo great ſnowes as had not bene ſeene of long tyme: laſtly, by him were augmented the difficulties, in whome was exſpectacion to diminiſh them by recompenſing the tyme loſte with a newe diligence: for, *Chaumont* vppon the ſuddeine made a poſting iorney to *Myllan*, promiſing that the cauſe of his going thether was to make prouiſion of money and other thinges neceſſary for the warre: but it was beleeued that ſome amorous paſſion towardes a Ladye of *Myllan* caryed him more then any other regarde: This haſtye iorney (notwithſtanding his returne was ſpeedye) abated greatly the courages of the ſoldiours, and no leſſe diminiſhed the hopes of ſuch as defended *Mirandola*: Amongeſt whome as their opinions were diuerſe touching the delayes he vſed, ſo ſome were bold to vſe this libertie of iudgement, that no leſſe did hurt the negligence of *Chaumont* then the hate he bare to *Iohn Iacques Triuulce*, In which regarde, inclining more to his propper paſſion, then to the profitte of his Kinge, they ſuppoſed it was not diſagreeable to him that the Nephewes of *Triuulce* ſhoulde be depriued of *Mirandola*.

And on the other ſide the Pope diſpenſed with nothing that might be made a furtherer of his victorie, wherein his furie was ſo much the more renewed, by how much the Canon from within the towne ſlew 2. of his men in his kechin: for which daunger forſaking that lodging, And eftſoones returning thether againe being caried with his intemperances, he was likewiſe conſtrayned by new perills to take the lodging of the Cardinal of *Regina*, againſt the which, they within the towne (happly ſuſpecting that he was there ariued) braked a great peece not without the daunger of his life: At the laſt, the defendants ſtanding deſperat to be ſuccored on all ſides, & ſeeing what great execucion thartillerie of thennemy had made, And fearing withal that by the harde froſen ditche being able to beare the ſoldiours, they ſhould not be able to reſiſt thaſſalt that was to be giuen within two dayes, ſent, the ſelfe ſame day that *Chaumont* had promiſed to ſuccor them, Embaſſadors to the Pope, to yeld them ſelues, their goods and liues ſaued: To whom albeit the Pope made aunſwere in the beginning that he woulde not be bownde to ſaue the life of the ſoldiours, yet in the ende he ſuffered him ſelfe to be wonne by the peticions of his Court, and accepted the towne vnder ſuch condicions as were offered, ſauing that *Alexander Triuulce* with certeine other Capteines of footemen, ſhoulde remeyne his priſoners, And the towne to pay a certeine rate of money, to redeeme the ſpoile which he had

Mirandola yeldeth to the Pope.

promiſed to the ſouldiours: And yet the ſouldiours ſeeming to vrge that as due which was promiſed, & which by their vallour they had wonne, the Pope had much to do to ſatisfie the ſouldiours & keepe the towne from ſacking: By thexãple of the towne, the caſtel alſo yeelded, with this permiſſion to ſuffer the Countiſſe to depart with all her goods, one fortune at one inſtant ſubiecting both the towne and the caſtel, as the glory of one man reuerſed with one kind of calamitie a whole eſtate & famulie of great antiquitie: The Pope reſtored *Mirandola* to *Count Iohn Franciſquo* & indued him with all the rights of the ſonnes of *Count Lodovvyk*, as gotten by him in iuſt warres: he receiued of him bond, and for performance the perſon of his ſonne, to pay within a certeine tyme for all defrayments, twenty thowſand duckats: And, not to loſe that by negligence which had bene wonne with ſo great payne and perill, but chiefly to keepe the frenche from reconquering it after the armie was retyred, he left within it a ſtrength of fiue hundred footemen *Spanyards*, and three hundred *Italians*: from *Mirandola* he went to *Sermydy*, A borow vpon the lymits of *Mantua* ſtanding neare the riuer of *Pavv*, And being by the victorie of *Mirandola* puffed vp into aſſured hopes to haue *Ferrara*, he gaue reſolute anſwere to *Albert Pio*, that he would heare no more of any offers or ſpeeches of peace, if, for the firſt condicion, he were not made poſſeſſed of *Ferrara*.

A new deliberacion of the french according to the kinges direction.

But thoſe thoughtes were chaunged by a newe deliberacion of the french: for, the king conſidering how much the loſſe of *Mirandola* had diminiſhed his reputacion, And now fully diſpayring that the mind of the Pope would be raunged to councells payſible, addreſſed preſent direction to *Monſr Chaumont* not onely to looke well to the defending of *Ferrara*, but alſo not to forbeare vppon conuenient occaſion, to offend the ſtate of the Church: According to which commiſſion, he made preſent leauies of men from all partes, and ſo really entred into thaction that the Pope by the councell of his Capteines, retyred to *Bolognia*, And abiding there but very few dayes, eyther for feare or to aduaunce (as he ſayd) more ſpeedely the battring of the baſtillion of *Geniuola*, againſt the which he determined to ſend certeine bandes of ſouldiours which he had in *Romania*, he came to *Lugo* and from thence laſtly to *Rauenna*, thinking perhaps that ſo ſmall an expedicion was not worthy his preſence: The *Venetian* armie, who, for the nearenes of thennemies, could not well be employed in the ſeege of *Ferrara*, were ſtayed at *Bondyn*, as the ſpaniſh and Eccleſiaſtikes remeyned diſtributed betweene *Cento* and *Finalo*: They, notwithſtanding the tearme of three monethes was paſte, ſurceaſſed at the requeſte of the Pope.

On the other ſide, *Monſr Chaumont*, hauing aſſembled his armie which was aboue his enemies in footemen, and farre abouethem as touching the vallour of the horſemen, but inferior in numbers & multitudes, tooke councel with his Capteines what were beſt to be done: The french Capteines perſwaded that the companies of the Duke of *Ferrara* being ioyned to the armye, it were beſt to marche directly to ſeeke thennemies, who notwithſtanding were lodged in places ſtronge and ſure, yet there was hope that with the vertue of armes and importunitie of thartilleries, they would be driuen to diſlodge and retyre: A matter that would not onely make *Ferrara* deliuered and acquited of daunger, but alſo in this expedicion would be wonne agayne the reputacion that had bene loſt till that day: They alleaged alſo for the ſame opinion, that the armye paſſing by the marches of *Mantua*, they ſhoulde take from the Marquis all thexcuſes and impediments for the which he profeſſed to be reteyned to take armes as Feodater of *Cæſar*, and ſouldiour to the king, And that

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it was a thing profitable for the ſewertie of *Ferrara* that he ſhould come in and declare: laſtly, that he being declared, thennemie would find many diſcommodities in this warre, both for reſtraint of vittels, and annoyances of bridges and paſſages of riuers which thereby ſhoulde be taken awaye from the *Venetian* armies, and alſo the Marquis ſhoulde reuoke immediatly the ſouldiours which he had in the campe of the Church: But *Triuulco*, being returned out of *Fraunce* about the ſame tyme that *Mirandola* was loſt, gaue councell to the contrary: he declared what daunger it were to goe ſeeke the ennemies and ſet vpon them in their campe, and how hurtfull it would be to be referred and gouerned by neceſſitie, to proceede day by day according to the proceeding and doings of thennemie: That it was farre more profitable and better aſſured, to turne tharmie to *Modona* or to *Bolognia*, for that, if thennemies remoued for feare to loſe thone of thoſe two townes, then were wonne the way that was ſought, to deliuer *Ferrara* from the warre: And if they did not ſtirre, there was yet this benefite in the councel, that the one or the other of thoſe two townes would be eaſily caried: In which caſe as a great neceſſitie would drawe them out to defend their owne, ſo in leauing their place of ſtrength, the armie ſhould be ſubiect to many occaſions to obteyne an honorable victorie: This was the perſwaſion of *Tryuulco*, and theſe were the reaſons he occupied, ſuch, as for their grauitie expreſſed his greate wiſedome, but for ſecrete enuie and partialitie, were neyther embraced nor followed: for, the other opinion was allowed, *Chaumont* and the other french Capteynes bearing an inclynacion to diminiſh his authoritie, *Alfonſo d'Eſte* being alſo concurrant for hope that thennemies woulde be conſtrayned to diſſolue or at leaſt retyre from his eſtate, which being ſo afflicted and conſumed, he ſayde was vnhable any longer to ſuſteyne ſo heauy burdens: he feared, that if the frenche men went away, thennemies woulde make entreye vppon *Poliſena de Ferrara*, A thinge which woulde ſo muche haue increaſed the calamities of that citie depriued of all hope and ſpirit, that there remeyned no more comfort nor remedie: So the Frenche armye marched by the way of *Luſero* and *Gonſagno*, to encampe at *Raſſoula* and at *Moia* where they remeyned three dayes for the yll weather that fell, reiecting the councell of ſuche as perſwaded to goe aſſayle *Mirandola*, both for thincommoditie to incampe in the fieldes, and alſo that at the Popes going awaye, the ſubburbes were burnt and all the houſes about: They ſuppoſed it in like ſorte neyther conuenient nor honorable to charge vppon *Concorda* fiue myles from them, holdinge it but loſt tyme to enterteyne action in a matter of ſo ſmall importance: The armye therefore came to *Quiſtello*, and makinge paſſage ouer the riuer of *Secchia* vppon a bridge of boates, they lodged the daye after at *Rouera* vppon the riuer of *Pavv*: The ſame being the cauſe that *Andre Gritti*, who, hauing affore recouered *Poliſſena Rouigno*, and left one parte of the *Venetian* ſouldiours at *Montagnana* vnder *Barnardin Montono*, to make reſiſtance agaynſt the garriſons that kept *Verona*, was withdrawne to *Montagnana* with three hundred men at armes, a thowſand light horſe men, and a thowſand footemen: Theſe were already drawne neare the riuer of *Pavv* to ioyne with the armie of the church, hauing affore ſacked the towne of *Guaſtallo*: from *Rouero* the french men went to *Sermydy*, and diſperſed them ſelues in good order in the villages thereabouts: from thence *Monſr Chaumont* accompanied with certeine Capteines (but not with *Triuulco*) went to the towne of *Stellata*, beeing there exſpected by *Alfonſo d'Eſte*, to take councell in what maner they were to proceede againſt their enemies, who were nowe lodged altogether at *Finalo*: it was there agreed that the bandes of *Alfonſo* ſhould be ioyned with the frenche armie about *Bondyn*, and ſo to

march altogether and encampe in certeine villages three miles from *Finalo*, to proceede afterwards according to the nature of places, and occasions offered by the enemies: But as *Chaumont* was returned to *Sermyde*, it was tolde him how hard it was to goe to that place both for thimpediment of waters whereof the contrey was full about *Finalo*, and also that by necessitie, he was to take the high way along the risings of the canall which thennemie had cut of in many places and bestowed gard to hinder passage, A matter also which seemed so much the more hard and troublesom, by how much the yll weather and season was ioyned to the other impediments: The consideracion of these perils bringing *Chaumont* into no small dout, *Alfonso* that had about him certeine discouerers and men knowing the contrey, and by them well informed of the situacion and disposicion of places, labored to perswade the contrary, assuring him that with the force of artillerie, suche as manned the passages that were cutte of, woulde be compelled to leaue them abandoned, by which meane it would be very easie to cast bridges for passage in any place where it should be necessary: These reasons being brought by *Chaumont* into councell and debated, the opinion of *Alfonso* was approued, to whome *Triuulce* was rather not contrarye, then consenting, his silence leauing to the company a more occasion of murmure, then if he had directly impugned the deuise: for, what with the greatnes of the difficulties, which still augmented, and authority of that Capteine carying long experience, and had alwayes reproued that expedicion, it was thought that the harmes and inconueniences hapning, the kinge woulde laye them vpon the Authors of that opinion: In which respect *Monsr Chaumont*, assembling an other daye the councell for the same matter, desired *Triuulce*, that not with silence as he did before, but frankely and simply as apperteyned to him, he woulde expresse his opinion, which he deliuered in this sort hauing no lesse regarde to the grauetie and importance of such a councell, then to the greate desire and exspectation of thassistantes so well disposed to heare him.

Triuulce reasoneth.

I vsed silence yesterdaye, not bearing a minde preiudiciall to the present busines, and much lesse to arrogate to my selfe any singularitie of councell, And yet if my
" opinion had founde imitacion in the beginning, we had not nowe stande possessed
" with dowtes, nor this gallant army had spent so many dayes in vaine, which might
" haue bene employed with more profit: And I could yet continue in silence, if, sup-
" pressing all other respectes, I were not spurred on with thimportance of the matter,
" being now vpon tearmes to set vpon one incerteine cast of a dye, both this florishing
" army, the state of *Ferrara*, and the Duchie of *Myllan*, matters too great to be put all
" to aduenture without reteyning some parte from chaunce and fortune: Besides, one
" reason that moues me to speake, is an opinion I haue that *Monsr Chaumont* desireth
" that I may be he that in this action shall giue the first councell: A matter which as
" he beginneth now to find good by reason, so it is no new thing to me, for that here-
" tofore I haue proued by experience that my councels haue bene lesse reiected when
" was question to retract any thinge not sufficiently deliberated, then when the first
" deliberacions were debated: And as true councel consistes not onely in telling what
" must be done, but also what will be the ende and succesſe of things, so, for my part, I
" make bold thus farre to enable my selfe that the man of obseruacion by the experi-
" ences he hath made, giues often times better councel then the man of learning by al
" the rules he hath read: we debate to go seeke the enemy to fight with him, & I haue
" alwaies seene great capteines hold this as a firme principle, not to attẽpt the fortune
" of a battel, onles there be offer of special aduauntage, or cõpulsion by great necessity:

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the lawes and rules of warre giue it to thenemies that be thinuadors, and haue taken the fielde to conquer *Ferrara*, to seeke to assayle and charge vs: But to vs to whome it is sufficient to defende our selues, it can not but be impertinent to obtrude into thaction, contrarie to all directions and disciplines of warre. Suche as resist iniuries and fight for their owne safeties, are of more merite and valour, then they that enter into armes to oppresse others: But let vs examine the aduantages & necessities that may draw vs: I am of opinion which hope is confirmed by euident reason, that there is no possibilitie to execute the deuise of the duke of *Ferrara*, but to our great harmes and disaduauntage: since we can not go to their campe, but by a hill side, a straite and narrowe way, where all our forces can not be employed, and yet they with small numbers may make resistance, hauing thoportunitie of the place fauorable to their vertues: We must marche by the rising of the hill one horse after another, neither haue we any other way to drawe our artilleries, our baggage, our carts, and bridges, but by the straite of the hill: And who doubteth that in a way so narrow and comberous, euery artillerie, euery carte, or euery wheele that shall breake, will not stay a whole armie for an howre at the least, by which impedimentes euery contrarie accident may easily put vs into disorder. Thenemies are lodged in couert, prouided of vittels and forrages: and we must encampe all bare and naked, not carrying with vs that should serue for our necessarie noriture, but muste exspect the things to come after, which in reason ought to go with vs. It belongeth not to vs to be credulous in brutes, and muche lesse to be carried with the reapportes and opinions of the countreymen that knowe the countrey, since warres are managed with the weapons of souldiours, and with the counsels of capteins: they are determined by the execution of the sworde, and not by suche plottes as are presented in paper by people ignorant in warre, bearing no other knowledge then according to thinstruction of their rude nature. To attempt newe enterprises whereof the victorie is lesse certayne then the perill, is contrarie to the grauitie and reputation of a leader: and in actions of warre, those enterprises are put to aduenture, that are done by will and not by reason. For my part I neither suppose our enemies to weake, nor their campe in suche disorder: and much lesse that in their encamping they haue bene so negligent to take thoportunitie of the waters and other situations, that it can be in our power to assayle them, though our fortune bring vs in safetie to the place where we seeme so desirous to expresse our valours. Many difficulties may compell vs to make our aboade there two or three dayes, yea the snowes and raynes ioyned to the crabbednes of the season may suffice to deteine vs: howe shall we then do for vittels and forrages? what shall we be hable to do in the warre, wanting the things that should giue vs strength and sustenance? In warre no lesse needefull is foode and forrage, then the weapon to strike: And be it we should haue them in our power to assayle them, what is he that can promise any suretie of the victorie, which seldome foloweth the multitude of the souldiours that fight, but hath regard to the innocencie of the cause that is followed? What is he that considereth not how daungerous it is to go seeke thenemie in a strong campe, and to be driuen at one time to fighte agaynst them, and agaynst thincommodities of the situation of the place? If wee compell them not to abandon their campe, we can not but be enforced to retyre: A matter of very harde action in a countrey so wholly agaynst vs, and where euery little disfauour will turne to our great disaduauntage. I see no necessitie to put the kings whole estate in a danger so present, since (as I take it) we are entred into armes for no other occasion then to succour the citie of *Ferrara*, which if we do eftsoones

" refurniſhe with newe garriſons, we may holde our ſelues in ſuretie, though we
" ſhoulde diſſolue our whole armie: And be it that that Citie is ſo much conſumed,
" that it is impoſſible that in ſhort time it will not fall of it ſelfe, thenemies remayning
" at the backe of it, yet we haue meane to diuert them, which in warre is a moſt migh-
" tie remedie, and with the which we may enforce them to drawe backe from *Ferrara*
" without putting one horſe in daunger. I haue alwayes perſwaded, and ſtande ſtyll
" firme in this counſell, that we turne eyther to *Modona* or to *Bolognia*, taking the high
" way, and leauing *Ferrara* well furniſhed onely for thoſe fewe dayes it ſhall be neceſ-
" ſarie. This is no fleeing from the enemie, and yet in warre it is no ſhame to flee,
" when the fleeing profiteth in giuing place to the aduerſarie. I holde it beſt accor-
" ding to the time, that we goe to *Modona*, whither alſo we are called by the Cardi-
" nall of *Eſte*, A perſonage of name and merite not vnknowen, and by whom we are
" aſſured of intelligences hable to put it into our handes: and conquering a place of
" that importance, there reſteth no other ſafetie to thenemies, then to retyre towards
" *Bolognia*, like as alſo if our fortune make vs fayle of our exſpectation of *Modona*, yet
" the feare that thenemies will haue aſwell of it as of theſtate of *Bolognia*, will dryue
" them to abandon: A thing which no doubt they had done many dayes ſince, if this
" counſell had bene executed from the beginning.

Now did the whole aſſiſtance, by the reaſons of this graue Capteine, diſcerne the difficulties that were preſent, which he had founde and ſeene when they were farre of: In which regarde his opinion was allowed of euery one. And *Chaumont* leauing to the Duke of *Ferrara* for his better ſuretie, a greater ſtrength of men, he drewe towardes *Carpy* by the ſame way, hauing not yet obteined that the Marquis of *Mantua* ſhould come in, which was one of the principalleſt reaſons that had bene alleaged by thoſe that gaue counſell agaynſt thoppinion of *Triuulco*: for the Marquis deſiring to ſtande indifferent, and as a perſon newter during the troubles, when the time drewe on wherein he had giuen hope to declare himſelfe, he ſolicited with many excuſes to be yet deferred for certeine dayes, debating with the Pope the daunger of the Frenche armie that threatned him, and beſeeching *Monſr Chaumont* not to take from him the hope he had that the Pope would reſtore to him his ſonne within a very ſhort time. But the deuiſe to take *Modona* tooke no good ſucceſſe, the ſuttle and ſecret counſells of the king of *Aragon*, giuing greater impedimentes, then the armies of the Pope.

Cæſar ſhewed him ſelfe yll contented that the Pope vſurped *Modona*, a citie eſtemed in all times of the iuriſdiction of the empire, and holden by long continuance by the familie of *Eſte* with priuiledges and inueſtitures from themperours: And albeit he had made requeſt with many complaints to haue it deliuered to him, yet the Pope, nouriſhing an other opinion touching the rightes of that citie, had alwayes refuſed it, but principally ſo long as he hoped to be hable to take *Ferrara*. But aſſone as the French armies began to diſcouer more manyfeſtly in fauour of them of *Eſte*: and that he had no habilitie to defend *Modona* without making great expences and defraymentes: he began to taſte the counſell of the king of *Aragon*, who encouraged him to redeliuer it, both to auoyde ſo many preſent troubles, and to appeaſe the minde of Cæſar, and alſo by that action to kindle ſome alteration betwene him and the French king: he induced him beſides with this comfort, that if he deſyred to haue it agayne in an other time more conuenient, it would be a matter of no great difficultie, contenting Cæſar with a reaſonable ſumme of money. This debating was prolonged for many dayes, for that, according to the diuerſitie of hopes, the delibe-

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ration of the Pope chaunged: onely they ſtucke alwayes vpon this one difficultie, that Cæſar refuſed to receiue it, vnleſſe in the inſtrument of aſſignation it were clearely expreſſed, that that Citie apperteined to thempire: A matter wherevnto albeit the Pope would not conſent at the firſt, yet ſeing after the taking of *Mirandola* that *Monſr Chaumont* was the ſtrongeſt in the fielde, and that the wonted expences and difficulties for the defence of *Modona* returned vpon him agayne, he left the diſputation of words, & conſented to haue it ſet downe in writing, that *Modona* ſhould be reſtored to Cæſar of whoſe iuriſdiction it was. And as *Vitfruch* thembaſſadour of Cæſar reſident with the Pope, had receiued the poſſeſſion of it, and that he might remayne there in ſuretie by the authoritie of Cæſar, he diſmiſſed *Mark. Anth. Colonno* with the other bands with whom he had kept it afore in the name of the Church, aduertiſing *Monſr Chaumont* that *Modona* was no more the Popes, but was iuſtly reuerted to the iuriſdiction of Cæſar: This was not beleeued of *Chaumont*, who ſtill continued to worke the Cardinal of *Eſte* to put in execution the conſpiracie and intelligence whiche he interteyned with that Citie: In ſo muche that according to direction, the Frenche bandes which *Chaumont* had left in garriſon within *Rubiero*, were made out one night, but notwithſtanding they marched with as litle brute as they coulde within a myle of *Modona*, they returned the ſame night to *Rubiero*, either for that the order of their faction within was not correſpondent, or els the Frenchmen had preuented their time and were come to ſoone: Neuertheleſſe they gaue no place to this yll ſucceſſe, but made an other ſally out of *Rubiero* to come to *Modona*, falling notwithſtanding into the ſame impedimentes they did before, aggrauated nowe by the deapth and rage of the waters to paſſe the ryuer of *Sekchie* whiche runneth before *Rubiero*. At laſte *Vitfruch* became ſuſpicious, and committing to impriſonment certayne of the Citie, vpon whom he impoſed an intelligence with the cardinall of *Eſte*, he obteined of the Pope that *Marke Anth. Colouno* ſhould eftſones returne thither with the garriſon that was there before: A matter whiche had not ſtayed *Monſr Chaumont* (beeing nowe come to *Carpy*) to marche and encampe before it, if the qualitie and ſeaſon of the time had not taken from him the drawing of his artillerie along the way betwene *Ruolo* and *Carpy*, A way not more then ten miles from thence, but euen the worſt of all the ways in *Lombardie*, notwithſtanding their ouerflowing with waters and mariſhe natures: Beſides all this, *Chaumont* was euery day more and more aduertiſed, that *Modona* was redeliuered to *Cæſar* ſimply and abſolutely, which made him make this couenant with *Vitfruch*, not to offende *Modona* nor his territories, receiuing reciprocally his promiſe, that in the actions betwene the Pope and his king, he ſhould not fauour the one nor the other partie. But ſuche is the deſtinie and ende of all fleſhe, that all men borne in humaine nature, muſte in their time appoynted reſigne to the earth the life they had of the earth: it happned not many dayes after that *Chaumont* fell into a greeuous maladie, and beeing carried to *Correge*, ended his life within fiftene dayes, expreſſing deuoutly ſomewhat affore his death, how greatly he was repented and remorſed of the vexations he had done to the Church, and beſought the Pope by a publike inſtrument to giue him pardon and abſolution, which being graunted whileſt he yet lyued, coulde not come to his knowledge by reaſon of the ſodennes of his death: He was a Captayne that in his life bare great authoritie in *Italie*, both by the ſingular credite of the Cardinall *Amboyſe*, and alſo for that he managed almoſt abſolutely the Duchie of *Millan* and all the armies of the king: But touching his habilitie or vallour, it was farre inferiour to ſo great a burden, the greatnes of his place carrying him into ſuche ſingularitie of

minde and weening, that not knowing of him ſelfe the arte and order of warre, he would not giue fayth to ſuche as were hable to inſtruct him: by whiche it happned that after the death of his vncle, his inſufficiencie beeing no more ſupported by countenance and fauour, he fell in his latter dayes almoſte into the diſdayne of the ſouldiours, notwithſtanding he ſuffred in them wonderfull inſolencies and licencious behauiours to ſtoppe them from yll reapporting him to the king: In ſo muche as *Triuulce*, a captayne trayned in auncient diſcipline, woulde oftentimes proteſt by othe, that he would neuer go more into the Frenche armies, vnleſſe the king marched in perſon, or at leaſt him ſelfe commaunded as cheefe: Neuertheleſſe the king was determined affore to ſende for his ſucceſſor, *Monſr Longeuille*, diſcended of the bloud royall, but a baſtarde borne, and not ſo muche eſteemed for his vertue, as for his diſcending and ryches. By the death of *Chaumont*, *Iohn Ia. Triuulce* remayned gouernour of tharmie by the prerogatiue that he was one of the foure *Mareshalls* of *Fraunce*, to whom, the generall beeing dead, the rule of tharmie apperteineth by the ſtatutes of *Fraunce* vntill the king do otherwiſe diſpoſe of it: And albeit, not knowing how long he ſhoulde be continued in that gouernment, he durſte not attempt any matter of conſequence: yet he returned with tharmie to *Sermidi* to go to the ſuccors of *Geniuola*, afore the which the Pope had not onely ſent his bands that were in *Romagnia*, but alſo had procured the *Venetian* fleete to approche at the ſame inſtant, which came thither with thirtene light gallies, and many other veſſelles of meaner burden: But he had no neceſſitie to paſſe further, for whileſt the landemen incamped about it with very litle obedience and order, there was diſcouered vpon a ſudden the Duke of *Ferrara* and the Lorde of *Chaſtillon* with the Frenche ſouldiours that were ledde out of *Ferrara* in greater numbers then were thenemies: and marching along the brinke of the ryuer of *Pavv*, and beeing come vp as farre as the ryuer of *Santerno*, they caſt the bridge which they had brought with them, and in one moment charged and confuſed thenemies, who, by reaſon of their diſorder beeing not hable to make reſiſtance, fell into one generall and voluntarie fleeing, ſauing three hundred Spaniſhe footemen whiche garded thartillerie: In which confuſion they loſte their enſignes and artilleries, many chieftaynes of the horſemen finding more ſafetie in the fortune and ſwiftnes of their horſes, then in their proper valours: By reaſon of this aduerſitie the *Venetian* fleete, to auoide the daunger that threatned, hoyſed ſayle into the winde, and ſo retyred into the ryuer of *Pavv*.

The affayres of the warres had theſe diuers proceedings, not expreſſing any aſſured token to iudge what would be the iſſue of it: The thoughts alſo of Princes were no leſſe diuerſe, and no leſſe incertayne, ſpecially the cogitations of *Cæſar*, who contrarie to all exſpectation, determined to ſende the Biſhop of *Gurce* to *Mantua* to negociate a peace.

It is ſet downe before that by the working of the Biſhop of *Gurce*, it was reſolued betwene Cæſar and the French king, to make ſtrong warre vppon the *Venetians* in the ſpring time, and withall, to call a councell, if the Pope conſented not to the obſeruation of the league of *Cambray*. To this *Cæſar* bearing a very vehement inclination, had ſince the returning of the Biſhop of *Gurce*, ſent to all his prelates of his eſtats patrimonial, to debate in what maner & in what place the coũcel ſhould be celebrated. But as he was of natural cõdition variable & inconſtant, & an enuior of the greatnes & name of the French, ſo making no leſſe vayne his proper promiſes then thexſpectation that others had of him, he declined afterwardes to inconſtancie, and liſtned to the perſwaſions of the king of *Aragon*, who conſidering that what by the

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vnitie of Cæsar with the French king, and the embasing of the *Venetians* by their common armies, and withall the ruine of the Pope by meane of the Councell, the French might rise into a greatnes too ielouse and suspected, laboured to perswade him that an vniuersall peace woulde fall out better for his purposes, so farreforth as by it he obteined eyther the whole or the greatest part of those peeces whiche the *Venetians* vsurped vpon him: he aduised him to sende to this effect, some notable personage to *Mantua* with full power, and labouring to induce the Frenche king to do the like, he promised that he would also sende thither, by which examples he alleaged that the Pope could not refuse to ioyne in the action, & lastly that he would not go agaynst the will of so many great Princes: he tolde him that vpon the resolution of the Pope, depended all the deliberations of the *Venetians*, in whom was a necessitie to followe his authoritie, as not beeing hable to stande alone: for which reasons it was to be hoped, that *Cæsar* without difficultie, without armes, and without increasing the reputation and might of the Frenche king, should to his perpetuall prayse, reobtayne his estate together with an vniuersall peace. And be it that it brought not foorth that succesſe which reasonably may be expected, yet he should not be depriued of meanes to moue the warre at the time appoynted, and with the same commodities and hopes: But beeing cheefe of all Christian princes, and protector of the church, his iustifications would be the more augmented, as also by suche a Councell would come the exaltation of his glorie, for that it woulde appeare to euery one, that as he principally had sought and desyred the peace and vnitie of Christians, so by the obstinacie and wicked counsels of others he was constrayned to make warre. These reasons no lesse by the grauitie of matter they expressed, then by thauthoritie of the personage from whom they came, were right acceptable to *Cæsar*, who at the same instant addressed letters to the Pope and to the French king: To the Pope, that he had determined to sende the Bishop of *Gurce* into *Italie*, for that (as apperteined to a Prince religious, being protector of the church and chiefe aboue Princes Christian) he was resolued in all that he might, to procure the tranquillitie of the sea Apostolike, and the vniuersall peace of Christendome: sommoning him, bearing thoffice of the high vicare of Christ, to ioyne and procede with him in the same intention, and to do that which belonged to the place & name of Pope, to thende he were not constrayned to haue recourse to other remedies, to establishe the peace of Christendome: That he did not allowe the practise that was made to depriue the Cardinalls that were absent, of their holy dignitie, for that being absent not to any euill ende, nor for hatred they bare to him, neither could they deserue so great a payne, neither was the authoritie of the Pope onely hable to impose it vpon them: He tolde him besides, that it was a matter very vnworthy and vnprofitable, in so great troubles to make creation of newe Cardinalls, since he was specially forbidden by the capitulations which the Cardinalls made with him when he was elected Pope: He desired him to reserue that office tyll times of better tranquillitie, when he should either haue no necessitie or no cause, to preferre to so great dignities none but persons well allowed of for their discression, their doctrine, and good life. To the French king he wrote, that according to his vertuous disposition alwayes inclined to embrace a good and assured peace, he was resolued to sende to *Mantua* the Bishop of *Gurce* to solicite a peace vniuersall, wherevnto he beleeued (with reasons and fundations not light nor vayne) that the Pope (whose authoritie the *Venetians* were constrayned to followe) would readily incline, the Embassadors of the king of *Aragon* concurring in thaction, and promising the like on the behalfe

of their king: Therfore he desired him to send thither likewise his Embassadors with full power, and in the generall assembly, the Bishop of *Gurce* should beseech the Pope to do the like, wherevnto if he made refusall, the Bishop should denounce the councell in the names of them all, hauing also giuen order that to make their procedings more iustifiable, and to put ende to all controuersies, the Bishop of *Gurce* shoulde indifferently vnderstande the reasons of euery one: onely in all accidentes that he should holde this for certayne, neuer to make any agreement with the *Venetians*, if at the same time were not resolued the controuersies which he had with the Pope. This solicitation pleased well the Pope, not for any desire he had to peace and concorde, but for that he perswaded him selfe to be hable to dispose the Senate of *Venice* to compounde with *Cæsar*, and so deliuering him from necessitie to remayne vnited with the French king: he supposed to seperate him from him, and the same easily to be made a cause of confederation of many Princes agaynst him. But the Frenche king stoode not a little discontented with these resolutions bothe newe and vnexspected, for that nothing hoping that an vniuersall peace would proceede of them, he iudged that the least euill that might happen, would be a protracting and delaying of thexecution of those things which he had agreed with *Cæsar*, he feared also that the Pope, promising to helpe *Cæsar* to reconquer the Duchie of *Millan*, and to indue the Bishop of *Gurce* with the dignitie of Cardinall and other graces ecclesiastike, would separate him from him: or at least, beeing the worker of the composition with the *Venetians* to the aduauntage of *Cæsar*, he might be put into necessitie to accept the peace with conditions dishoneſt: wherein one thing also that encreased his suspicion was, that *Cæsar* was newely confedered with the *Svvizzers*, notwithstanding for defence only: Besides, he occupied in himselfe this perswasion, that the king Catholike had bene the author of this newe counsell, of whose intention he doubted muche for many reasons: for he was not ignorant that his Embassador resident with *Cæsar*, made open trauell and solicitation to establish an accorde betwene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*: he beleeued that he gaue secrete encouragement to the Pope, in whose armie his companies and bandes of souldiours had remayned a longer time then he was bound vnto by the capitulations made touching thinuestiture of the kingdome of *Naples*: he was not ignorant that to giue impediment to his actions, he obiected him selfe manifestly agaynst the conuocation of the councell, and vnder cooller of modestie he blamed apparantly that with armed hand and in a time when *Italie* burned with an vniuersal fire of warre, there should be such negociation of a matter which without the concorde and consent of all Princes, could not bring forth but fruites full of venim and infection: lastly, he was well aduertised that he prepared a strong army by sea, with the which, albeit he published a brute, that he would passe in person into *Affrika*, yet it could not be decided whether he leauied that force for other endes: Wherein he was so muche the more suspicious, by howmuch his words were alwayes full of sweetnes and affabilitie: for he alwayes besought the king (as it were with a brotherly affection to make peace with the Pope, forsaking (if otherwise it coulde not be wrought) some peece of his owne rightes, both not to shewe himselfe a persecuter of the Churche contrarie to the auncient pietie and deuotion of the house of *Fraunce*: and also not to turne him from the warre which he had determined to make vpon the *Mores* in *Affrika* for thexaltation of the name of Christ: he added lastely, that albeit it had beene a perpetuall custome amongest Christian Princes, when they prepared armies agaynst infidells to demaunde succors of others in a cause so holy and honorable, yet for his part it suffised

fised him not to be hindred, and was content to require no other ayde but that *Italie* might remayne in peace: Whiche wordes notwithstanding they were caried to the Frenche king by his Embassadour, and pronounced by his owne mouth to the Frenche Embassadour resident with him, and that with great demonstration of amitie: yet it seemed that they conteined a secret protestation to take armes in fauor of the Pope: A matter which seemed not likely to the king that he durste do without hope to be hable to induce *Cæsar* to the same. These things troubled muche the kings mind, & filled him ful of many suspiciõs, fearing that to work the peace by the meane of the Bishop of *Gurce*, would be a thing no lesse vayne then preiudiciall vnto him: And yet, not to stirre vp *Cæsar*, he determined to sende to *Mantua* the Bishop of *Paris*, a Prelate of great authoritie and deepe knowledge in the science of the Lawes. These were the doubtes of the one king and the deceites of the other, the one full of deuises and the other not voyde of distruste: they both open in words, and yet kept both their intentions dissembled: A matter of familiar custome with Princes to interteine one an other with vayne hopes and artificiall feares.

All this whyle *Iohn Iacques Triuulce* remayned with tharmie at *Sermidi* dispersed into many places thereaboutes for the better commoditie of lodging and vittelles: And in this time he receyued signification from the king, that it was his will that the warre should be administred by him, with this limitation, that expecting the comming of the Bishop of *Gurce*, he shoulde abstayne from all violent action vpon the state ecclesiastike, the hardnes of the season beeing also agaynst it, by reason wherof it was impossible to incampe in the fielde notwithstanding Marche was nowe begonne: Therefore *Triuulce*, both for that he had no occasion to attempt any other enterprise, and for that he was in places so very neare, determined to deuise howe he might offende tharmie of thennemies, who being dispersed abroade when *Monsr Chaumont* returned from *Sermidi* to *Carpy*, moste parte of their footemen were lodged at *Bondin*, and the horsemen in the townes neare about *Finale*. But assoone as he had receyued his commission from the king, he marched the day after to *Stellata*, and the day following somewhat further, where he bestowed tharmie abrode in the villages thereabouts, and raysed a bridge of boates vpon the ryuer of *Pavv* betwene *Stellata* and *Ficquerolla*, hauing giuen direction to the duke of *Ferrara* to make an other a myle lower at the place which is called the poynt, beeing that breache or braunche of *Pavv* which goeth to *Ferrara*, & that also he should marche with thartillerie to the hospital, a place right oueragainst *Bondin*. In this meane while *Triuulce* was aduertised by his espials, that many trowpes of light horsmen of that part of the *Venetian* armie which lay on the other side *Pavv*, were the next night to approche *Mirandola* to dresse some ambushe: Agaynst whome he sent out secretly certayne horsmen, who being come vp to *Belair*, a plaine house in the contrey of *Mirandola*, found within it *Leonard Napolitain* capteine of the *Venetian* light horsmen, & a man of great place & reputation in tharmie: he nothing doubting that his enemies would discend so farre as to that place, was withdrawne thither onely with fiftie horse, and there expecting a greater strẽgth that was to follow, he with many of his were slain, their vallour not being able to resist the malice of their fortune. *Alfonso d'Este* came to the hospitall according to his direction, beginning the night following to imploy his artillery against *Bondin*: And at the same time, not omitting thoportunity of their felicitie, *Triuulce* sent *Guaston* lord of *Foix* the kings sisters sonne, a man very young and newly come to the armie the yeare before, to runne vp euen to the barres of thenemies campe, with an hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horsemen,

and fiue hundred footmen, with whom he put to flight fiue hundred footmen appoynted to garde that front or parte of the campe: By this example, bringing diſtruſte of greater perill, all the reſidue leauing *Bondin* vnder good garde, retyred into places of ſtrength on the other ſide the Canall. The counſayles of warre and enterpriſe carrie with them for the moſte parte a ſucceſſe variable and differing from exſpectation, for that no more in thoſe actions, then in any other mortall cauſes, the deuiſes of man can not be ſeparate from their imperfections: not one of the plottes of *Triuulce* ſucceeded as was looked for, for that thartillerie planted agaynſt *Bondin* made little exployte, both for the diſtance of the place (*Pavv* being betweene them) and alſo the ryuer beeing ſwelled and the riſing parte cutte of by them of *Bondin*, it ſo drowned the countrey that there was no poſſibilitie of paſſage from the front of the Frenche campe to *Bondin* but vpon barkes: In ſo muche as the Captayne diſpayring eftſoones to vſe the commoditie of that waye to diſtreſſe the lodging of thennemies, called from *Verona* two thouſande Launceknightes, giuing alſo direction to leauie three thouſande *Griſons*, the better to drawe neare them by the wayes of *Saint Felix*, in caſe the peace proceeded not by the working of the Biſhop of *Gurce*, whoſe comming had bene made ſomewhat the more ſlowe and delitorie, for that at *Sale* vppon the lake of *Garde* he had in vayne exſpected aunſwere from the Pope, whome he had prayed by letters to ſende Embaſſadours to negociate: At laſte he came to *Mantua* accompanied with *Dom Peter de Vree* ordinarily reſident with *Cæſar* for the king of *Aragon*: not manye dayes after arryued there the Biſhoppe of *Paris*, the Frenche kinge (who to be more neare the ſolicitations of peace, and the better to furniſhe his prouiſions for the warre, was nowe come to *Lyon*) perſwading him ſelfe that the Pope woulde alſo ſende thither and ioyne frankly in the action: But ſuche was his obſtinacie agaynſt the deuoute willes of all theſe great Princes, that he made greate inſtance to haue the Biſhop of *Gurce* to come to him: not ſo much that he thought it aunſwered thexſpectation of his dignitie Pontificall, as for that he hoped, that in loading him with honours, ceremonies, and promiſes, ioyned to the efficacie and authoritie of his preſence, he might raunge him, and make him conformable to his wyll, beeing nowe more eſtraunged then euer from peace and agreement, wherein to make the labour more eaſie, and the ſucceſſe agreable to hys deſyre, he ſolicited *Hierome Vich* whiche was of *Valence* and Embaſſadour reſident for the king Catholike, to goe on hys behalfe to the Biſhop of *Gurce*: The Biſhoppe of *Gurce* refuſed not to condiſcende to the Popes wyll, but he obiected, that it were good he woulde firſte take order for that that was to be done afterwardes, aſſuring that the difficulties woulde bee more eaſilye diſſolued and decyded, if the negociation were firſte managed at *Mantua*, with intention to goe afterwardes to the Pope with matters well debated and almoſte reſolued: He alleaged that this courſe he was bounde to take, no leſſe for the neceſſitie then for the facilitie of thinges: For, as it coulde not bee conuenient for him to leaue alone the Biſhoppe of *Paris*, whome the Frenche king had ſent to *Mantua* at the inſtance of *Cæſar*, ſo there was no hope he ſhoulde debate in thaffayres of his king, and no leſſe inconuenient to require him to goe with him to the Pope, ſeeing that neyther it aunſwered his commiſſion nor the dignitie of his king to goe to the houſe of thennemie affore their controuerſies were accorded, or at leaſt very neare to bee reſolued: Of the contrarie, the two Embaſſadors of *Aragon*, declared that the whole hope of peace making depended vppon the agreement and compoſing of the affayres

affayres of *Ferrara*, for that they beeing determined, and no more cause remayning to the Pope to sustayne the *Venetians*, they shoulde bee constrayned to yeelde to peace with suche lawes and conditions as *Cæsar* woulde: That the Pope pretended that the sea Apostolike had great and strong rightes ouer the citie of *Ferrara*, and did esteeme *Alfonso* to haue vsed towards him a great ingratitude, and had done him many vnworthy iniuries: That to abate and qualifie the rigor of his minde whiche was nowe full of displeasure, it was more conuenient that the subiect or vassall shoulde implore the clemencie of his Lorde, then to come and dispute of his iustice: For which reasons they perswaded that it was not only comely and honest, but also conuenient and necessarie, to go to him, in which iuste humilitie and submission they doubted not but he woulde diminishe a great parte of his rigour: They thought it not profitable that that diligence, that industrie, that authoritie whiche was to be imployed to dispose the Pope to peace, shoulde be consumed in perswasions tending to endes doubtfull: Lastely they added with very sweete wordes, that neither could matters haue their full disputation, nor the quarrells sufficiently searched into, vnlesse all the parties were together in full assistance. And that within *Mantua* was onely but one parte, for that *Cæsar*, the French king, and the king Catholike, were in suche vnitie of leagues, parentages, and amities, that in this action they were to be reputed as brethren, thintereste of euery particular beeing common to them all. What by these perswasions and other respectes more speciall and priuate, the Bishoppe of *Gurce* suffred him selfe to bee wonne to goe thither, with intention that the Bishoppe of *Paris* shoulde exspect at *Parma*, what woulde be the succesſe of his voyage. During these actions the Pope, notwithstanding all solicitation made apperteining to the peace, had not yet altered his thoughtes from the warre, interteyning the one with showes dissembled, and embrasing the other with desires burning and importunat: He supposed to surprise of newe the bastillion of *Geniuola*, recommending the charge of that enterprise to *Iohn Vitelli*: But aswell for the small and slowe paymentes that were made, the numbers of footemen were farre inferiour to thappoyntment, as also that all the countrey theteaboutes stoode ouerflowed bothe by the plentie of raynes that fell, and by the cutting of the rysinges of the ryuer of *Pavv*, there was nothing aduaunced: Besides, *Alfonso d'Este* was the stronger by water, who, with an armie of Gallies and Brigantins so charged the Venetian fleete neare *S. Albert*, that what with the furie of that encounter, and with the feare of an other fleete of lesser vesselles which they discerned sayling from *Comaccho*, they retyred to the porte of *Rauenna* with the losse of two sustes, two barbottes, and more then fourtie smaller vesselles: This accident disappoynted the Popes hope to take the Bastyllion, and therefore he returned those companies to the campe whiche lodged at *Finalo*, very muche weakened of the strength of footemen for that the paye was so small. About this tyme the Pope created eyght Cardinalles, partely to allure to him the myndes of Princes, and partly to arme him agaynst the threatnings of the Councell: Suche as he created were prelates learned and experienced, and as they bare in the Court of *Rome* a greate authoritie, so they were personages of speciall election, suche as he reappoſed moste suretie in: Of the number of this creation was the Archbyshoppe of *Yorke* Embassadour for the kinge of *Englande*, and the Byshoppe of *Syon*, the one beeing a man of importaunce to stirre vppe the *Swvizzers*, and the other beeing gracious with hys king, whom he hoped to kindle agaynst the Frenchemen: And to drawe on the Bishop of *Gurce* as it were with an earnest

penny certayne of the ſame dignitie, and with that hope to make him the more tractable to his deſyre, he reſerued to him ſelfe with the conſent of the Conſiſtorie, a power to name an other, ſuche a one as he had faſhioned already in his mynde. After he vnderſtoode that the Biſhop of *Gurce* had conſented to come to him, he determined to receyue him with great honour, wherein to expreſſe more office then theſtate of a Biſhop of *Gurce* coulde chalenge, and leſſe reſpect then apperteined to ſo ſupreme a dignitie as a high Biſhop of *Rome*, he went from *Rauenna* to *Bolognia*, to thende to ioyne the magnificence of the place to the reſidue of the honours he pretended: There he receiued him with pompes and ceremonies equall to the eſtate and dignitie of any king, the glory of his demonſtrations and ſhowes giuing great detection of his diſſembled minde. The Biſhop alſo for his parte expreſſed no leſſe pompe and magnificence, for that diſcending into *Italie* with the title of Cæſars liefetenant, he came accompanied with a very great trayne of nobilitie, all their bands and followers beeing ſumptuouſly apparelled. The Embaſſador of *Venice* reſident with the Pope came to meete him at the gate of the towne, making ſignes of very great ſubmiſſion: But he, with a wonderfull pride and arrogancie both in his geſtures and wordes, ſhewed him ſelfe not a little diſcontented that he that repreſented the ennemies of *Cæſar*, coulde not ſo muche brydle his impudencie and boldneſſe, as to forbeare to come in his preſence. With this pompe he went vp to the publike Conſiſtorie, where the perſon of the Pope attended hym with all the Cardinalls: There he expreſſed in ſhort ſpeeche, but with very hawty and proude wordes, that as *Cæſar* had ſent him into *Italie*, in a deſire to obteyne that that apperteined to him, more by the waye of peace then by the rigour of warre: ſo neuertheleſſe, there was no place or poſſibilitie for peace, if the *Venetians* made not franke reſtitution of thoſe things that belonged to him in any ſort ſoeuer. After he had declared thus much in publike audience, he deliuered no leſſe in priuat to the Pope, nothing abating his hawtines, and the day following he accompanied theſe ſeuere beginnings with actions no leſſe proude & arrogant: for the Pope hauing by his conſent appointed three Cardinals to negociat with him, the cardinall *S. George*, Cardinall *Regina*, and Cardinall *de Medicis*, who attended him at the houre aſſigned to meete together: he ſent three of his gentlemen to negociat with them, excuſing him ſelfe to haue other buſines, holding it in deede a matter of great indignitie to debate with any other then the Pope. This indignitie with many others the Pope ſwallowed ſweetely, thincredible hatred which he bare to the French, ſurmounting the diſpoſition of his nature. But in the accorde betwene *Cæſar* and the *Venetians* which began firſt to be drawne into diſputation, there were many difficulties: for albeit the Cardinall of *Gurce* who in the beginning had demaunded all the townes, conſented in the ende that *Padoa* and *Treuiſa* ſhould remayne to them with all their partes and appurtenances, yet he ſtucke to haue them giue to *Cæſar* in recompence a very great quantitie of money, and that they ſhould holde them of him in chiefe, and reſigne to him the rightes of the other townes: Matters which coulde neuer be agreed vnto by the Senate of *Venice*, wherein it was vniuerſally concluded, that it was better for their common weale, hauing already ſo fortified *Padoa* and *Treuiſa* that they feared not to looſe them, to preſerue and keepe their money, for that yf euer that tempeſt paſſed ouer, there might fall out ſome occaſion to recouer eaſily all the reſidue of their dominion. On the other ſide the Pope nouriſhed an importunate deſire to haue them agreed with *Cæſar*, hoping to make that an occaſion to eſtraunge him from the Frenche king, in which regarde he preſſed them partly by requeſtes,

requeſtes, and partly by threates, to accept the conditions that were offred them: But his authoritie was no more ſo great with them, not ſo much for that they were not ignoraunt from whence proceeded ſo great a deſire, as for that they knewe that their aſſociation and companie was ſo neceſſarie to him if he were not reconciled with the French king, that they made aſſured reckonings that he would neuer abandon them: Neuertheleſſe, after the trauell of many dayes and muche diſputation made, the Biſhop of *Gurce* abating ſomewhat of the harde conditions which he offred, and the *Venetians* yeelding more to the vehement inſtance of the Pope then they had determined, and withal thembaſſadors of the king of *Aragon* interpoſing in the action, it ſeemed they came at laſte to accorde, the *Venetians* (the better to retayne *Padoa* and *Treuiſa* by the conſent of *Cæſar*) paying huge ſummes of money, but referred to long tearmes: There reſted onely a meane to reconcile the Pope and the Frenche king, betweene whome appeared no other difference then for the quarrells of the Duke of *Ferrara*: and to reſolue them with the reſidue of the controuerſies (for without that Cæſar was determined to eſtabliſhe nothing) the Biſhop of *Gurce* went to ſpeake with the Pope (to whome he went but ſeldome) beeing perſwaded by the hopes whiche the Cardinall of *Pauia* and the Catholike kinges Embaſſadors had put him in, that it woulde be a matter of very eaſie action: And on the other ſide he knewe, that the Frenche king hauing leſſe regarde to dignitie then to tranquillitie, was diſpoſed to conſent to many thinges, which bare but little preiudice to the Duke of *Ferrara*: But the Pope on the contrarie cutting him off at the firſt, began to exhort him, that agreeing with the *Venetians*, he ſhoulde leaue at libertie the matters of *Ferrara*, ſeeming to be ſorie that Cæſar knewe not thoccaſion that offred, to be reuenged with the forces and money of an other, of ſo many great iniuries done agaynſt him by the French: and withall that he tarried to be required in a matter wherein reaſonably he ſhould beſeech others with great inſtance. To whiche things when the Biſhop of *Gurce* had replyed with many reaſons, ſeeing he was not hable to turne him from his opinion, he tolde him he would depart without giuing other perfection to the peace with the *Venetians*: And at the inſtant, hauing according to the cuſtome, kiſſed his feete, he departed the ſame day (beeing the xv. after his arriuall at *Bolognia*) to *Modona*, the Pope ſending after him in vayne to call him agayne, aſſoone as he was departed the Citie: from *Modena* he tooke his way towards *Millan*, complayning of the Pope for many things, but ſpecially for that whileſt by his comming into *Italie* there was almoſt a general ſurceaſſing frō armes, the Pope had ſent ſecretly the Biſhop of *Vintemille*, ſonne to the late Cardinall *Fregoſa*, to trouble the ſtate of *Genes*: neuertheleſſe the Frenche men ſette ſuch good eſpiall of his iorney, that they tooke him in the contrey of *Mountferat* all diſguiſed and vnknowen as he was, and from thence carried him to *Millan*, where he made manifeſt detection of the cauſe of his going, and the whole enterpriſe: his preſent perill driuing him to ſeeke his ſafetie more by diſcloſing then by excuſing. When the Biſhop of *Gurce* departed from *Bolognia*, he required the Embaſſadors of *Aragon* (ſeeming not a little diſcontented with the Popes obſtinacie) to ſee returned to the realme of *Naples* the three hundred Spaniſh launces: whervnto they condiſcended readily: A matter which made men to maruell the more, for that at the ſame time that the generall councell was in negociation, with exſpectation that the armies of *Fraunce* & *Germanie* accompanied with the preſence of their Princes, ſhould be moſt mightie in *Italie*, the Pope, beſides the yllwill of the French king, ſeperated *Cæſar* frō him, & ſtoode depriued of the ſuccors of the king Catholike. Some

doubted that in this action (as almost in al others) the counsels of the king of *Aragon* were different from his demonstrations, and that his Embassadors had practised one thing in publike, and an other thing in secret with the Pope: for that hauing prouoked the French king by new offences, and in the same giuen a new memorie to auncient wrongs, it seemed he ought to feare least the peace with all others came not to be the cause of great perills agaynst him, the *Venetians* remayning weakned of estate, of money, and of reputation, and *Cæsar* no more mightie in *Italie*, and more variable and prodigall then euer: Others that discoursed more suttelly and deepely of things, made this interpretation, that notwithstanding al protestations that the king Catholike made to abandon the Pope, yea though he reuoked his bandes, yet the Pope dwelt firmely in this confidence, that he would alwayes support and defende him in his greatest necessities, considering that the embasing of him could not but be preiudiciall to the king.

Within foure dayes after the departing of the Bishop of *Gurce*, the Pope sent after him the Scottish Embassador to debate of the peace with the french king, wherin theffect was no lesse frustrate, then the deuise and hope of the Pope were vayne: And as by his departing the hopes of the peace were left troubled, and lesse exspectation of agreement in so great a discorde of willes: so by his going away also did ceasse the causes that had so long lingred *Iohn Iacques Triuulce*, who thirsted in an honest ambition to do some thing worthy his vertue and auncient glory, and by the which he might induce the king to knowe, howe hurtfull it is to recommende the gouernment of warres (a matter aboue all other humaine actions moste paynefull and harde, and most requiring discression and experience) not to captaynes hable and trayned, but to young men vnexperienced, and of whose vertue there is none other thing to giue testimonie then fauour and countenance. Therfore continuing in his first resolutions, notwithstanding the foote bandes of the *Grisons* were not yet arriued (for the generall of *Normandy*, vpon whome depended thexpeditions, had deferred to sende men to leauie them, both hoping that the peace woulde go forwarde, and also seeking to auoyde expences to the king) he brought the campe affore *Concorda* in the beginning of May, conteining a thousande two hundred launces and seuen thousande footmen: he tooke it the same day he presented his campe affore it, wherein the securitie of the townesmen helped no lesse then his owne vallour, for that being made feareful with the first execution of thartillerie, whilest they sent Embassadors to make their composition with him, the footemen of his armie entred the towne and sacked it, the townes men beeing negligent in their garde, by the hope they had in their Embassadors that were sent out to capitulat for their safeties. After the taking of *Concorda*, to thende to giue no occasion to suche as enuyed him to charge him with partialitie, as respecting more his proper profite, then the kings seruice, he left *Mirandola* behinde him, and drewe towards *Bonport* (a village vpon the ryuer of *Panaro*) to approche so neare thenemie, as eyther to constrayne them to dislodge, or to fight out of their strength, and by the same meane to cut off their vittels and prouisions: As he was entred into the countrey of *Modena* and lodged in the village of *Cauesse*, he sent *Gaston de Foix* with three hundred footmen and fiue hundred horsmen, to do an enterprise vpon *Iohn Paule Manfron* that lay at *Massa* neare to *Finale* with three hundred light horsemen of the *Venetians*, who hearing of their comming put himselfe in battayle aray vpon a bridge: but the vallour of hys souldiours not answering his vertue and corage, he was made prisoner, being abandoned both of his fortune and fayth of his people. After this tharmie drawing neare

to *Bonport*, *Tryuulce* had an intencion to caſt a bridge there where the channel which is drawne from aboue *Modena* out of the riuer of *Panaro*, entreth into the riuer. But thennemie, to giue impediment to his paſſage ouer the riuer, was already incamped in a place ſo neare, that they diſtreſſed him with their artilleries wherwith Capteine *Perault* a Spanyard & commaunder within the Church armie, was killed, as he walked along the riſing of the riuer: In that place the banke is very high, by which help as it was eaſie to thennemie to diſtreſſe him: ſo *Tryuulce*, meeting with theſe impediments by a new councell, caſt his bridge ſomewhat higher, A myle onely aboue the channel: And hauing paſſed the channell he drewe towards *Modena*, marching along the riſing of *Panaro*, and ſeeking out a place where he might more eaſily caſt his bridge: But becauſe he ſaw alwayes affore him, bands of horſemen and footemen of his enemies, who were incamped neare to *Frankcaſtell* vpon the way of *Romagna* (but their lodgings all enuironed with bankes and waters) he came by the ſame way to the bridge of *Foſſalto* two myles neare to *Modona*, and there turning on the left hand towards the mounteine, he paſſed without impediment the foard of *Panaro* which in that place hath his channell very large and without bankes: from thence he encamped in a place called the beache of *Panaro* three myles from the armie Eccleſiaſtike: The day after he drew towards *Plumacce* being refurniſhed with vittells from them of *Modona* by the conſent of *Vitfruch*: And likewiſe the ſame day the armie Eccleſiaſtike, which durſt not preſent them ſelues in plaine field, ſuppoſing it very neceſſary to draw neare to *Bolognia*, the better to preuent all mutinies and ſtirres in that citie, the rather for that the famulie of the *Bentyuoleis* followed the french armie, went and incamped at the bridge of *Caſalecquo* three miles aboue *Bolognia*, A place very ſtrong and ſure, hauing his ſituacion betwene the riuer of *Rene* and the channel, And by the commoditie of the mounteine at his backe, it defendes *Bolognia* from all priuacion of the releeffe of the channell which comming from the riuer, paſſeth into that citie: This is that place wherein, in the dayes of our Auncеſtors *Ioh. Galeas Viſcounte*, the mighty Duke of *Myllan*, obteyned a moſt great victorie againſt the *Florentyns*, the *Bolognians* and other ſtates confedered, his numbers farre exceeding the ennemies: The day following *Frankcaſtell* was rendred to *Tryuulce*, who, after he had remeyned three dayes in the lodging of *Plumacce*, both for thimpediment of the raines that fell, and alſo to reuittell his people being then in great neceſſitie, he came to incampe vpon the high way betwene *Samoggia* and *Frankcaſtell*, where he ſtoode in great dout what he were beſt to doe for many difficulties that appeared to him in all deliberacions: for, he knew well enough that it would be to no purpoſe to execute any thing againſt *Bolognia*, if the people made no tumult within: And if he ſhoulde draw neare to it vnder hope of popular emotions, he feared he ſhould be compelled to retyre as *Chaumont* did, not without diminucion of his reputacion: And he knew that it would be a matter of greater perill and indiſcreſſion, to go fight with thennemies encamped in places of ſtrength and of aduauntage: And to make his approch to *Bolognia* on that ſide below, there was no other hope, ſauing that happly thennemies might remoue for feare leaſt he aſſayled *Romagnia*, in which might be offered ſome occaſion, eyther to him to fight, or to the people of *Bolognia* to make ſome tumult: Neuertheles in the ende after he had reſolued to make tryall, if eyther the vniuerſal diſpoſicion of the citie, or the particuler intelligences of the *Bentyuoleis*, would ſtand him in any ſteede, he led the army, the vauntgard guided by *Theodore Tryuulce*, the mayne battell by him ſelfe, and the reareguard by *Gaſton de Foix*, to encampe at the bridge of *Laine*, which is a place vpon the high way fiue myles from *Bolognia*, and

bearing a perpetuall renowme for the memorie of thenterviewe of *Lepidus*,*Mark. Antho.*and *Octauius*,who,by the teſtimonie of hiſtories,vnder the name of *Tryumuirat*,eſtabliſhed in that place the tyrannie of *Rome*, together with that proſcripcion which can neuer be blamed and deteſted enough: The Pope was not at this time at *Bolognia*,but ſince the departure of the Biſhop of *Gurce* beeing perplexed in varietie of thoughts and councells,ſometymes courage and ſometimes feare bearing dominion in him,aſſoone as he heard *Tryuulce* began to march(notwithſtanding the ſpaniſh launces were gone) he went from *Bolognia* to tharmie,to thend by his preſence to encourage the Capteines to giue battell to thennemies, to the which he coulde neuer diſpoſe them either by his letters, or labor of his Embaſſadors: he departed with intencion to lodge the firſt day at *Cente*,but he was compelled to lodge within the towne of *Pieua*, for that a thowſand of his footemen which were entred within *Cente*,refuſed to depart till they were ſatisfied of their payes: whereupon,being eyther made angry with this contempt,or happly looking more deepely into the preſent daunger, he altered his reſolucion returning eftſoones to *Bolognia* where his feares ſo redoubled vpon him by thapproching of *Tryuulce*, that being determined to goe to *Rauenna*,he ſent for the Magiſtrates to whom he occupied theſe perſwaſions: That by the benefit of the ſea Apoſtolike and by his meane and labor they had ſhaked of a yoke of moſt greeuous tyrannie, and had obteyned libertie with many exemptions,beſides many graces both publike and priuat which they had receiued and were to receiue of him in particuler: by which meane, in place where before they were holden oppreſſed with moſt hard ſeruitude, and ſo embaſed and troden downe by tyrants,that in other partes of *Italy* there was no reputacion of them,now they were rayſed into honor & riches,their citie repleniſhed with all ſortes of trades and marchandiſes,and ſome of them eſtabliſhed in right worthy and high dignities: In ſo much as now,their fortune being chaunged, they bare an vniuerſall reputacion in euery place,they ſtoode free of themſelues,abſolute Lords of *Bolognia*,and the whole territorie,the offices and honors being in their handes,and the publike reuenues of their citie in their free diſtribucion: onely the Church hath but the name,& keepeth there for ſigne of ſuperioritie a Legat or gouerner,who muche leſſe that without them can deliberat of any matter of importance,ſeeing that for ſuch cauſes as are referred to his arbitracion, he communicateth ordinarily with them,ſubiecting him ſelfe to their aduiſe and wills: That if for theſe benefits and proſperities, there remeyned in them any deſire to defend their propper libertie, they ſhoulde receiue of him no worſe ſuccour,comfort,and protection, then he would miniſter to the citie of *Rome* ſtanding in the like neceſſitie: That though thimportance of the preſent affayres conſtreyned him to goe to *Rome*, yet,he neyther did nor would forget to prouide for the ſewertie and ſauetie of *Bolognia*: That for that regard,he had giuen direction that the *Venetian* bandes which lay on the other ſide *Pavv* with *Andrevv Gritti* and to that ende caſt the bridge at *Sermydy*, ſhould come to ioyne with tharmie: That albeit his prouiſions were very able and ſufficient to defende them, yet he coulde not reſt contented, nor ſatisfied, if withall he left them not deliuered from the troubles of the warre: In which reſpect, to driue the french men into neceſſitie to defend their owne things,there were already leauyed x.thowſand *Svvyzzers* to diſcend vpon the Duchie of *Myllan*, And for their better prouiſion and expedicion he had ſent twenty thowſand duckats to *Venice*, the *Venetians* preparing the like ſumme: Neuertheleſſe if they had rather returne vnder the ſeruitude of the *Bentyuoleis*,then to enioy the ſweetnes of the libertie of the Church,he deſired them

to

to expresse frankely what mindes they bare, for that he would make him selfe conformable to their likings: onely he tolde them that if they had any resolucion to defend them selues, the time now was very conuenient not onely to expresse their vertue, but also to make bownd to them for euer, the sea Apostolike, himselfe, and all the succession of Popes that shoulde come after him. To this forme of perswasion pronownced (according to his custom) with more feruencie then eloquence, after they had debated amongest them selues in councell, the President of the gouernment made aunswer in the name of the whole, not forgetting with wordes of great boasting to magnifie their faith, their thankfulnes to benefits, and their perpetuall & infinit deuocion to his holines and name: That they were not ignorant of the happy estate wherein they stoode, and how much, since the expulsing of Tyrants, their wealth had bene augmented, together with the worship of their citie: That where before their liues and hauiors were miserably subiected to the commaundement of others, now by the benefit of peace and tranquillitie they liue in sewertie, their liues without feare, and their goods without perill of execucion, their persons pertaking in the gouernment & in the reuenues: That there was not one amongest them who had not particularly receiued of him many graces and honors: That they sawe renewed in their citie the dignitie of Cardinallship, and many of their Citizens furnished with the principall offices of the Court of *Rome*: In recompense of which singuler benefits, they bare mindes disposed to consume all their goods, to weare and wast their proper liues, and to put in peril the honor and sauetie of their wife & children, rather then to fall any ioate from the deuocion of the sea Apostolike: Therefore they desired him to depart, no lesse happie then glad, nourishing neither feare nor ielousie touching the things of *Bolognia*, for that he should sooner heare that al the channell should swimme with the blood of the people of *Bolognia*, then that city should call vpon other name or obey other Lord then Pope *Iulio*. The man that aspireth is credulous in all thinges that are conformable to his hope, yea sometymes his ambicion makes him beleeue contrary to reason or wisedom: These words protested more in glory then with good meaning, gaue to the Pope a greater hope then was conuenient, And leauing there the Cardinall of *Pauia*, he went to *Rauenna*, not by the high way although he was accompanied with the spanish launces which returned to the realme of *Naples*, but for feare of the Duke of *Ferrara*, he tooke the way of *Furly*, which further about, he went from *Bolognia* better satisfied then well assured, and could not but expect of them fidelitie and confidence whom he had vndiscretly left to their libertie and discression: After *Triuulce* was come to the bridge of *Laine*, the citie of *Bolognia* began to declare an vniuersall murmure, the mindes of men being repleniished with diuerse impressions and thoughts: some accustomed to the libertie of tyrannie, and to liue of the goods and states of others, desired vehemently the returne of the *Bentyuoleis*, hating already the gouernment Ecclesiastike: some, aswel for the harmes they had already receiued, as for the feare of further hurtes, seing two such armies vpon their landes and ready to cut downe their harueſt, desired all thinges by the which they might be deliuered from such ruines: others, affore whose eyes stoode yet the memorie of the french insolencies, executed in their citie vnder *Monsr Chaumont*, and fearing now least by their wel speeding the citie drawing into tumult, might come to be sacked, seemed not to care into what gouernment or iurisdiction they fell, so that in it they might be assured to be deliuered from such daungers: There were very few that affore had declared themselues enemies to the famulie of *Bentyuoley*, which now fauored the iurisdiction of the Church, and that

more in ſhew then in good meaning: In ſo much that the whole being drawne into armes, ſome for deſire of innouacion and chaunge, and ſome for their proper ſewertie, All thinges were full of feare and confuſion: The Cardinall of *Pauia* and Legat reſident in *Bolognia*, had neither courage nor councell ſufficient for ſuch a daunger: Beſides, in a citie ſo great and populous, he hauing no more but two hundred light horſemen and a thowſand footemen, and being at that time more then euer at variance with the Duke of *Vrbyn* who lay with tharmie at *Caſalecqua*, he had eyther at aduenture or by deſtinie leauyed and payed fiueteene Capteines of the Citizens, to whom, together with their companies and with the people, he had committed the garde of the towne: it ſeemed he vſed no great regarde in the election of theſe Capteines, for that the moſt part of them were of the faction of the *Bentyuoleys*, but principally *Lavvrence Arioſto*, who, being firſt impriſoned and racked at *Rome* for ſuſpicion of conſpiracie with the famulie of *Bentyuoleys*, ſuffered afterwards a long impriſonment in the caſtell of *S. Ange*: The people after they had once their weapons in their handes, began to draw to aſſemblies, and make ſecret conuenticles ſpreding through the towne new ſlaunders: Their manifeſt rebellion began to make the Legat ſee too late into his owne indiſcreſſion, And to auoyde the perill whereunto he had brought him ſelf, he appoynted that the new Capteines with their bands ſhould goe to the armie fayning too late that the Duke of *Vrbyn* would it ſo: But they aunſwering that it was not reaſonable they ſhould abandon the gard of their towne, he proued to bring in capteine *Ramaſſote* with a thowſand footemen, which the people would not ſuffer: Theſe manifeſt contempts made the Cardinall both a coward & deſperat being vnable by perſwacion and pollicie to releeue the perill which he had put vpon him ſelfe not by fortune, but by negligence: Therefore remembring how hateful his gouernment was to the people, and him ſelfe no leſſe deteſted of the Nobles, for that not longe affore vnder the Popes commaundement and power royall as he ſayd, he had cut of the heades of three honorable Citizens: he ſtoale out of the pallaice by a ſecret way and in diſguiſed habits, and ſo ſuddeinly withdrew him ſelfe into the Citadell, that he forgot to cary with him his Iewells and money, which he ſent for in haſte after, And ſo went out by the gate towards *Imola* accompanied with a band of horſemen led by *Guido Vaine* who had maried his ſiſter and was Capteine of the horſemen appoynted for his garde: A litle after him went out of the Citadell *Octa. Fregoſa* without other companie then a guide, they both ſuffering one fortune as they were both followers of one cauſe: The fleeing of the Legat was no ſooner knowne in the towne, then throughout the whole citie the name of the people was cryed and called vpon with great tumult and emocion: an occaſion which *Arioſto* not willing to loſe together with *Frauncis Riuucci* one of the fiueteene Capteines & affected to the *Bentyuoleis*, they tooke many of their followers and faction and roone to the gates of *S. Felix* and *Lama* moſt conuenient for the campe of the frenchmen, which they brake open with barres and hatchets, and being poſſeſſed of them they ſent immediatly to call the *Bentyuoleis*: And they receiuing of *Triuulce* many french horſemen to auoyd the high way of the bridge of *Rene* which was garded by *Raphaell de Paſſi* one of the Capteines of the Church, they paſſed the riuer more lowe, and approching the gate of *Lama* were let in, their gladnes being nothing inferior to their fortune: To this rebellion of *Bolognia* was added the breaking and fleeing away of the armie: for, about three of the clocke in the night, the Duke of *Vrbyn* whoſe bandes of ſouldiours ſtretched out from the bridge of *Caſalecqua* vntill the gate of *Saragoſſe*, hearing of the fleeing of the Legat & mutinies of the people, left the moſt

part

part of his tents and pauilions pitched, and in great haſt went away with the whole armie, except thoſe that being appoynted for the garde of the campe, were on that ſide the riuer towards the french men, to whome his haſte would not ſuffer him to giue knowledge of his diſcamping: it is ſeldom ſeene that one aduerſitie commeth alone, and it is found in all ages and times that when ills begin to fall, they thunder all at once: for, the *Bentyuoleis* being now entred the towne, hearing of the breaking vp of the campe, gaue preſent aduertiſement to *Triuulce*, and ſent out of the towne a part of the people to diſtreſſe them: By whom and by the multitudes of payſants which diſcended on all partes with rude cryes and brutes, their campe that paſſed along the walls was aſſailed, their artilleries and municions taken from them, and the moſt part of their baggage ſpoyled: notwithſtanding the french that by this tyme were come to the medley tooke from the people & payſants by force and violence, the thinges they had rauiſhed from others with the perill of their liues: By this time alſo *Theoder Triuulce* with the vauntgard was arriued at the bridge of *Rene*, where *Raphaell Paſſi* with ſinguler vallour made head long time againſt his enemies, but being ouercharged both with numbers and fortune, he was at laſt taken priſoner, hauing giuen by the reſiſtance he made, a notable oportunitie to the Church ſouldiours to ſaue them ſelues: But the *Venetian* companies and the bandes of *Raſſotte* which lay vppon the hill aboue *S. Luke*, hauing but very late knowledge of the fleeing of the Duke of *Vrbyn*, ſought their ſaueties by the wayes of the mounteines, by the which notwithſtanding they receiued great harmes, they got at laſt into *Romagnia*: In this victorie wonne without fighting, were taken fiueteene peeces of great artillerie, and many of leſſer ſort, belonging both to the Pope and to the *Venetians*: certeine men at armes of the Church ſpoyled and ſtripped together with an hundred and fifty of the *Venetians*, and almoſt all the footemen of both the one and the other armie diſperſed: There remeyned priſoners *Vrſin de Mugnano*, *Iulia Manfron*, with many other Capteines of meane condicion: within *Bologna* there was not a man ſlaine, nor any violence done eyther to the Nobles or to the Commons, only there were made priſoners, the Biſhop of *Cluſo* together with many other Prelats, Secretories, and officers which were about the Cardinall and remeyned ſtill in his pallaice for that he had kept from them his departing: The ſame night & the day following the people fell vpon an image of braſſe being the Popes picture, which they trayled along the market place in great ſkorne and mockerie, vſing no more reuerence to the Image, then they bare affection to the perſon that it repreſented: the cauſe of this inſolencie was referred either to the ſouldiours of *Bentyuoley* who could not be gouerned, or elſe to the humor of the people, who bearing a nature vnthankefull and deſirous of new things, and no leſſe weary with the trauells and harmes of the warre, bare hatred to the name and memorie of him that had bene the cauſe of the libertie and felicitie of their contrey: The day after which was the xxij of Maye *Tryuulce* ſtayed in his lodging, and the day following, leauing *Bologna* behind him, he drew to the riuer of *Adice* and afterward ſtayed at the borow of *S. Peter* which is a frontyer vpon the territories of *Bologna*, exſpecting before he marched further, what would be thintencion of the french king, whether he would execute any further action vpon the ſtate of the Pope, or elſe contenting him ſelfe to haue reaſſured *Ferrara* and taken from the Church the citie of *Bologna* which he had gotten by his meanes, he would eſtabliſh there the courſe of his victorie: By reaſon of this temporiſing, although *Saſſatella* the Popes Capteine and who hauing chaſſed oute of *Imola* the faction *Gibeline*, commaunded that citie as chiefe of the *Guelffes*, made him ſecret offers to

put into his handes the citie of *Ymola*, yet he refuſed to accept it till he had the kings aunſwer: There reſted onely the Citadell of *Bolognia* wherein was the Biſhop of *Vitelli*, A Citadell large and ſtronge, but manned and furniſhed according to the cuſtom of the fortreſſes of the church, conteining but a very ſlender ſtrength of footemen, very ſmall prouiſion of vittells, and almoſt no municions at all: Whileſt it was holden beſeeged, *Vitfruch*, being certefied of the ſucceſſe of *Bolognia*, was come from *Modona* by night to perſwade the Biſhop with great promiſſes and offers to deliuer it to *Cæſar*: But the Biſhop, hauing the fift day compownded with them of *Bolognia* that the liues and goods of ſuch as were within ſhould be ſaued, and receiued obligacion that within a time certeine they ſhould pay him three thowſand duckats, deliuered it vp into their handes: And they were no ſooner poſſeſſed of it, then they ronne by heapes to diſmantle and reuerſe it, the *Bentyuoleis* ſtirring them to thaction, not ſo much to winne fauor with the citizens, as for feare leſt the french king would withhold it, ſome of his Capteines being already of a councell to demaunde it: But *Tryuulce* would neuer giue his conſent, for that he thought it would be a thing contrary to the kinges profit to giue occaſion to thinke that he had deſire to make him ſelfe Lord of *Bolognia*: By the occaſion of this victorie, the Duke of *Ferrara* recouered beſides *Cento* and *Pieua*, *Cotignuola*, *Lugo* and the other townes of *Romagnia*: expulſing at the ſame time *Albert Pie* who poſſeſſed them in common with him.

It was reaſonable, that the Pope ſhoulde receiue greate diſcontentments for the loſſe of *Bolognia*, not onely for that the citie of moſt importance through the whole ſtate Eccleſiaſtike next to *Rome*, was taken from him, wherein he ſuffered priuacion of that glory which he had gottē in conquering it, which was no leſſe great towards men then moſt principall and great in his owne conceite: but alſo for feare leſt the ſame fortune and felicitie which in that action had made his enemie happy, would
« not eftſoones allure him to purſue his victorie further: ſuch be the variacions of
« mindes poſſeſſed with dowtes and feare, and ſuch the mocions and ſuggeſtions of a
« conſcience troubled and infected: he knew if the armie ſhould proſecute the courſe of their victorie, there was in him no abilitie of reſiſtance, And ſeeking to remoue all occaſions that might prouoke them to paſſe further: he ſolicited that the remeinders of the *Venetian* ſouldiours already reuoked by the Senat, ſhould embarke at the port of *Ceſena*, and for the ſame cauſe he ſent to haue reſtored to him the xx. thowſand duckats, which remeyned yet in *Venice* being ſent thether affore to ſtirre vp the *Swyzzers*: Moreouer he gaue order that the Cardinall of *Nantes* A *Britton* by nation, ſhould as it were of him ſelf, ſolicit *Tryuulce* to peace, perſwading that the time was then conuenient to worke it: But the Cardinall made aunſwere that it was not conuenient to proceede in that generalitie, but rather to come expreſſely to perticularities: he told him that when the king deſired peace, he did offer the condicions, and that it was now no leſſe neceſſary for the Pope to doe the like, the eſtate of the affayres ſo requiring, and his preſent fortune nothing impugning: The Pope vſed this maner of proceeding, more to auoid the preſent daunger, then for any deſire he had to haue peace, ſtriuing in him at one time feare, obſtinacie, hatred, and diſdaine: And with theſe paſſions was concurrant at the ſame tyme an other accident that hapned redoubling in him his ſorowes, and making him ſuſpect and feare further: There were brought to him many accuſacions againſt the Cardinall of *Pauia*, ſome charged him with infidelitie, ſome impoſed vpon him cowardiſe, and ſome blamed him of negligence, euery one thinking to make his fault the greater by the varietie of their imputacions: he came to *Rauenna* to make his owne iuſtificacion, and ſent

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to the Pope to signifie his comming and to haue assignacion for audience: to whom the Pope, whose gladnes for his comming was nothing inferior to the affection he bare him, made aunswer that he should come to dine with him: But as he was going to the Popes pallaice, being accompanied with *Guido Vaine* & the gard of his horsemen: The Duke of *Vrbyn*, both for an auncient hatred he bare him, and also for a suspicion that the reuolt of *Bolognia* hapned through his fault, by which occasion followed the fleeing of the armie, followed him with a small traine: And thrusting in amongest his gard of horsemen who for reuerence sake made him place, he slew the Cardinall with his owne handes: he might happly seeme worthy for the degree he held, vpon whom violent handes should not be layed, but touching his infinit vices, he deserued most cruell punishment, his faultes being farre greater then the opinion that went on them, & his vertues farre lesse then were conuenient for such a profession: Assoone as the report of his death was brought to the Pope, he began to lamēt with miserable cryes and complaynings, being not a litle moued for the losse of a Cardinall so deare to him, but much more touched that such a holy dignitie fell into violacion almost euen affore his eyes, by the handes of his owne Nephew, & with an example not vsed: A matter so much the more greeuous to him, by how much he made profession to preserue & exalt the authoritie Ecclesiastike: These sorowes he was not able to beare, and much lesse to temper his furie, in which respect, as also with the presence of the place to pretermit the memorie of the fact, he departed the same day from *Rauenna* to returne to *Rome*: And, to thende that at one time he were enuyroned on all partes with infinit calamities, he was no sooner arriued at *Rymyny*, then he had aduertisement that within *Modena*, within *Bolognia*, and in many other cities, there were fixed and set vp many placards in publike places, by the which was denownced to him the conuocacion of the councell, with citacion to go thether in person.

For, as the Bishop of *Gurcy*, after he was gon from *Modena*, had trauelled certeine dayes by easie iorneies, exspecting the aūswer of the *Skottish* Embassador, who went from him to *Bolognia* for affayres which the Pope him selfe had propownded: so, he being eftsoones returned with aunswers very vncerteine, the Bishop of *Gurcy* dispatched immediatly to *Myllan* in the name of *Cæsar* three Proctors, who, ioyning with the Cardinalls and with the Proctors of the french king, published the councell to be celebrated the first daye of September next in the citie of *Pysa*: The Cardinalls made choyse of *Pysa*, as a place no lesse conuenient for the oportunitie of the sea, for those that were there to assemble, then of speciall sewertie for the confidence the french king had in the *Florentyns*: And withall for that many other places, which though they might haue bene capable of such an assembly, yet they were eyther inconuenient or suspected, or at least the Pope might refuse them with iust cooller: There had bene no conueniencie to assemble it in *Fraunce* or in other place of the kinges obedience, and *Constance* one of the free townes of *Germany* recommended by *Cæsar*, seemed for this action to beare no indifferencie, notwithstanding it had bene made notable by that worthy councell, wherein three Popes were deposed, and the schisme confounded that had continued for fortye yeares in the Churche: And in *Thurin* was more matter of suspicion to both partyes for the neighbourhood of the *Svvyzzers* and the estates of *Fraunce*: *Bolognia* affore it was out of thobedience of the Churche was not sure for the Cardinalls: and, now it standes in the lyke case for the regarde of the Pope: Moreouer in the election of the towne of *Pysa* was partely respected the felicitie of an example paste touchinge

the memorye of two councells which had beene there right happely celebrated: the one, when almoſt all the Cardinalls who abandoned *Gregorye* the twelue and *Benet* the xiij quarrelling together for the Popedom, choaſe Pope *Alexander* the v. celebrating the councell in that citie: And the other which was long tyme before celebrated in the ſame place about the yeare a thowſande one hundred and xxxvj. by *Innocent* the ſecond, at ſuch tyme as *Peter Leon Antipape* of *Rome* was condemned, who making him ſelfe be called *Anacletus* the ſeconde, with ſuche a ſchiſme had not onely much troubled *Innocent*, but alſo all the regions of Chriſtendom: The *Florentyns* had affore accorded *Pyſa* to the french king, who required it of them, giuing them to vnderſtand that *Cæſar*, no leſſe then he, was the Author of the conuocacion of the councell, the king of *Aragon* alſo conſenting and concurring in it: In this action the *Florentyns* deſerue to be prayſed, more perhaps for their ſilence, then for their wiſedome or conſtancie: for, eyther not hauing the courage to deny the king the thinge that was greeuous to them, or not conſidering howe many difficulties and daungers might growe vppon them by a councell which was celebrated agaynſt the Popes will, they helde ſo ſecrete that deliberacion that was made in an aſſembly or councell of more then an hundred and fifty Citizens, that the Cardinalls to whom the french king gaue hope of their conformetie, were neuer aſſured that they had accorded, neyther had the Pope any knowledge of it: The Cardinalls pretended that the councell might be iudicially called by them, without thauthoritie of the Pope, for the preſent neceſſitie (as they ſayd) that the Church had, to be reformed not onely in her members, but alſo in her heade, meaning the perſonne of the Pope: They publiſhed him to be ſo hardned in ſimonie, and corrupted with maners infamous and damnable, both vnfit to gouerne the Papacie, and Author of ſo many vniuſt warres, that he was incorrigible, to the vniuerſall ſlaunder of all Chriſtendom, for the ſauetie and preſeruacion of whome there was no other medicine ſufficient then the conuocacion of a councell: whereof ſeeing the Pope made no care, they alleaged that the full and legittimat power of conuocacion was diuolued to them, ſpecially thauthoritie of the elect Emperour being adioyned, and the conſent of the right Chriſtian king, together with the Cleargie of *Germany* and *Fraunce* concurring: They perſwaded, that to vſe often this medicine, was a meane not onely profitable but neceſſary for the diſeaſed bodie of the Church both to roote out the olde errours, and to reſiſt ſuch others as would of newe budde vp: To explayne and interpret the dowtes which dayly hapned, and to correct thinges which though in the beginning were ſownd and well ordered, yet in that tryall they appeared pernicious by experience: That for theſe reaſons the auncient fathers, in the councell of *Conſtance*, had wholeſomely enacted and prouided, that for alwayes afterwardes the councell ſhould be celebrated from ten yeares to ten yeares: The Popes had no other bridle then this, to holde them from going out of the right way: And without this, weighing with the naturall frailtie of men, the many inticements which nature breedes in vs to doe euill during our life, what ſewertie could remeyne to kingdoms and regions, if he that tooke to him ſelfe all liberty and licence, might ſtand exempted from all authoritie, and were aſſured that he ſhould neuer come to giue a reckoning of him ſelfe: On the other ſide, many occupied theſe reaſons, pertaking more with the doctrine of the Diuines, then of the Cannoniſtes, that the authoritie to call councells was inueſted onely in the perſon of the Pope: yea though he were infected with all vices, if onely he were not ſuſpected of hereſies: That if the holy authoritie were otherwayes interpreted, it would reſt in the power of a few, eyther for ambi-

ambicion or for perticuler hatreds, couering their wicked intencions with falſe coolers, to alter and chaunge dayly the peaſible eſtate of the Church: A matter which ought not to be conſented no leſſe for the preiudice, then for the ill example it brought: They alleaged that be it that all medicines were wholeſome, yet if they were not miniſtred with due proporcions, and in tymes conuenient, they bare more of poyſon then of medicine: By which reaſons condemning all thoſe that had other opinions, they called this aſſemblie not a councell, but matter to deuide and ſeperat the vnitie of the ſea Apoſtolike, A beginning of ſchiſme in the Churche of God, and a councelling of Deuills.

The ende of the nynth Booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE TENTH BOOKE.

After the taking of Bolognia, the french armie returneth to the Duchie of Myllan: The councell that was to be holden at Pyſa againſt the Pope, is transferred to Myllan, where many ſtirs happen: The Popes armie beſeegeth Bolognia: The frenchmen take Breſſia: The battell is giuen at Rauenna: The Pope publiſheth the councell at Rome: And afterwards the affayres of the french begin to decline.

THE TENTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

THE ſucceſſe of the victorie hapning vpon the french king, drewe all Chriſtendom but principally the vniuerſall regions of *Italy*, to exſpect (in greate dowt of minde) what he would further deliberat of his fortune: for, euery one gaue this iudgement that it was in his power to make him ſelfe Lorde of *Rome* and the whole ſtate Eccleſiaſtike, both for that all the Popes regiments together with the *Venetians* were diſperſed and almoſt diſſolued, and alſo there remeyned not in *Italy* other armies able to make reſiſtance agaynſt the furie of the Victor: And as for the Pope, ſeeming onely to be defended with the name & Maieſtie of the place, he ſtoode in all other regardes reduced to the diſcreſſion of fortune, his reſolucion of mind only remeining to ſupport the aduerſitye of his eſtate: Neuertheleſſe the french king, eyther the reuerence which he bare to religion reteyning him, or the feare to ſtirre vppe other Princes againſt him driuing him to vſe a moderacion in his fortune, determined not to vſe thoccaſion of his vi-

The fr. armie returneth to the Duchie of Myllan.

ctorie, but with a councell perhaps more religious then profitable, he addreſſed his commaundements to *Ioh. Iac. Tryuulce*, to returne with the armie to the Duchie of *Myllan*, leauing *Bolognia* to the *Bentyuoleis*, and making reſtitucion of all other peeces which he occupied of the Church: To theſe actions ſo gracious and affable, he added wordes and demonſtracions no leſſe acceptable and full of pietie: for, he forbad throughout his Realmes to make any publike ſignes of gladnes, And proteſted oftentymes in the preſence of many, that notwithſtanding he had nothing committed againſt the ſea Apoſtolike, nor againſt the perſon of the Pope, And much leſſe done any thing but by prouocacion and conſtraint: yet, he would come to humilitie with the Pope, and for the reuerence and deuocion he bare to that ſea, he would ſue for pardon where he had done no offence: he perſwaded him ſelfe that the Pope, knowing by experience what were the difficulties of his conceites, and being reaſſured of the ſuſpiciō which he had of him without occaſion, would with all his hart come to deſire peace, the practiſe and negociacion whereof had not bene altogether giuen ouer, ſeeing the Pope, ſince he parted from affore *Bolognia*, had for that occaſion ſent to the king, thē baſſador of the king of *Skotland*, continuing to ſolicit the ſame points which by the ſame Biſhop had bene begon to be debated with the Biſhop of *Gurce*: In this diſpoſicion to peace ioyned alſo the famulie of the *Bentyuoleis*, who, notwithſtanding they followed thauthoritie of the king, yet they ſignified to the Pope, that much leſſe they would expreſſe contumacie and rebellion to the Churche, ſeeing they layed them ſelues downe with ready and franke mindes to liue and dye in that ſubiection wherein their fathers had continued by ſo many yeares: And in token thereof they did not onely ſette at libertie the Biſhop of *Cluſe*, but according to the auncient vſage, they lodged him in the pallayce as Liefetenant to the ſea Apoſtolike.

Tryuulce departed with tharmie and drew neare to *Mirandola* to recouer it, notwithſtanding at the requeſt of *Iohan. Fran. Piqua*, *Vitfruch* was entred vnder cooller to hold it in the name of *Cæſar*, And by proteſtacion had ſent to require *Tryuulce*, that becauſe it was of the iuriſdiction of th Empire, he ſhould abſteine from all violent action: But finding in the ende that his vayne authoritie was not ſufficient, he went his way, *Tryuulce* giuing him onely certaine promiſſes more honorable for *Cæſar* in ſhewe then in effect: The like did *Iohn Fran.* after he had ſafeconduit for goods and life: And *Triuulce*, hauing to follow no other expedicion, ſent to the gard of *Verona* fiue hundred launces and a thowſand three hundred launceknights vnder Capteine *Iacob*: And reſeruing to him ſelfe two thowſand fiue hundred *Gaſcoins* vnder the regiment of Capteine *Molard* and *Mangiron*, which, with the companies of the men at armes, he ſent diſperſed into the townes of the Duchie of *Myllan*, he gaue leaue & diſmiſſed all the other bandes of footemen: But to the deſire and hope of the king was nothing agreeable the diſpoſicion of the Pope, who riſing into a newe courage by the reuoking of the armie, And being euery day made more hard and obſtinat by the thinges that in deede ſhould haue made him more eaſie and tractable, ſeing withall that at *Rymyny* where he yet remeyned he laye tormented with the gowte: In the middeſt of ſo many perplexeties he ſette downe more in the perſonne of a Victor then one that was vanquiſhed, and that by the meane and working of the ſame *Skottiſhe* Embaſſador, That the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhoulde paye to him hereafter, the tributes which he was wont to paye before the diminucion whiche had bene made by Pope *Alexander*: That the Churche ſhoulde holde a *Viſdomino* in *Ferrara*, as the *Venetians* dyd before: And that there ſhould

bee rendered to him *Lugo* with the other townes which *Alfonso d'Este* possessed in *Romagnia:* These condicions notwithstanding they seemed to the kinge no lesse greeuous, then to holde too muche of iniquitie, yet the desire to haue peace with the Pope preuailing aboue all other respectes, he made aunswere that he was contented to consent to all those demaundes, so farre forth as *Cæsar* might also condiscend and concurre in them: But the Pope being now returned to *Rome*, seemed with the place to chaunge both councell and will, the perswasions of the king of *Aragon* helping no lesse then his naturall lightnes and mutabilitie: for, the king of *Aragon*, whome the late victorie of the french king had confirmed in very great suspicion, had suddeinly layde aside all the great preparacions which he had made to passe in person into *Afryca* where he menteyned continuall warres with the *Moares:* And hauing called home from thence *Peter* of *Nauarre* with three thowsand spanish footemen, he sent him to the Realme of *Naples*, both to thend to assure at one tyme his owne estates, and to giue courage to the Pope to be so much the more estraunged from the peace: In so much that by these encouragements conformable to his owne variable disposicion, the Pope made aunswer, that he would not heare of peace, onles the *Venetians* might be accorded with *Cæsar:* onles *Alfonso d'Este*, ouer and besides the first demaundes, made him satisfied of all the expenses which he had defrayed in the warre: And lastly, onles the king were bownde not to hinder him in the recouerie of *Bolognia:* which citie, as a rebell to the Church, he had already put vnder Ecclesiasticall interdiction: And, to make a spoyle of the corne of their contrey, he had sent into *Romagnia Mar. Anth. Colonno* and *Ramassore*, who notwithstanding were easily chassed by the people being skarcely entred into the frontyers: Notwithstanding this aunswer, the Pope, what by the peticions of the Cardinalls and for other priuat respects, assoone as he came to *Rome*, consented to the deliuerie of the Cardinall of *Achx*, hauing bene till that daye kept prisoner within the castell of *S. Angeo:* but to his libertie he ioyned this condicion, that he should not goe out of the pallaice of *Vatican* till all the Prelats and officers that were taken within *Bolognia* were sette at libertie, and afterwards that he shoulde departe from *Rome* vnder payne of fortye thowsande duckattes for the which he was to putte in sufficient sewertie: And yet not longe after he suffered him to returne into *Fraunce* with charge not to bee at the councell, vppon the lyke payne.

The Popes answer moued so much the more the mind of the king, by how much he was perswaded that he should consent to the condicions which he him selfe had offered: And therefore determining to withstande him in the recouerie of *Bolognia* he sent thether immediatly a new strength of foure hundred launces, and not long after, he tooke into his protection the citie with all the famulie of the *Bentyuoleis* without receiuing of him any couenant to minister eyther men or money: And knowing that thalliance of *Cæsar* was now more necessary to him then euer, in place where affore he bare some inclinacion not to giue him those supplies of men which he had promised him in the capitulacion made with the Bishop of *Gurcy*, so farre forth as he passed in person into *Italy* (that being the couenant and condicion of his promisse:) he gaue present order that from the Duchie of *Myllan* the bandes that had bene promised should marche thether vnder the gouernment of *Monsr de la Paliſſa* for that *Tryuulce* whome *Cæsar* had required, refused the iorney.

The fr. k takes Bolognia into his protection

By this tyme *Cæsar* was come to *Yspruch*, nourishing on the one side, a greate desire to make warre vppon the *Venetians*, and on the other side, he founde

him selfe confused with many thoughtes and perplexities: for, considering that all that he should doe, would make vp no matter of substance if he tooke not *Padoa*, and to that enterprise were required so great forces and so mightye preparacions, as it was almost impossible to gather together: sometymes he suffered him selfe to be caried with a desire to agree with the *Venetians*, whereunto the kinge Catholike vrged him much, And sometymes he stoode ouerruled with his owne conceites, thinking to marche to *Rome* in person with his armie, to occupie according to his auncient desire all the estate of the Church: wherein he layed his plot to leade thether a mightie armie of *Almains*, besides the french companies: But what by his disabilities and by his disorders the execucion of thinges was so farre inferior to thimaginacion, that he consumed the tyme without putting any thinge to action, sometymes promising to come in person, and sometymes giuing a naked hope to sende men: By these vncerteinties it seemed greeuous to the king to take vpon him to susteine alone the whole burden of the warre: A reason, which, hauing conformetie with his nature being sparing and holding, could doe more in him for the most part, then the wise perswacions that many made to the contrary, that if *Cæsar* were not mightely succored by him, he would at last ioine with his enemies, by which it would happen, that besides his necessitie to be at a greater charge, yet his estates in *Italy* could not but fall into right manifest daungers: Amyd these dowtes and difficulties, the tumults of the temporall armes began to grow cold, but the fire of the spirituall armes kindled into greater flames, aswell on the part of the Cardinalls Authors of the councell, as on the Popes side, who labored altogether to oppresse such an euill affore it became greater.

The Pope makes ouerture of a new councell to breake the councell of Pysa.

You haue heard heretofore how the councell was denownced & signified vnder thauthoritie of the king of *Romains* and the french king, the voices of the Cardinalls of *S. Croff*, *S. Mallo*, *Bayeux*, & *Cosenso* being interposed, the Cardinall also of *S. Seuerin* consenting manifestly, and successiuely, the Proctors of both the one & other king did assist the councels and deliberacions that were made: Moreouer, and to giue it a greater authoritie, the fiue Cardinals, Authors of this pestilence, added by the way of intimacion the names of other Cardinals, of whom Cardinal *Albert* a french man durst not disobey the commaundements of his king, being innocent in all things saue in the compulsion that was vsed to him to subscribe his consent: And for the other Cardinals named by them, Cardinal *Adrian* and Cardinal *Finalo*, protested openly that the matter was wrought wholly without their priuitie & consent: So that more then six Cardinalls were not manifestly declared of this faction: whome, for that the Pope hoped to draw them to a voluntary renowncing of the matter, he enterteyned with them continuall practise, offering to pardon the errours that had bin committed, and that with such sewertie that they should not neede to feare any violence or displeasure to happen to them: whereunto the Cardinals gaue a dissembled eare, beleeuing the Popes promisses no further then they saw them confirmed with good meanes of their saueties: But the Pope could not for all this absteyne from most mighty and extreame remedies, In so much as following the councell of *Antho. du Mont saint Sansouyn* one of the Cardinalls of his last creacion at *Rauenna*, seeking to purge him selfe of negligence, assigned an vniuersall councell in the towne of *Rome* within the Churche of *S. Iohn de Latran* for the firste daye of Maye next comming: By which conuocacion he pretended that the councell called by his aduersaryes was broken, and that in that which he had published was iudicially conteyned the power and authoritie of all, notwithstanding that the Cardi-

nalls

nalls alleadged, that it was true in the beginning, yet seeing they had preuented it, the Councell that had bene instituted and called by them ought to haue place: The Councell beeing publiſhed, and the Pope reappoſing more then euer in his right, and withall diſpayring to be hable to reconcile the Cardinall of *S. Croſſe*, who through ambition to be Pope had bene in effect the mouer of this alteration: And likewiſe doubting to reclayme the Cardinalls *S. Mallo* and *Coſenſa*, for touching the others he was not without hope to reduce them to his obedience: he publiſhed agaynſt thoſe three a threatning monition vnder payne of priuation of the dignitie of Cardinall and all Churche rightes and benefites, if within threeſcore and fiue dayes they made not their apparaunce affore him: And the better to diſpoſe them to the Popes wyll, the Colleage of Cardinalls ſent to them an Auditor *de la Rote* to perſwade and pray them, that leauing their priuate contentions, they ſhoulde eftſones returne into the vnion of the Churche, offring to giue them ſuche forme of ſecuritie as they deſired.

In this time alſo the Pope, eyther for that he was irreſolute, or laboured with ſome other paſſion of worſe nature, harkned continually after the practiſe of peace with the French king, the which was ſolicited in his owne Court by the kings Embaſſadors, and in the Frenche Court by thembaſſador of *Scotlande* and the Biſhop of *Tyuoli* the Nuncio Apoſtolike: And on the other ſide he laboured to make with the king of *Aragon* and the *Venetians* a newe confederation againſt the Frenchmen, making all thinges lawfull and ſeemely that he ſuppoſed mighte turne to the aduauntage of his affayres. About this time alſo, the Pope ſought to render *Montpulcian* to the *Florentins*, not for any good he wiſhed to them, but for feare leaſt the truce which they had with *Sienna* beeing expired, they woulde call into *Tuskane* the French bandes to thende to haue a greater ſtrength to recouer that towne. And albeit it was greeuous to the Pope that the *Florentins* ſhoulde recouer *Montpulcian*, and that to hinder them he had already ſent to *Sienna Iohn Vitelli* enterteined with an hundred men at armes by the *Siennois*, and *Guido Vaino* with an hundred lighte horſemen leauyed and payed by him: yet afterwardes conſidering better, that by howmuche the difficultie appeared great, by ſo muche more would the *Florentins* be induced to call them, he determined, to thende to take from the king all occaſions to ſende armed bandes into a place ſo neare *Rome*, to prouide for this daunger by a way contrarie, *Pandolffe Petruccio* conſenting to it, whom the *Florentins* nouriſhed artificially in the ſame ſuſpicion. The matter was debated many dayes, for that (ſmall things oftentimes haue no leſſe difficulties, nor are no leſſe harde to be reſolued, then ſuche as be of a greater nature) *Pandolffe* to auoyde the hatred of the people of *Sienna*, would the proceeding ſhould be ſuch, that it might ſeeme there was no other remedie to aſſure him from the warre, and not to alienate the Popes mind. Moreouer the Pope & he would that at the ſame time ſhould be made betwene the *Florentins* and the *Siennois* a confederation for the defence of their eſtates: And yet they feared on the other ſide, that they of *Montpulcian* eſpying what was ment and practiſed, would not preuent them in rendring them ſelues voluntarily, winning by that meane the fauour of the *Florentins*, who atchieuing their intention, might afterwardes refuſe to make the confederation. For this cauſe *Iohn Vitelli* was ſent to remayne within *Montpulcian*, and the Pope ſent thither *Iames Simoner* auditor *de la rote* called certayn yeares after to be Cardinal, to thēd that by his working, thaffaires of *Montpulcian* might be raunged and brought to conformitie: In the ende, there was made at one time, a confederation for xxv. yeres, betweene the *Florentins* and

the *Siennois*: And *Montpulcian* returned into the hands of the *Florentins*, *Simonet* interposing for the pardon and confirmation of the auncient exemptions and priuileages.

For certayne monethes, the warre and actions of hostilitie were more easie and tollerable betweene the king of *Romains* and the *Venetians*, then had wont to be: for that the *Almains* beeing neither strong in men, nor prouided of money, thought they did a seruice of no small importance, if they kept *Verona*. And the *Venetian* armie wanting sufficient forces to take that Citie, were retyred betweene *Soaue* and *Louigno*, from whence they made a sally one night and burnt both on this side and beyonde the ryuer of *Adice* a great quantitie of the fruites of thinhabitantes of *Verona*, loasing notwithstanding in the action, three hundred footmen as they retyred, the greatnes of their pray giuing impedimentes to their vallour for the defence of their proper lyues: But assoone as they heard that *Monsr Palissa* was comming to *Verona* with twelue hundred launces and eight thousande footmen, their armie retyred betweene *Vincensa* and *Leguaguo* into a place of strength, bearing almoste the forme and situation of an Ilande by reason of certayne waters and trenches that had bene there cut vp: Neuertheless they tarried not in this place many dayes, for that *Monsr Palissa* arriuing at *Verona* with a great parte of his armie, and without exspecting the residue taking the fielde presently together with the *Almains*, they retyred almost in flying to *Louigne*, and afterwards with the same feare abandoning *Vincensa* and all the other townes together with *Polisena Rouisne*, which sometimes was pillaged by the *Venetians*, and sometimes prayed by the Duke of *Ferrara*, they withdrew to *Padoa* and *Treuisa*, their feare enforcing them to followe those meanes for safetie and refuge, which were not so conuenient for their honour and reputation. For the better defence of these cities, many of the youth & nobilitie of *Venice* came thither with minds resolued to share and cõmunicate with the fortunes of those two cities: holding it a iust office in Citizens & contrey men to oppose their liues against the perills and iniuries done to their contrey. The armie of the French and *Almains* sacked *Louigne*: And *Vincensa* whiche was become a miserable pray to those that were the strongest in the fielde, rendred it selfe. But all these enterprises & conquests were of small consequence for the substaunce of the warre, so farreforth as the *Venetians* helde *Padoa* and *Treuisa*: for that by the oportunitie of those Cities assoone as the Frenche succours were deuided from *th Almains*, they reconquered without difficultie, the peeces they had lost: by reason whereof, after these proceedings and aduauncements, the armie stayed many dayes at the bridge of *Barberano*, exspecting there eyther the arriuall or the resolution of *Cæsar*, who beeing come betwene *Trent* and *Rouiero*, deuising at one time howe to followe his pleasures in hunting wylde beastes according to his custome, and to sende bandes of footmen to tharmie, promised to come to *Montagnana*, sometimes pretending to embrace thenterprise of *Padoa*, sometimes to execute vpon *Treuisa*, and sometimes to go take *Rome*, casting in his minde those plottes and deuises of enterprise, wherevnto his naturall mutabilitie would suffer him to giue no action. But besides his disposition frayle and variable, and which had not lesse communitie with any thing then with constancie and resolution, he founde difficulties in these actions for his extreme pouertie and want, and no lesse in the attempt of *Rome* then in the other enterprises: for that to marche thither with those forces of the Frenche, seemed to him an action both agaynst his dignitie and suretie: and the feare least in the absence of that armie, the *Venetians* would assayle *Verona*, compelled him to leaue there a strong garrison: Besides the

French

French king made difficultie to seperate his people from the duchie of *Millan* by so great a distance and space of countreys, for the small hope he had to haue accorde with the *Svvizzers:* who besides thinclinations they expressed to the desires of the Pope, spake openly to thembassador of the French king, that the peoples of their Nation were not a little greeued with the ruines of the *Venetians* for the communitie that their common weales had together. At laste the plottes, conceptions, and great discourses of *Cæsar* came, according to his custome, to resolue into effectes vnworthy his reputation: for that on the one side, hauing increased tharmie wyth three hundred men at armes *Almains*, and on the other side, giuen familiar audience to the *Venetian* Embassadors with whom he debated continually, and had caused *Monsr Palissa* to come first to *Lungaro* neare *Vincensa*, and afterwards to *S.Crosse*, he solicited him to go take Newcastell, whiche is a passage belowe *Escalo* drawing to *Friull*, within twentie myles of *Feltre*, and all to make his discending more easie on that side. By this direction *Monsr Palissa* marched to *Montbellono* tenne myles from *Treuisa*, from whence, hauing sent fiue hundred horsemen and two thousand footmen to open the passage of Newcastell, they went to *Escalo*. About which tyme the light horsemen of the *Venetians* who ouerranne all the countrey without impediment, ouerthrew neare to *Morostiqua*, about seuen hundred footmen and many horsmen both Frenche and Italian: who, to passe in suretie where the armie was, went from *Verona* to *Soaue*, to ioyne with three hundred French launces, who being come after *Monsr Palissa*, exspected in that place his direction. And albeit in the beginning, things succeeded well with the Frenchmen and *Almains*, and that *Count Guido Rangon* leader of the *Venetians* was taken, his fortune beeing farre inferiour to his vallour: yet many paysantes descending in fauour of the *Venetians*, and many occasions rysing to their aduauntage, they remayned in the ende victorious, foure hundred of the French footemen beeing left dead, and their capteines *Mangiron* and *Chemaro* deteined prisoners: Suche is the ordinarie variation of warre, and such the naturall infirmitie of humaine causes, not certayne in their owne condition, but subiected to those endes wherevnto they haue bene ordeined from the beginning. The resolutions which before had beene debated and set downe, grewe more and more to declining and diminution, both for that the French king seing the preparations of *Cæsar* aunswered nothing his promises and offers, to thende he would drawe further off from *Italie*, returned from *Dauphine* where he had remayned many dayes, to *Bloys:* And also *Cæsar*, beeing nowe retyred from *Trent* with a minde to go no more to tharmie in place to reconquer all that the *Venetians* held in the firme lande, or to impatronise himselfe vpon *Rome* and the whole estate ecclesiastike, gaue direction that the *Almains* should enter into *Friull* and vpon the peeces of *Treuisan*, not so muche to vexe the *Venetians*, as to constrayne the townes of the countrey to giue him money to preserue them from sacke and pillage. And to thende his people should not be hindred, he appoynted the Frenche men to passe further, bestowing two hundred launces within *Verona* where the plague raged with great daunger: His reason in this appoyntment was, for that (hauing an intention to assayle *Friull*) there could not be assigned to that seruice other of his bands, then suche as were reserued for the garde of the Castells. *Palissa* consented to all these appoyntmentes, with whome beeing ioyned *Monsr d'Aubigni* capteine of three hundred launces which were at *Soaue*, he went and incamped vpon the ryuer of *Piaua*: Besides this, for a greater suretie of *Verona*, the *Almains* left two hundred horsemen within *Soaue*, who lying there in great disorder and negligence, vsing neither watche nor warde,

ſuffred a ſmarting payne of their ſecuritie, beeing one night almoſte all ſlayne or taken by foure hundred light horſemen and foure hundred footemen of the *Venetians*. During all this yere there fell diuerſe ordinarie accidents and ſtirres in the countrey of *Friull*, in *Iſtria*, and in the quarters of *Trieſte* and *Fiume*, ſometime by lande with incurſions and inuaſions, and ſometimes by ſea with little veſſells, thoſe wretched countreis enduring afflictions and calamities by both the armies, ſometimes ioyntly, and ſometimes ſeuerally. Afterwards the armie of the *Almains* entred into *Friull*, and aſſoone as they made their approches before *Vdina* the principall place of that prouince, and where the *Venetian* Magiſtrates make their reſidencie: the ſayde Magiſtrates preferring feare before honor, fledde with that cowardiſe whiche makes men of ſeruice diſhonored: by whoſe feares not onely the towne was yeelded, but alſo by one courſe of victorie all the countrey of *Friull* did the like, euery towne being taxed to a proportion of money according to their habilities: There remayned onely *Gradiſquo* ſituated vpon the ryuer of *Liſonce*, wherein was *Lovvis Moſſenigno* treaſorer of *Friull* with three hundred horſemen, and many bandes of footemen: This was no ſooner viſited by thartillerie, and onely made defence agaynſt the firſt aſſault, but it was yeelded vp by thimportunitie of the ſouldiours, the treaſorer remayning priſoner. From *Friull* the *Almains* returned to ioyne with *Monſr Paliſſa* incamping within fiue myles of *Treuiſa*, to whiche Citie they made their approches altogether, *Cæſar* making great requeſt that they would aſſay to take it: But finding it well fortified on all ſides, and wanting in them ſelues both the ſeruice of pioners, munitions, with other prouiſions neceſſarie, they retyred, their wantes taking away their hope and poſſibilitie of good ſucceſſe. A little after, *Paliſſa* by the kings direction, departed to returne to the Duchie of *Millan*, for that feare of newe confederations and conſpiracies of the *Svvizzers*, encreaſed continually: In retyring he had alwayes at his backe the *Venetian* eſtradiots, who albeit hoped to diſtreſſe him at the leaſt at the paſſage of the ryuers of *Brent* and *Adice*, yet his vallour made his paſſage aſſured, & committed to ſpoyle two hundred horſmen of the *Venetians* which were incamped without *Padoa*, of whō *Peter de Lungaro* their capteyne remained priſoner: his departing left the *Almains* not a little confuſed, for that not obteining that three hundred other French launces ſhould remayne for the garde of *Verona*, they were conſtrayned to retyre thither, leauing in pray to thenemies all that they had gayned that ſommer. By which occaſion the *Venetian* armie whereof *Iohn Paule Baillon* was gouernour by the death of *Luke Maluazzo*, recouered immediatly *Vincenſa*: and entring afterwards into *Friull*, they raſed *Cremonſa*, and recouered the whole countrey, except *Gradiſqua* which they knewe they coulde not take, notwithſtanding a fewe dayes after certayne bands of footemen leauied in the countrey of *Tyroll*, tooke *Codora*, and ſacked in like ſort *Bellona*.

Friull taken agayne by the Almains.

The Venetiās recouer Friul.

In this ſort, with light effects, were determined (for the preſent ſommer) the actions & enterpriſes of armes, with leſſe profit then ignominie to the name of *Cæſar*, but with ſpeciall reputation to the *Venetians*, who by the ſpace of two yeres, inuaded by the armies of *Cæſar* & the French king, came at laſt to reteine their owne forces & their owne iuriſdiction: Matters which albeit were directly agaynſt *Cæſar*, yet they brought much more harmes to the French king: for, whileſt he did not miniſter to *Cæſar* ſuch proportions of ſuccors as might make him hable to obtaine the victorie deſired, eyther fearing happly the two great proſperitie and greatnes of *Cæſar*, or being carried with falſe counſels and fundations, and leſſe looking into the daungers that were at hande, or happly wiſdome beeing blinded with couetouſneſſe: he gaue

him

him occasion, yea he brought him almoste into necessitie to open his eares to such as ceassed not to perswade him to separation from him, preseruing at one tyme the *Venetians* in suche estate that they were hable with greater forces to knit with those that desired to embase his power: In so muche that men began euen nowe to discerne that both in the minde of *Cæsar*, newe thoughts began to kindle, specially for the regarde of the councell, and also his plottes and deuises were abated, chiefly since the publication of the councell of *Latran*: for neither did he sende thither according to his many promises any *Almain* prelates in the name of *Germanie*, nor any proctors to assist in his name: neither did he once stirre for the example of the French king, who had giuen order that in the common name of the French churches, foure and twentie Bishops should go to *Pisa*, and all the other Prelates of his Realme should eyther go thither in person, or else refurnishe the action by assistance and deputation: yet neuertheless, eyther to excuse these delayes, or that such was his desire in deede, he began in that time to make instance, that aswell for a greater cõmoditie of the Prelates of *Germanie*, as for that he promised to be there in person, the Councell that had bene denounced at *Pisa*, might be transferred to *Mantua*, to *Verona*, or to *Trente*. This demaunde was greeuous to all the others for many causes, and onely aggreable to the Cardinall of *S. Crosse*, who burning in glorious ambition to mount vp to the Popedome (to whiche ende he had sowen all those discords) hoped that with the fauour & countenance of *Cæsar*, he might easily be rayssed to that seate: Notwithstanding for that the cause of the Councell would stande much weakned & almost frustrate without thauthoritie of *Cæsar*, they sent by common consent the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin*, both to beseech him that he would sende away the Prelates and Proctors which he had so often promised, and also to giue him fayth on their behalfe, that assoone as they had giuen beginning to the Councell at *Pisa*, they would transferre it to the place whiche he shoulde thinke good: which (say they) if we should do afore, it coulde not but be very preiudiciall to the common cause, specially it importing greatly to preuent the Conuocation whiche the Pope had published: *Galeas* the brother of *S. Seuerin*, whom with a felicitie farre different from thinfelicitie of *Lodovvike Sforce* his first Lord, the king had honored with the office of the Maister of his horse, went also in this expedition to make the same instance to *Cæsar* on the kings behalfe: But the king sent him principally of purpose to confirme with newe offers and plottes, the minde of *Cæsar*, for whose inconstancie he lyued in no little doubt and suspicion, notwithstanding at the same time he was not without hope to conclude the peace with the Pope. That peace, beeing disputed at *Rome* by the Cardinall of *Nantes*, and by the Cardinall of *Strigonia*, and prosecuted in *Fraunce* by the *Scottishe* Bishop and the Bishop of *Tiuoly*, was drawne into suche tearmes, that almoste all the conditions beeing accorded, the Pope had eftsoones ioyned to the Bishop of *Tiuoli* a further power to giue it full perfection: neuertheless there were inserted in this newe power, certayne limitations, which gaue no small occasion to men to thinke that his will and intention were farre otherwise then were his wordes and protestations, specially for that it was discerned, that at the same time he had to do with many potentates in matters altogether contrarie to this, not sparing to embrace all occasions & opportunities, though they brought with them matter of yll opinion and murmure.

The Pope holden for dead.

In this great doubt and suspicion of things, there lacked not muche that an accident falling vpon the Popes person, brake not all the practises and beginnings of euilles that laye in preparation: for falling into a newe fitte of his sickneesse the xvij.

of Auguſt, the fourth day after, there tooke him ſuche a qualme, that for certayne houres ſuche as were about him, helde him for dead: And the brute beeing no leſſe quicke, then the accident was mortall, many of the Cardinalles that were abſent put thē ſelues vpon the way to come to *Rome*,, together alſo with ſome of thoſe that had conuocated the Councell: Within *Rome* the people made no leſſe ſtirre and mouings. then they haue bene wont to do at the death of Popes, yea there appeared ſignes and tokens of farre greater tumultes, for that *Pompey Colonno* Biſhop of *Reato*, and *Anthony Sauello*, young men of the Romaine nobilitie full of ſedition and faction, aſſembling the commons in the Capitall, perſwaded them with words ſedicious to put them ſelues in libertie: But during the action, and as they laboured with a very vehement ambition, to ſtirre vp the people of *Rome* to publike rebellion, the Pope reuyued from his daungerous qualme: and albeit there was as yet greater feare then hope of his lyfe, yet, the day following, in the preſence of the Cardinalls whiche were aſſembled in forme of a Conſiſtorie, he gaue abſolution to his nephew of the murder he had committed vpon the Cardinall of *Pauia*, not by ordinarie way of iuſtice as he had bene aduiſed before, (the ſhortnes of the tyme impugning) but by grace and apoſtolike remiſſion, as to a perſon penitent. In the ſame Conſiſtorie he ſolicited that thelection of his ſucceſſor ſhoulde be made Cannonically: And ſeeking to barre others from clymbing to ſo highe a degree, by the meanes which rayſed him to it, he cauſed to be publiſhed a Bull full of horrible paynes agaynſt thoſe that ſhould aſpire to that election eyther by money or by other recompence, bothe declaring as nothing all election that ſhoulde be made by ſymonie, and giuing an entry and meane very eaſie to any Cardinall to impugne it. This conſtitution he had pronounced from the tyme he was within *Bologna*, ſtanding then diſcontented with certayne Cardinalls who laboured openly to purchaſe the promiſes of other Cardinalls to poſſeſſe the Papacie after his death. He began nowe to growe better and better, eyther by his ſtrong and hable complexion, or els for that by deſtinie he was reſerued to be the author and principall occaſion of more great and long calamities: for it was not reaſonable to attribute the recouerie of his helth to the vertue or remedie of medicines, for that he obeyed neither rule nor order, eating in the greateſt perill of his maladie, rawe apples and things contrarie to the preſcription of Phiſicke.

The Pope purſueth his enterpriſe to chaſe the frenchmen of Italie.

The Pope was no ſooner deliuered from daunger of death, then he returned eftſones to his olde deuiſes and cogitations, continuing at one time to ſolicite a peace with the Frenche king, and a confederation with the king of *Aragon* and the Senate of *Venice* agaynſt the Frenchmen: ſuche was his deſire to chaſe out of *Italie* all dominion and imperie of the Frenche. And albeit his will was more inclined to warre then to peace, yet he ſeemed oftentimes drawen with varietie of fancies, and for many reaſons followed ſometimes one opinion, and ſometimes an other, not beeing hable to ſettle in minde and iudgement, hauing his thoughts wandring and reaching to endes farre aboue his power. The thing that carried his inclination to the warre, beſides his auncient hatred agaynſt the Frenche, and that he was not hable to obteine all the conditions of peace which he deſired, were the vehement and importunate perſwaſions of the king of *Aragon*, who feared nowe more then euer, leaſt the French king beeing once at peace with the Pope, would not execute vppon the realme of *Naples* vppon the firſt occaſion: Wherein to thende his counſells might carrie a greater authoritie, beſides the armie at ſea which was affore repaſſed out of *Affrika* into *Italie* vnder *Peter Nauarre*, he had ſent newly out of *Spayne* an other ſea armie

armie conteyning fiue hundred men at armes, six hundred horsmen mounted vpon iennets, and three thousand footmen: Neuertheles this king proceeding vnderhand with his accustomed subtelties, made show that he desired more then euer the warre agaynst the *Moores*, from which his owne profire or particuler interest did not draw him, but onely a holy deuotion which he had alwayes borne to the sea Apostolike: onely he alleaged that beeing not hable of him selfe to interteine his souldiours, it was necessarie that the Pope and the state of *Venice* shoulde minister to him, wherevnto, to thende they might condiscende more easily, his bands that were all descended into the yle of *Capri* neare to *Naples*, made showes as though they prepared to passe into *Affrika*: But his immoderate demaundes muche amasing the Pope, and his suttleties pleasing him nothing at all, he entred into many suspicions, well knowing that that king ceassed not to giue to the Frenche king hopes all contrarie: he knewe the *Venetians* would not willingly be drawne from his will and purposes: euen so he was not ignoraunt that for the greatnes of suche a warre wherein they were, they were no longer hable to beare out the burden and charges as before: And that time had brought the Senate nowe to seeke more to defende their owne, then to take in hande a newe warre which could not be continued without intollerable exspences: He hoped that the *Svvizzers*, by a common inclination of those contreimen, would declare them selues agaynst the Frenche king, but hauing no certentie thereof, he seemed to holde it vndiscrete to oppose him selfe to so great daungers for a hope so yll assured, not beeing ignorant that as yet were not reiected and cut off their practises with the Frenche king, and many of their chieftaines and principalls, to whome reuerted not small profites by the Frenche amities, labored all they might that in thassembly which was presently to be holden, their alliance might be renewed with the kinge. Touching the will and intention of *Cæsar*, notwithstanding he had many inclinations by the king Catholik, & of his owne nature a sworne enemie to the Frenche name, yet his hope of him was lesse then his feare, knowing the great offers that were made to him of new aswell against the *Venetians* as against him, to the which the French king was hable to giue more high state and perfection then to any others that could be made to him: he sawe that if *Cæsar* shoulde ioyne with the Frenche king, he had greatly to feare the counsell by reason of his authoritie: And also his owne power ioyned in good fayth and meaning, with the forces and treasures of the Crowne of *Fraunce*, and with thopportunitie of the states of them both, the Pope coulde not in reason haue any hope of the victorie which he founde very harde to obteine agaynst the Frenche king alone: But that whiche gaue him the greatest stomacke, was a hope he had that the king of *Englande* would be wonne to rayse warre agaynst the Crowne of *Fraunce*, both by the counsels and perswasions of the king Catholike his father in lawe, and for thauthoritie of the sea Apostolike which was then great in the yle of *Englande*, and in whose name he had with vehement petitions implored his succors against the french king as agaynst an vsurper & oppressor of the Church: to these inducements was ioyned also the naturall hatred aswell of that king as of the people of *England* to the french nation, much helping in this action the forwardnes of the kings youth & great abundance of treasor left to him by his father, which was supposed to amount to a wōderful quantity. These were proper instrumēts to kindle fire in the mind of this yong king, & hauing neuer experiēced in his kingdom but fortunes happy & plausible: he was also pushed forward by an honorable desire to renew the glory of his aunceſtors, who intituling them selues kings of *Fraunce*, and at sundry times vexing that kingdome with great

The hopes of the Pope.

warres, had not onely holden for many yeres *Guyenne* and *Normandy* (rich & mighty prouinces of that crowne,) and taken in a battell neare to *Poyeters* the Frenche king with two of his sonnes and many of his Nobilitie: but also, had occupied together with the moste part of the kingdome the citie of *Paris* the capitall citie of the kingdome: lastly their vallours and fortunes haue bin so terrible to the Frenchmen, that if *Henry* the fift then king of *Englande* had not exchaunged this life in the flower of his age and glorious course of his victories, it was beleeued he had made an absolute conqueſt of the whole realme of *Fraunce*, and brought subiected to him selfe the Crowne and imperie of that nation. The memorie of these honorable victories working with the youth and disposition of the king, were not of little force to draw him to action, notwithstanding his father vppon his dying had expresly aduised him aboue all other things to enterteine peace with the Frenche nation as the onely meane for the kinges of *Englande* to raigne surely and hapeply. It was not to bee doubted but the warre of thEnglishe agaynst the Frenche king (beeing also assayled in other places) was of right great consequence, for that in that action the very intralls of the kingdome were charged, the Frenchemen redoubting muche the name of thEnglishe by the memorie of victories and conqueſtes passed. Notwithstanding all these, the Pope for thincerteintie of the fayth of straungers, and for the farre distaunce of those contreys so farre remoued, coulde nor establishe or reappose his counsayles vppon those fauours. These were the hopes of the Pope, and thus were they limited and layed out in condition and proportion.

The thoughts of the fr. king.

On the other side the Frenche king, to whom nothing was lesse pleasing then to be in warre agaynst the Churche, was greatly desirous to haue peace, by meane whereof as he was to shake of the yll will of the Pope, so also he was to be deliuered of thimportunate demaunds and necessities of *Cæsar*: two respects which troubled him not a litle, the one offending his conscience being to muche addicted, and the other consuming his treasors whereof he had made many prodigalities: he made no difficultie to breake the Councell of *Pisa*, whiche he had introduced onely to make the Pope condiscende to peace by that feare, so farrefoorth as there might be pardon and remission to the Cardinalls and others that had bene partakers eyther in councell or in action: But on the contrarie, the demaunde for the restoring of *Bolognia* kepte hym in suspence: a Citie by reason of his situation, most conuenient to molest him: he feared the peace was not sincerely accepted by the Pope, nor with a minde disposed to obserue it if occasions returned, but only to deliuer himselfe presently from the daunger of the Councell and from the warre of whose succesſe he had no small ielousie. And yet he hoped to confirme the mind of *Cæsar*, with the greatnes of his offers, and therefore negociating of common occurrantes as with a confederate, he perswaded him vehemently amonges other things not to consent that *Bolognia* a Citie of so great importaunce, should eftsones retourne vnder the iurisdiction of the Pope: And touching the kinges of *Aragon* and of *Englande*, he did not together distruste them, notwithstanding the manner of proceeding of the one was already manyfest, and the brute of thintention of the other no lesse publike and generall: And notwithstanding their Embassadors ioyntly had perswaded him, first with words of modestie bearing a pretẽce of office and amitie, & afterwards pressed him with importunities to cõmaund that both the cardinalls & prelates of his kingdome should be at the councell of *Latran*, and also to suffer and see that the Churche were eftsones repossessed of the Citie of *Bolognia* one of her members not in the least degree. The reason of this

consi-

confidence touching thEngliſh was,that they made ſhow to haue deſire to perſeuer in the confederation which they had with him and many of his counſell,giuing him ſurety of the ſame,he beleued they would attempt nothing againſt him: And for the king of *Aragon*,his ſleights & ſuttel apparances were ſuch, that the king gaue a leſſe faith to his doings then to his ſpeeches,wherin he alwayes aſſured him neuer to enter into action of armes againſt him: with which opinion,he ſuffred himſelfe ſomewhat to be perſwaded,that that king would neuer ioyne in armes ſo manifeſtly with his enemies,as he profeſſed by his counſels & ſecret deliberations: he beguiled him ſelf ſo much in theſe opinions, that notwithſtāding he had hope giuen by thoſe that were of his faction in *Svvizzerlande*, that he might yet reconcile that nation if he would conſent to their demaunds for increaſing their penſions,yet he eftſones refuſed it with no leſſe obſtinacy then before,alleaging that it were no equity to yeld him ſelf to be taxed by thē: And vſing ſharp remedies,where eaſie meanes had bin more neceſſary,he made reſtraint that they ſhould haue no releeſe of vittels out of the duchie of *Millan*, thinking that by their vniuerſall ſcarceties redoubled by rhe ſterrilitie of their contrey, he ſhould in thende bring them to agree to the renouation of thalliance according to the auncient conditions.

Ouerture of the Councell of Piſa.

By this time was come the firſt day of September which had bin afore ſet downe for the beginning of the councell of *Piſa*,at which day the Proctors of the Cardinals being come to *Piſa*,celebrated in their names the actes apperteining to thexpreſſing of the ſame. At this the Pope did not a litle ſtorme, ſpecially againſt the *Florentins*, for that they had conſented that the *Councell of Deuills* (for ſo did he alwayes call it) tooke beginning vpon their eſtates, for which tranſgreſſion he declared that the cities of *Florence* and *Piſa* ſtoode ſubiect to thinterdiction eccleſiaſtike by vertue of the Bull of the Councell which he had cauſed to be publiſhed: wherein it was ſet downe in an expreſſe article, that whoſoeuer he were that fauored the diueliſhe aſſembly at *Piſa*, ſtoode excommunicated, interdicted, and ſubiect to all paynes ſeuerely ordayned by the lawes agaynſt ſchiſmatikes and heretikes: And threatning to inuade them with armes,he elected the Cardinall of *Medicis*, Legate of *Perouſa*: And not long after,the cardinall *Regina* Legat of *Bolognia* beeing dead, he beſtowed him in his place,to thend that he who enuied their eſtate being vpon their marches with ſo great authority,his preſence might make them fall amongſt themſelues into ſuſpicion & confuſion: a thing which he hoped might eaſily ſuccede for theſtate & reputation wherein he ſtoode at that time in that citie: for,beſides the affections of certaine particulars deſiring the returne of the *Medicis*, diſcordes and diuiſions (the auncient maladie of that citie) raigned amongſt the generall number of Citizens of greateſt apparance. Theſe diuiſions bred at that time by the greatnes and authoritie of the Magiſtrate whiche they call *Confalonnier*,which ſome for ambition and enuie could not ſuffer, and others ſtoode yll contented, for that iudging him to intrude more into the deliberation of thinges then apperteined to his place, they thought he left not to them that parte of authoritie which their eſtates and conditions deſerued: They complayned that in the gouernment of the Citie ordeyned and conteined in two extremities,that is to ſay,the publike magiſtrate & the counſell popular,was manifeſt error touching the true inſtitution of cōmon weales: for a ſenat duly ordeined,by the which beſides that it ſhould be as a reaſonable tēperature betwene the one & other extremity,the principalls & beſt qualified citizens ſhould obteine in the cōmon weale a degree more honorable: But the *Gonfalonnier* did the contrary,either by ambition,or by vaine ſuſpiciō, being notwithſtāding principally

choſen for the redreſſe & order of that. The thing which they deſired in this action notwithſtanding it was reaſonable, and yet not of that importaunce as to turne their mindes to diuiſions, for that without it they were both honorably rayſed & aduanced, and withall there was no forme of diſpoſing of the publike affaires without thē, was the very originall and principall cauſe of the great calamities which fell afterwards vpon that citie: The factions & diuiſions amōgſt the citizens, being grounded therevpon, and thenemies of the *Gonfalonnier* ſuſpecting him with the Cardinall of *Volterre* his brother to be at the deuotion of the French king, and to reappoſe altogether in his amitie: oppoſed as muche as they could agaynſt the deliberations that were to be made in fauour of that king, deſiring that all might be transferred to the Pope. By this alſo it came to paſſe, that the name of the familie of *Medicis* beganne to be leſſe hatefull in that Citie then before, for that thoſe chiefeſt and mightieſt Citizens who earſt denyed their returne, were nowe no more concurrant to perſecute them, and muche leſſe to hinder the communitie and conuerſation of others with them: The malice they bare to the *Gonfalōnier* wrought this alteration & change of their affection, and the more to abate his authoritie, they ſtucke not to expreſſe by many tokens, how little that familie was eſtraunged from their fauour and amitie, not forbearing alſo to giue ſhadowe to others to deſire their returne and greatneſſe: And of this it happned that not onely thoſe that were their aſſured and perfect friendes (in whom was no great power) entred into hopes of innouation and newe thinges, but alſo many of the Nobilitie and youth of the Citie, puſhed on eyther by their great prodigalities and exſpences, or by certayne particular diſdaynes, or at leaſt by ambicious deſires to ſurpaſſe others in dignities, exſpected a mutation of that eſtate by the meane of their returning (that diſpoſition hauing bin noriſhed and encreaſed many yeares by the Cardinall *Medicis* with great ſleight and ſubteltie:) for euer ſince the death of his brother *Peter* whoſe name was both feared and hated, he had made no ſhow to entermeddle in thaffaires of *Florence*, nor to haue any deſire to aſpire to the auncient greatneſſe of his familie: And to omitte no office which might eyther make him merite the more, or inſinuate further, he forgate not with great humanitie and fauours to welcome and receiue all the ſeuerall people of *Florence* that had recourſe to *Rome*, offring himſelfe a ready inſtrument for the diſpatche of their affayres, wherein diſpoſing his fauour no leſſe to ſuche that had bene manyfeſt enemies agaynſt his brother, then to others whom he helde indifferent, he vſed in his behauiour and ſpeache to laye all the fault vpon his brother, as though the faultes with the memorie and hate thereof, were determined together with his death. This forme and manner of behauior he continued many yeares, which accompanied with the opinion that went of him in the Court of *Rome* to be by diſpoſition liberall, affable, and gracious to all men, brought hym in the ende to bee acceptable to many at *Florence:* In whiche reſpect the Pope that deſired not a little thalteration of that gouernment, preferred him with great foreſight to that legation.

Cardinal Medicis vvho afterwards vvas Pope Leo the tenth.

The *Florentins* appealed from thinterdiction, and to commit the leſſe offence in thappellation, they called it not the councell of *Piſa*, but named it the ſacred councell of the Churche vniuerſall: And as though by thappellation theffect of thinterdiction had bene ſuſpended, the prieſtes of the foure principall Churches were cōpelled by commaundement of the ſupreme Magiſtrate to make publike celebration of all diuine offices, the ſame diſcloſing more and more the diuiſion of the Citizens, and left in the diſcreſſion of euery one either to obſerue or contemne thinterdict: for this

this reaſon, thembaſſadors of the kings of *Englande* and *Aragon* made new inſtance to the french king, offring him peace with the Pope, ſo farreforth as he would ſee *Bologna* rendred to the Church, and that the Cardinalls might make a preſence at the Councell of *Latran*, when they offred that the Pope ſhould receiue them all to pardon. But the regard and conſideration of *Bologna* holding him from conſenting to the peace, he made anſwer, that as he did not defend a citie in contumacie and rebellion againſt the Church, vnder whoſe iuriſdiction & obedience it was gouerned in the ſame forme and eſtate of policie wherin it had bin ruled many yeres afore the pontificacy of *Iulius*, to whom it belonged not to demaund a greater authoritie then had bin required & practiſed by his predeceſſors: ſo alſo touching the Councell of *Piſa*, it had bin introduced in a moſt honorable and holy purpoſe to reforme the notorious & intollerable diſorders of the Church, wherevnto would be eaſily reduced her auncient vertue & brightnes, and that without perill of ſchiſme or diuiſion, if the Pope would agree to aſſiſt that councell, the reaſon being no leſſe iuſt, then the action conuenient for him managing the ſupreme place: he added laſtly that his vnquietnes together with his inflamed minde addicted to warres and troubles, had chiefly induced him to binde himſelfe to the protection of *Bologna*, whiche for his honor he would defende with no leſſe care and ſtudie, then he would ſee to the protection of his towne of *Paris*. The Pope then ſhakinge of all his cogitations and thoughts to the peace, no leſſe for his auncient hatreds and couetouſnes, then for feare of the councel & his deſire to *Bologna*, and finally ſuſpecting, that if he deferred any lõger to deliberat & reſolue, he ſhould be left abãdoned of euery one, the ſpaniſh ſouldiers beginning now to ẽbarke at *Carpy* making as though they would paſſe into *Affrika*: he determined to finiſh the cõfederation negociated with the king Catholike & the ſenat of *Venice*, which was ſolemnly publiſhed the fifth of October in the Church of *S. Maria de populo*, the Pope and all the Cardinalls aſſiſting. This confederation bare that they ſhoulde principally preſerue the vnitie of the Churche, and the better to defende her from preſent ſchiſme, to reuerſe and diſſolue the aſſembly of *Piſa*: To recouer the Citie of *Bologna* apperteining immediately to the ſea Apoſtolike, together with all other peeces and places whiche directly or indirectly belonged to the Churche, *Ferrara* beeing comprehended vnder that ſence: That agaynſt all ſuche that ſhoulde oppoſe agaynſt any of theſe thinges, or labour to throwe any impedimentes (theſe wordes ſignified the Frenche king) they ſhoulde proceede to chaſe them out of *Italie* with a mightie armie, wherein the Pope was to mayntaine foure hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, and ſixe thouſand footmen: The Senat of *Venice* ſhould furniſh eight hũdred men at armes, a thouſande light horſemen, and eight thouſand footmen: And to the king of *Aragon* were allotted twelue hundred men at armes, a thouſande light horſemen, and tenne thouſand footemen, for the interteinment of whome the Pope ſhoulde paye during the warre eight thouſande duckettes euery moneth, and the *Venetians* as much, furniſhing preſently a paye for two monethes, within which time they were bound to march into *Romagnia* or to other place where the confederates ſhould be: That the king of *Aragon* ſhould arme twelue gallies, and the *Venetians* fourteene, whiche at the ſame time ſhould make warre vpon the Frenche king in *Lombardie*: That *Dom Raimond* of *Cardona* then Viceroy in the realme of *Naples*, ſhoulde be capteine generall of tharmie: That if in this warre there were conquered any townes in *Lombardy* which had bene the *Venetians*, that in that caſe ſhoulde be obſerued the declaration of the Pope, who forthwith in a writing apart & ſeueral, pronoũced that

The Pope makes league vvith the Venetians & the king Catholike.

they ſhould be rendred to the *Venetians*: There was reſerued for *Cæſar* liberty to enter into the confederation, and likewiſe to the king of *Englande*, bearing to the one an vncertayne hope to be hable in the ende to ſeperate him from the french king: and for the other was left a tyme by the expreſſe conſent of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, who did alwayes aſſiſt and communicate in the treatiſe of the league. As this confederation was fully reſolued & eſtabliſhed, *Ierome Donato* the *Venetian* embaſſador died, who for his ſinguler wiſdome and habilitie being very deare to the Pope, had in this action & other affaires during his legation, done many great ſeruices to his contrey.

Thopinion that vvas conceiued of the league.

This confederation made by the Pope vnder cooller to deliuer *Italy* from the imperie of ſtraungers, drew the mindes of men to diuerſe interpretations according to the diuerſitie of their iudgements & paſſions: for many, beguiled with the reſpect & magnificence of the title, ſet out with great merites & prayſes ſo diuine and high an enterpriſe: ſayde it was an action right worthye the maieſtie of his place, and that the greatnes of his minde could not haue choſen an enterpriſe more gracious, nor leſſe full of diſcreſſion then of magnanimitie, ſtirring vp by his induſtry one ſtranger againſt an other: In ſuch ſort that the blood of forreiners more then of naturall *Italians* being ſpilt vpon the French men, not only the liues of *Italians* were ſpared and reſerued, but alſo after one of the parties ſhould be expulſed, it would be eaſie with the naturall armies of the countrey to chaſe out the other beeing already weakened and out of breath: Others on the other ſide, in whō perhaps were ſetled more depe impreſſions & conſiderations of the ſubſtance of things, reappoſing litle in the deluding ſhowes of a title magnificall, feared that the warres that were begon with intention to deliuer *Italie* from forreine powers, would not grow more to hurt the vitall ſpirites of that body, then other warres that had bene begon with a manyfeſt profeſſion and reſolute intention to ſubdue it: They ſaide it was no leſſe vayne then yll aduiſed to hope that the armies of *Italie* depriued of vertue, of diſcipline, of reputation, of Capteines, of authoritie, and the willes of their Princes not conformed, ſhould be mightie ynough to driue out of *Italie* him that is already poſſeſſed of conqueſt and victorie, in whom albeit all other remedies ſhould fayle, at leaſt he could neuer fayle of the meane to be reunited with thoſe that he had vanquiſhed to the common ruine of all the ſtates and regions of *Italie*: They foreſawe that there was more reaſon to feare that in theſe newe ſtirres were not occaſion to make pillage of *Italie* by new nations, then to hope that by the vnion of the Pope and the *Venetians*, there ſhould be any habilitie to vanquiſh the Frenchmen and the Spaniards: They ſayd that as it was to be wiſhed that the diſagreement and yll diſgeſted counſells of their Princes had not opened the way to forrayne armies to enter into the mayne body of *Italie*: ſo notwithſtanding, ſince by their infelicitie, two of the moſte worthy members of that body were occupied by the Frenche and Spaniſhe kings, it was to be eſteemed a farre leſſe calamitie, that they both continued there vntill eyther the goodnes of God whoſe rule goeth through all, or the fauor of fortune, who ordereth things in time, would miniſter occaſions better grounded, and ayde them with oportunities more conuenient, for that the one king waighing in ballance agaynſt the other, their mutuall iealouſies would defende the libertie of ſuch as were not yet falne into ſeruitude: then that betwene them ſelues they ſhould fall into armes by meane of which, whileſt the warre ſhould laſt, the partes that yet remayned ſounde would be torne in peeces by pillages, by fyrings, by blood, and by other miſerable accidents which warre draweth with it: And laſtly which of them ſhould remayne victor, would aſſuredly afflict the whole body with a more hard & heauy ſeruitude.

But

But the thoughts of the Pope (in whom was an other opinion) being become more violent and kindled by the new confederacion: Assoone as the tearme limited in thadmonicion published before against those Cardinalls that were Authors of the councell, was passed, he called together the publike Consistorie with great solemnitie, and sitting in habit pontificall in the hall named the hall of the kings, he declared that the Cardinalls of *S. Croff*, of *S. Mallo*, of *Cosense*, and of *Bayeux*, were falne from the dignitie of Cardinalls, and had incurred all those paynes whereunto are subiect heretikes and schismatikes: he published also an admonicion of the same forme against the Cardinall *S. Seuerin* whom he had not molested till that day: And proceeding in the same heate to the deuises for warre, he solicited continually the comming of the *Spanyards*, hauing an intencion affore all other thinges to bringe warre vpon the *Florentyns* both to draw to the deuocion of the confederats that cōmon weale, restoring to the gouernment the famulie of *Medicis:* and also to satisfie the infinit malice which he bare to *Peter Soderin Gonfalonnier*, as though it was thorow his authoritie that the *Florentyns* would neuer be seperated from the french king, giuing also a consent afterwards that the councell should be holden at *Pysa*.

The Pope depriueth the rebell Cardinalls of the hat.

Of this resolucion many signes & relacions were brought to *Florence*, where falling into preparacions to be able to susteine the warre, it was propownded amongst other thinges, that it could not be vnreasonable to resist with the reuenues & goods of the Church, the warre which the Church went about to make vniustly: And therefore it were no offence to equitie or conscience to constraine the Churchmen to contribute some great quantitie of money, but vnder these condicions, that they should be bestowed in places of sewertie, and the money not to be disburssed but in the action of warre, which not hapning, and the feare thereof ceassing, euery porcion should be restored to the parties that lent it: To this deuise many of the Citizens spake against, some for feare to incurre the paynes imposed by the cannon lawes vpon the defilers of the libertie of the Church: they were the least in number and most inferior in power and authoritie: but the greater parte impugned this proposicion onely to obiect against the will and reasons of the *Gonfalonnier*, of whose authoritie it was manifest that this councell did proceede: In so much as the new lawe ordeyned hereupon being already debated in the councels priuie no lesse by the diligence of the *Gonfalonnier*, then inclinacion of many others, and nothing wanting now but thapprobacion of the great and publike councell which stoode assembled for that purpose, the *Gonfalonnier* reasoned for the law in this maner.

I hope my Lordes, there are none amongest you that reasonably can doubt what haue bene the perpetuall intencions of the Pope against your libertie: wherein if you be not assured by consideracion of his present dealing subiecting you vniustly to thinterdiction, and neither heard your iustificacions which be no lesse true then many in number, nor respected the hope that was giuen him to remoue the councell from *Pysa* within few dayes: laye your selues downe at least to the comparison and iudgement of his other actions, no lesse malicious in their seuerall working, then contrary to the memorie and examples of his Predecessors, and yet by him continued in all seasons since his pontificacie. I will not perticulat the seuerall tokens and testimonies of his ill mind towards this estate, and much lesse obiect the sundry effects of his great enuie & malice: such repeticions bring no frute where the harmes be already suffered and passed, And it aunswereth not the modestie that this place exspecteth to labor in inuectiues and make men infamous by imputacion: yet, for that the memorie of actions passed, serueth some tyme as a warning against acci-

" dents that may happen, I hold it not inconuenient to the preſent matter to inferre
" ſome, hoping I ſhall not be interpreted to be the inuenter of the thing through ma-
" lice, which I deliuer but by relacion: None of you can be ignorant, that during our
" long warres againſt the *Pyſans* this common weale neither by ſupplicacions which
" brought with them their piety & neceſſitie, nor by the extremitie of our eſtate which
" often tymes we humbled at his feete, could obteyne of him any fauor either publike
" or ſecret, notwithſtanding that both the iuſtice of our cauſe deſerued it, and alſo it
" was an action apperteyning to the ſewertie of the Church and tranquilletie of all *I-*
" *taly* to ſeeke to quenche ſuch a fire which not many yeares before had kindled many
" great calamities and troubles: where, of the contrary, as often as they of *Pyſa* had re-
" courſſe to him (A thinge which we coulde not but ſuſpect and were alwayes made
" more certeine after our victorie) he did not onely receiue the complaint of their af-
" flictions with compaſſion and pity, but alſo nouriſhed them in their obſtinacie with
" diuers hopes, which was not a new inclinacion in him, but begon & continued ſince
" he was Cardinall: for, after the french men had leauied their campe from before *Pi-*
" *ſa*, he wrought what he could with the french king and the Cardinall *Amboiſe*, that
" *Pyſa* ſhould be receiued into protection, and we left excluded & abandoned: he ſha-
" dowed the enuie he bare to vs, with a diſſembled remorſe vpon the neceſſities of the
" *Pyſans*, and vnder the regard and title of his profeſſion, made vs blinde in the proper-
" tie of his diſpoſicion: being become Pope, he neuer imparted to our common weale
" any one of thoſe graces which the ſea Apoſtolike is wont to miniſter in great libe-
" ralitie: he would not in ſo many difficulties and neceſſities of ours, once conſent
" that we might at any tyme ſo muche as releeue our ſelues with the reuenues of the
" Churche, contrarye to the example of *Alexander* the ſixt, who gaue vs that libertie
" many tymes, notwithſtanding he was a ſetled enemie to this common weale: yea,
" expreſſing one will in thinges inferior and in matters of greater nature, he forbad
" vs to leauye money of the Cleargie for thinterteyning of Doctors and publike ſtu-
" dies, notwithſtanding that both the ſumme was litle and had continued by licence
" of many Popes, and alſo it was conuerted to thinſtruction of youth and aduaunce-
" ment of learning: A worke of ſinguler pietie and vertue: Beſides, that which was
" practiſed in *Rome* by *Bartlemevv Aluiano* with Cardinall *Aſcagnius*, was not debated
" without his priuitie, wherein as the apparances were publike and manifeſt, ſo thef-
" fects had alſo ſucceeded, if others of greater power had not withdrawne them ſelues
" by the ſuddeine death of the Cardinall: And yet the firſt foundacions failing, he
" would neuer (at our iuſt requeſts) conſent, to reſtraine *Aluiano* to make leauies or wa-
" ging of ſouldiours in the territories of *Rome*: Onely he forbad the famulies of *Colon-*
" *no* and *Sauello*, to inuade the landes of ſuch as were prepared to offend vs, by whoſe
" helpes we might haue ſhaked of our daungers with very ſmall charges: that minde
" can not be free from ſuſpiciõ of malice which forbeareth to remedie vniuſt harmes,
" forbiddeth all other meanes that are offered, forſaketh the cauſes of men iuſtly com-
" plaining, and foreſeeth through the deuiſes of his enuie, the ruines of thoſe whom
" he is bownd to ſupport, though by no other reſpect of office, yet by the propertie of
" his profeſſion and calling. Touching our buſines with *Sienna*, he meinteined alwaies
" againſt vs *Pandolffe Petruccio*, and compelled vs with threatnings to prolonge the
" truce: And for no other cauſe did he ioyne with vs for the recouering of *Montpul-*
" *cian* (for whoſe defenſe he had ſent men to *Sienna*) then for feare leaſt the armie of
" the french king ſhould be called by vs into *Tuskane*: he ioyned with vs at times when
" his feare was greater then our perill, and delt ſeuerally when he ſaw he might do vs
" harme

harme by too much truſting him, he would not ſticke to abuſe his authoritie to apply vs to his will,and was alwayes at hand to ſerue his purpoſes of our ready diſpoſicion: of the contrary,we did neuer offend him,but ſought to proceede in all things with reſpect and reuerence to the Church,and perticularly haue gratified him in all thoſe demaunds which haue lyen in our power, yea euen to ſende our men at armes to ayde him in the enterpriſe of *Bolognia*,being neither bownd, nor our proper profit reſpected in the action: But not one office,not one obedience,not one humilitie, could ſuffice to appeaſe the ſeueritie of his minde, whereof,beſides many other apparant teſtimonies and tokens,this is not the leaſt, that he receiued them willingly and gladly that offered to kill me,not for hatred he bare to me that neuer offended him, and in the tyme of his Cardinalſhip he had honorably embraſed me, but for a burning deſire he had to depriue you of your libertie: I am loath to offend the lawes of modeſtie,and muche more to be ouercaried with the memorie of myne owne harmes: but becauſe the thing is true by your proper witnes and teſtimonie, and in remẽbring the offence the offender ſuffreth no iniurie, I hope I ſhall not be thought to arrogãt in ſpeaking,where leſſe ſilence might haue made me ſuſpected of ſimplenes: he hath alwayes ſought to bring this common weale to cleaue to his immoderat and vniuſt wills: he hath alwayes wrought to make it a pertaker of his exſpenſes and daungers: And therefore not hoping but that raſh and vndiſcreete reſolucions might ſucceede of the moderacion and maturitie of your councells, he hath diſpoſed all his deuiſes to this ende to bringe into this citie, a tyrannie, which depending vpon him,ſhould not be directed and managed according to your profit, but after the importunitie of his luſtes and couetouſnes, with the which (being drawne from endes exceſſiue) he thinketh vpon no other thing then to ſowe ſeedes of diſcord, to bring forth one warre after an other, and to nouriſh and keepe kindled a perpetuall fire in Chriſtendom: And why ſhould we doubt,that at this preſent he is not poſſeſſed of an intencion to ſet vpon vs, hauing two mighty armies ioyned with him, being Lord of *Romagnia*,and the ſtate of *Siena* ſubiected to his obedience: it is not hard to draw to action the mind that is ſo addicted to dominion and imperie,And where we are perſwaded is emulacion of our greatnes and glory, there let vs looke for the worſt that malice and hatred can doe: we haue reaſon to ſuſpect that he will aſſay to obteine that by open force,whereunto he hath ſo long aſpired by ſecret deuiſes, his thirſt being ſo much the greater by howe muche he ſeeth vs ill prepared for our defence: A matter which though no other thing would detect and ſignifie vnto vs,his thoughtes and deuiſes haue ſufficiently expreſſed it,by appoynting lately for Legat of *Bolognia*, the Cardinall of *Medicis* in intencion to preferre him to tharmie:A Cardinall who had neuer receiued any honorable place of him,neuer gratified with benefits,neuer acceptable to him for ſeruice, councell, opinion, truſt or confidence: take your conſideracions of theſe thinges,and what els can you iudge, then that giuing authoritie to march vpon your frontyers,and almoſt to ſet his foote vpon your neckes,with ſuch a dignitie,ſuch a reputacion,and ſuch a terror of armes, the man that onely aſpyreth to be your tyrant,deſiring to ſtirre vp and conſpire your Citiſens to affect tyrannie more then libertie,and to draw your ſubiects to mutinie, to thend to introduce his imperie: it belongs to wiſe men to foreſee a miſchiefe affore it happen,and it is the reward of men vnhappy to lament it when it is chaunced: The wiſe ſayler takes his iudgement of the wether by the clowdes and tokens of the ayre, and men pollitike turne to their proper warning the ſignes that are ſent from him whom they both ſuſpect and feare: In regard of theſe reaſons it hath bene iudged neceſſary

" by this honorable councell and many other Citizens of reſpect and merit, that for
" the defence and protection of this libertie, there ſhould be leauyed the ſame prouiſions as if the warre were certeine: And albeit it is very likely that the french king,
" at leaſt for his proper intereſt, wil ayde vs mightely: yet, we are neither for that hope
" to leaue of thoſe remedies which be in our power, nor forget that many impedimēts
" may eaſily chaunce, which in ſome ſorte may depriue vs of his ſuccours: it may be
" there be ſome that will obiect againſt this councell as being neither neceſſary nor
" profitable, in ſuch men perhaps is more dominion of paſſion or other perticuler humor, then of affection or zeale to the common benefit: Some alſo alleage, that being
" vncerteine of the Popes intencion to enter into warre, it is a reſolucion vnprofitable,
" ſuch as offendeth his authoritie, and by taxing the reuenues of the Church, to giue
" him iuſt occaſion to be angry and to prouoke him to make warre vpon vs almoſt by
" neceſſitie: as though by ſo many euident ſignes & arguments is not manifeſtly comprehended the ſubſtance of his intencion, or as though it apperteyned to wiſe go-
" uernors of common weales to deferre preparacions till after the beginning of thaſſalt, & firſt to receiue the blow of thennemie, affore we couer our bodies with armes
" neceſſary for our defence: The medicine that is miniſtred out of tyme, workes not
" to the benefit of the patient, the councel is without frute that commes after the fact,
" and it is too late to applye the remedie after the ill be hapned: others of vs dwell in
" this opinion, that not to adde the wrathe of God to the anger of the Pope, we muſt
" prouide for our ſauetie by ſome other meane, ſince we are not yet falne into that neceſſitie without the which ſecular Princes haue bene alwayes forbidden by the can-
" non lawes and that vnder great paynes to impoſe any charge vppon the perſons or
" goods of the Church: This reaſon hath bene alſo conſidered by vs and others that
" haue giuen councell to the publicacion of this law: But who dowteth that ſince our
" publike reuenues are not ſufficient to furniſh thexpenſes we muſt ſuſteyne, And our
" treaſors hauing bene ſo long time drayned, and our neceſſities no leſſe encreaſing by
" the continuacion of the warres: who doubteth I ſay that it is not both reaſonable &
" neceſſary, that the charges we are to ſuſteine for the defence of a warre vniuſtly begon by the Church, ſhould not be leauyed and ſupported with the moneyes of the
" perſons of the Church: A matter which many tymes heretofore hath bene practiſed by our citie, and of no leſſe example with other Princes and common weales:
" But neuer with greater moderacion and reſpect neither here nor elſewhere, for that
" there is no intencion to employ them in other action, but onely to laye them vp in
" places of ſuretie, to thende to make repayment to the perſons them ſelues if we find
" no occaſion to feare: So that if the Pope bring not warre vpon vs, as it is reaſonable
" we disburſſe not the treaſors of the Churche, and in effect they ſhall be no way ex-
" ſpended: So alſo if he make no conſcience to afflict vs, why ſhoulde we be curious
" by all our wayes and meanes poſſible to defend vs from the iniuries of a warre ſo vniuſt: where tyrants turne their authoritie to oppreſſe innocents, to enter into armes
" for our owne ſauetie can be no breache of obedience nor order: it holdes ſufficiently of equitie to repulſe a violence by the ſame meanes wherewith it is offered: what
" occaſion of diſpleaſure hath he found in this common weale, which by neceſſitie &
" not by will, hath ſuffered the councell to be aſſembled at *Pyſa*: ſhall we for this be interpreted to haue prouoked his anger: faultes done by neceſſitie bring with them a
" ſufficient reaſon of excuſe: is it to prouoke his anger, when we refuſe to lay downe
" our neckes to him that hath vowed to ſtryke them of? it is farre from thimputacion
" of prouoking to prepare and put our ſelues in order to reſiſt his vniuſt violence: No,

we

we ſhould the rather prouoke him, if we fayled to make conuenient prouiſions, for
that the hope of the facilitie of the enterpriſe would make his furie the greater, raging
already with a burning emulacion to deſtroy your libertie euen to the foundacions:
The feare to offend God neede not reteyne you: for, our neceſſitie is ſo great, and
our daunger ſo manifeſt, not ſtanding ſubiect to any thing that may more preiudice
vs: that it is ſuffered not onely to ſerue our turnes with that part of thoſe reuenues
which is not conuerted into workes of pietie and charitie, but alſo it is lawfull to lay
handes euen vpon the thinges ſacred: for that according to the lawe of nature, the
defenſe and reſiſting of iniuries is common to all men, allowed of God, and appro-
ued of all nations, A perpetuall rule to men, & engendred together with the world:
it will laſte as longe as the worlde, and is not ſubiect to derogacion by any of the
lawes ciuill or cannon, grounded vpon the wills and tradicions of men, which being
not otherwayes recorded, then in paper or other matter fraile and declyning, haue
no power to derogat a perpetuall law, not made by men or their councells, but en-
graued by nature her ſelfe in the ſpirits and hartes of all mankind: we muſt not ex-
ſpect and temporiſe till we be brought into the laſt extremitie, for that being once
enuyroned with oppreſſions our recourſſe to remedies woulde be too late, and we
ſhould ſtand to lament the harmes which we might haue auoyded: it is too late to
prouoke to vomit when the poyſon hath pearſed to the bones: the ſoldiour ſerueth
no turne that beginneth to march when the battell is done: Beſides all this, how can
it be denied, that the ſtate and multitude of priuat perſons ſhall ſuffer great diſtreſſe
by it, ſeeing that by thimpoſtes that are layed vpon them, the greateſt part of them
are conſtrayned to cut of ſome of thoſe exſpenſes without the which they can not
liue but with great incommoditie & diminucion of things neceſſary to their degree:
That is the neceſſitie which hath bene conſidered vppon by ſuch as haue made the
lawes, by which we are forbidden to exſpect till our Citiſens be brought to the daũ-
ger of famine and no longer able to ſuſteyne their famulies: On the other part, by
this taxacion, there is no incõmoditie impoſed vpon the Churchmen, for that they
doe onely diſfurniſh them ſelues of that parte of their reuenues, which, either they
kepe vnprofitable in their coffers, or reſerue to exſpend in prodigalities ſuperfluous,
or perhaps ſome of them (I ſpeake vnder pardon) would laſhe out in pleaſures di-
ſhoneſt: This is a perpetuall reſolucion of all wiſe men, that the libertie of cities and
common weales is acceptable to God, for that in them, more then in any other ſort
of gouernment is preſerued the common benefit, iuſtice adminiſtred without ac-
ception of perſons, the minde of Citiſens rayſed more and more to workes of vertue
and honor, and more reſpect and reuerence borne to religion: And yet you beleeue
it is an action not a litle diſpleaſing to God that to defend a thing ſo precious for the
which who ſheds his proper blood winneth greateſt merit and prayſe, you employ
a litle part of the frutes and reuenues of temporall thinges: which notwithſtanding
they are dedicated to Churches, yet they are all diſcended vnto them by almes, by
donations, and by inducements of laye men our elders: They are to be no leſſe em-
ployed for the preſeruacion and ſauetie of Churches, ſubiect and expoſed in a time
of warre then thinges ſecular which are layed downe to the crueltie and couetouſ-
nes of ſoldiours, neyther are they more to be reſpected in a warre made by the Pope,
then if there were a perſecution by the *Turkes* or the greateſt tyrants of the worlde:
forbeare not whileſt you haue tyme to prouide for the ſauetie of your contrey, be
not curious in conſcience to defend your libertie, then the which you can not offer
to God a temporall ſacrifice more acceptable or worthy: Thinke that to chaſſe the

" warre from your houſes, from your temples, from your Monaſteries, and from your
" poſſeſſions, there is no better remedie then to make knowne to him that is riſen to
" offende you, that you are determined to forget nothing that may ſerue to your de-
" fenſe: That force is iuſt that is rayſed in a neceſſary cauſe, and where you want ſecu-
" lar meanes to warrant your liues, to apply the goods of the Church in this propor-
" cion, can be no breache of equitie nor conſcience: nature by prerogatiue makes
" things lawfull for defence, which the law ceremonially reſerueth for other reſpects.

The diſcourſſe of this graue Magiſtrat, no leſſe reaſonable in it ſelfe, then neceſſary for their common ſauetie, wrought ſuch impreſſion in the mindes of the hearers, that the law proponed was without any difficultie approued by the great councell: By reaſon whereof notwithſtanding the diſpleaſure and diſcontentment of the Pope increaſed more and more, taking more hoat occaſion to diſpoſe the confederats to begin warre with the *Florentyns:* yet the perſwaſions of *Pandolffo Petruccio* had power to turne from that opinion aſwell the Pope as the Deputies that ſolicited in *Italy* for the king of *Aragon:* for *Pandolffo* giuing councell to aſſaile *Bolognia*, blamed much all deuiſes and enterpriſes to bring the warre into *Tuskane*, alleaging that *Bolognia* being vnable for her proper weakenes, to defend her ſelfe, ſhould be enforced to call in the forces of the french king, And for the *Florentyns*, what with their own power, concurring alſo the proper profit of the king, he would no leſſe ſee to their defence, then to *Bolognia:* That albeit the *Florentyns* bare a certeine inclinacion of minde to the french king, yet neuertheleſſe they were wiſe and ſtoode alwayes ielous of the preſeruacion of their eſtate, neuer hauing at his inſtance offended any with armes during ſo great ſtirs: yea they had not miniſtred to him in any other ſort of ſeruice, but onely furniſhed him, for the defenſe of the ſtate of *Lombardy* with two hundred men at armes according to the bondes of the capitulacion made in common betwene him and the king Catholike: he ſayd there could not be done to the french king a thing more agreeable or profitable, then to conſtraine the *Florentyns* to giue ouer to be Newters and to ioyne their cauſe with his: That it would be a matter of great indiſcreſſion, if his enemies were the cauſe to make him obteyne that which he could neuer bring to paſſe by his authoritie, the king hauing in vaine ſolicited by many prayers and promiſſes to declare them ſelues for him: That it was diſcerned of many by many ſignes, and by him comprehended by moſt certeine knowledge, how greeuous it was to the *Florentyns*, that the councell ſhould be celebrated at *Pyſa*, whereunto they had not conſented for other reſpect then that they durſt not gaineſay the french kings demaundes, made immediatly after the rebellion of *Bolognia:* A tyme when in *Italy* was not ſeene any armie to oppoſe againſt him: Beſides, it was a thing certeine that thauthoritie of *Cæſar* was concurrant in the councell, accompanied alſo with the conſent of the king Catholike: That likewiſe he knew that the *Florentyns* were not to ſuffer the french ſoldiours to ſtay vpon their landes: And that it was a matter daungerous to threaten or prouoke them, where, of the contrary it could not be but profitable to deale with them with affabilitie and demonſtracion to admit their excuſes: for that proceeding in ſuch maner, either there would be obteyned of them with time and occaſion, thinges which then could not be hoped for, or at leaſt, forbearing to conſtraine them by feare of newe reſolucions, they might be ſo interteyned that they ſhould doe no hurt in times of daunger and perill: And in caſe of victorie and preuailing, it would reſt in the power of the confederats to giue to the *Florentyns* ſuch forme of gouernment as they ſhould thinke moſt expedient: The matter that in this action diminiſhed thauthoritie of *Pandolffo* was

Pandolffo Pe. councelleth the Pope

the

the knowledge that was had that he desired for his profit perticuler, that a warre of that consequence should not begin in *Tuskane*, by meane of which the whole bodie & partes of the contrey would suffer indifferent destruction eyther by tharmies of thennemie or by the incursions of friendes: But what by the efficacie of his reasons, set out so as they resisted all obiections, and by thauthoritie of the man, in whome was no small opinion for matters of councell, it was easily determined not to assaile the *Florentyns*: This councell was the better approued by a contencion that a fewe dayes after began to kindle betweene the *Florentyns* and the Cardinalls.

A contencion betwene the Florentyns & the Cardinalls rebells.

It is set downe before that the presence of the Cardinalls was not at the first actes of the councell: for, they taried at the borow of *S. Donyn*, eyther to expect the Prelats that were to come out of *Fraunce*, or to be accompanied with those which *Cæsar* had promised to send, or happly lingring for other occasions: And being departed from thence by sondry wayes, the brute ranne that the two spanish Cardinalls who had taken the way of *Bolognia* would be reconciled to the Pope, being knowne to solicit continually to that end the Embassador of the king of *Aragon* which lay resident with the Pope: That opinion seemed so much the more credible by how much they had obteyned of the *Florentyns* vnder publike faith and promisse, that they might remeine in sewertie within *Florence*: But by that tyme they were come vpon the contrey of *Mugello*, they turned suddeinly towards *Lucqua*, eyther to ioyne with the others, or perhaps their intencion had bene alwayes so, or els as touching the Cardinall *S. Croff* his auncient ambicion preuayled more then his newe feare, or lastly, receyuing aduertisements in that place that they were depriued of the dignitie and cappe of Cardinalls, they dispayred to fall to any accorde with the Pope: About this tyme the three french Cardinalls, *S. Mallo*, *Albert*, and *Bayeux*, passed the *Appenyn* by the waye of *Pontresmo* together with the Prelats of *Fraunce*: After whome and at their request, marched out of *Lombardye* three hundred frenche launces commaunded by *Odet Foix* Lorde of *Lautrich*: he was appoynted garde of the councell by the Cardinalls, eyther to thende that the councell accompanied with the armes of the french king, should continue with more authoritie, or els (which was more likely) to haue power to suppresse who soeuer durst ryse agaynst the obedience of their decrees: But so soone as the *Florentyns* came to the discouerie of that resolucion which had bene conceyled from them vntill the bandes began to marche, they determined not to receyue into a citie of so greate importance, such a number of soldiours, both considering the ill disposicion of the *Pysans*, and that the last rebellion hapned King *Charles* being present and suffering it, and also the inclinacion which the french soldiours bare to the towne of *Pysa*: In tymes of perill wise men feare all thinges, and doe holde it necessary to their sewertie to interteyne a suspicion of thinges which in common foresight and coniecture they haue no reason to doubt: for, the *Florentyns* fearing that besides the daungerous accidents that might happen by thinsolency of men of warre, doubted also that the soldiours of the french king entring into *Pysa*, it fell not out (& perhaps such was the secret desire of the king) that he sought to make *Tuskane* the seat of his warres: In these feares, they signified at thinstant to the french king, that it was harde to harbour so many people for the straitnes and sterrilitie of the contrey, very vnable to prouide for the norriture of so many peoples as came from all partes to the councell: They alleaged also that the place was not necessary for the sauetie of the Cardinals to whom might be offered some violence either by straungers, or by the proper inhabitants, their multitudes and numbers exceeding farre the pollicie & garde

that they had assigned to contein them: To the Cardinal of *S. Mallovv*, by whose direction the french men were gouerned in all thinges, they sent word that they were determined to admit no soldiours into *Pisa*: who, by the returne of his aunswers, seeming to consent & be contented, gaue order on the other side, that the bands should aduaunce & marche seuerally and without making any semblance, perswading himself that being approched neare to *Pisa*, they would enter either by force or by sutletie, or at least for feare that the *Florentyns* durst not doe such an iniurie to the french king as to let them: But the king hauing clearely aunswered that they should not marche thether at all, the *Florentyns* dispatched *Frauncis Vittoryo* to the Cardinall of *S. Mallo* with an embassage equall to his hawtines and pride: he told him, from the state of *Florence*, that if the Cardinalls entred vppon their landes armed and with bandes of soldiours, they would not onely not admit them into *Pysa*, but also would holde them for ennemies and pursue them for such, And would also doe the like, if the men of warre passed the *Appenin* towardes *Tuskane*, for that they were to presume that they passed not for other purpose, then to steale secretly into *Pysa*, or to execute some other stratageame: This message wrought so with the Cardinall, that he resolued the bandes should eftsoones returne agayne beyonde *th Appenyn*, the *Florentyns* consenting that besides the persons of the Lordes of *Lavvtrech* and *Chastyllion*, he might reteyne with him an hundred and fiftie Archers: All the Cardinalls were together at *Lucqua*, which citie, for suffering that assemblie and presence, the Pope pronownced to be falne into thinterdiction: And leauing there very sicke the Cardinall of *Cossensa*, who, not long after sawe there the laste daye of his mortall life, the other foure went to *Pysa*, where they were receyued by the Magistrates with colde shewes, and by the Commons was expressed no great reuerence, both for that their comming was displeasing to the *Florentyns*, and the cause of that councell not well receiued nor approued by the nations of Christendom: for, notwithstanding the title and pretence to reforme the Churche was both very honest and greatly profitable, and also no lesse necessarye then agreeable to all the regions of Christendom: yet it was discerned of wise men that the Authors and workers of the same were pushed on with endes ambicious: They were all caried with couetous desires of temporall thinges, and vnder the shadowe of the weale and benefit vniuersall, they respected their perticular interests making holines and pietie a couer to their greatnes and glorie: And yet which of them should be raysed to the Popedome, stoode in no lesse necessitie to be reformed then others that they went about to compell to reformacion: Moreouer it was seene of many, that besides the ambicion of Preestes, the quarrells of Princes and questions of estates, had stirred vp and nourished this councell: That respect had moued the french king to procure it, the king of *Romaines* to consent to it, and the king of *Aragon* to desire it: So that it being clearely deserned that vnder the cause of the councell, was comprehended the quarrel of armes and Empires, the people expressed an vniuersall horror that vnder deuout shadowes of spirituall thinges (instruments of warres and troubles) men should thirst and aspire to matters temporal: And therefore not onely at the entrey of the Cardinalls into *Pysa*, the common disdayne and hatred of people was disclosed, but also euen in the actes of the councel, their grudge and discontentment burst out more manifest: for albeit they summoned the Cleargie to be in the Cathedrall church at the first session, yet much lesse that any of them respected the summonce, seeing the very Preests of the Church refused to lend their ornaments and vestures, when (according to their custome) they meant to haue celebrated the Masse for

thimploracion of the ayde & light of the holy ſpirit: yea, the Preſtes iuſtifying their contẽpt with actes of greater inſolẽcie, for bare not to ſhut the dores of their church & would not ſuffer them to enter: The Cardinals compleyned of theſe contempts at *Florence*, where was commaunded that neyther the vſe of Churches nor the ſeruice of inſtrumẽts ordeyned for diuine office, ſhould be denied thẽ, but as touching the Cleargie, there was no compulſion eyther to be at the Church or to aſſiſt the action: Theſe directions almoſt repugnant in them ſelues, as they proceded of the diuiſion of the Citiſens & by meane of them, on the one ſide the coũcel was receiued into their dominiõ, & on the other ſide followed with contẽpt & reiection, brought at one time offence to the Pope, and diſcontentment to the french king: In regarde whereof, the Cardinalls ſeeing howe daungerous it was to remeine in *Piſa* without armes, & no leſſe conſidering that it would bring diminucion to thauthority of their councell, to celebrat in a citie that obeyed not their decrees, were vpon tearmes to depart aſſoone as they ſhould haue accompliſhed thaffaires of the councell: wherein their reſolucion was further compelled and haſtned by an accident hapning ſuddeinely, which albeit was by chaunce, tooke notwithſtanding his foundacion of the wicked diſpoſicion of mẽ: for, a french ſoldiour, in a publike place committing ſome inſolẽcy vpon a ſtrompet, and ſuch as ſaw it raiſing a preſent outcry, many ſoldiours aſwell french as of the Cardinalls traine and other Prelats prepared in armes to the place where the brute was: on the other ſide likewiſe many trowpes of the people of *Piſa* & of the *Florentyn* bands flockt thether to behold the accident: And as for the moſt part popular tumults are full of faction and varietie of affection, ſo the alarme being ſownded, ſome cryed vpon the name of *Fraunce*, and ſome vppon the title of *Morzocco* (the ſigne & enſeigne of the common weale of *Florence*) occupying amõgeſt them daũgerous fight, wherin their furie made them feare nothing leſſe thẽ the hazard of their liues, which at other tymes they would ſeeke to preſerue with no litle care & ielouſie: But the Capteines and chieftaines of the french, and commaunders of the *Florentyns*, ioyning diſcreſſion to vallour and authoritie, abated the fury of the fight, their diligence doing much to reſtrayne thintemperance on all ſides: In the ende the tumult was appayſed, many on both partes bearing away no ſmall hurtes, amongſt whom fell into that fortune the Lord *Chaſtyllion* & the Lord of *Lavvtrich*, notwithſtanding neither the one nor the other bare away any wounds of peril: This accident brought ſuch aſtoniſhment to the Cardinals, happly at that hower aſſembled in the Church of *S. Michaell* which is there ioyning, that they made the day after the ſecond ſeſſion wherein they ordeined that the councel ſhould be transferred to *Myllan*: not holding thopportunitie of that place conuenient for the actes of the councel, which gaue no ſewertie for the ſauetie of their liues: And therefore before the xv. day of their arriual they departed in great diligence from *Piſa*, greatly to the reioycing of the *Florentyns* & *Piſans*, & no leſſe to the contentment and liking of the Prelats that followed the councel, whom it did not a litle diſcontent to be come into a place, which, what for the incommodity of lodging, & what for the incõueniency of other wants growen by the long warrs that were paſſed, did not miniſter to them that fulnes of helps & means to liue delicatly & prodigally which the Preſts & frẽch men are wont to find in the like actions: They murmured alſo, & being come thether by the kings cõmaũdement & againſt their wils, they deſired chaũg of place & all other accidents that might bring difficulty, prolongation, or diſſoluciõ of the coũcel. But, ſuch was the vniuerſal contempt of this councel, that the hatred & grudging of peoples following the Cardinalls to *Myllan*, they founde there euen the like deſ-

An accident that made the Cardinalls depart from Pyſa.

The councell of Pyſa tranſferred to Myllan.

piſing,& farre greater difficulties: for the cleargie of *Myllan* communicating in the contempts of *Pyſa* euen in the beginning refuſed of them ſelues to celebrat the diuine ſeruice,as though there were entred into their city,not cardinals of the church of *Rome* who were wont to be honored and worſhipped in euery place, but perſons profane & accurſed,& carying with them all priuacion of honor,reuerence,and reſpect: And when they had occaſion to ſhew them ſelues in publike,the cõmons forbare not to raile at them,ſ korning them as well in wordes as geſtures: but ſpecially their malice was moſt expreſſed vpon the Cardinal of *S.Croſſ* whõ as they ſuppoſed to be the author of that ſtir,ſo euery one exerciſed their iudgement moſt vpon him, being alſo in the laſt ſeſſion of *Piſa* elected Preſident of the councell: Theſe were the manifeſt & common murmures of people, that heretofore councels were wont to bring to contreys benedictions, peace & cõcord, but in this was bred to contreyes, kingdoms,& peoples,maledictions,warres,& diſcordes: That other councells were aſſembled to reunite the Church that was out of vnitie, but this was aſſembled to breake her vnitie,when ſhe was in good agreement: That the contagion of ſuch a peſtilence infected al ſuch as receiued it,altered all thoſe that obeyed it, abuſed euen thoſe that fauored it,defiled ſuch as had conuerſacion with it, and ſeduced all thoſe that heard it: There was to be exſpected of their cõming no other thing,then blood, famine,& peſtilence,together with the perdicion both of bodies and ſoules of men: by the originall and cauſe,they gathered what would be the ſucceſſe and effect, and reaſonably they could exſpect no frute or confirmacion of vnity,from ſuch as began to ſowe their labors with ſeedes of diuiſion: *Gaſton de Foix*,who not many monethes affore the departing of *Monſr Longueville* had bene preferred both to the Duchie of *Myllan* and to the armie,ſomewhat ſuppreſſed thoſe murmures tending almoſt to a tumult and manifeſt ſedicion: he ioyned to his authoritie,commaundements thretning and peynall,conſtraining the Cleargie to celebrate ſeruice as they were wont, and enioyned the Commons to ſpeake more modeſtly hereafter.

In regard of theſe difficulties the beginnings of the councel were continued with very litle ſucceſſe or iſſue: The plots that had bene layd with ſo great deuiſe & ſtudy, brought forth euents quite contrary to the exſpectacion of the authors: thinges debated by long time & deepe diſcourſe of councel,drew no reſolucion according to the weening & cõiectures of the parties: where ſownd meaning goeth not with the wiſ-
" dom & imaginacions of men,there their workings are ful of frailty & the whole bo-
" dy of their actions clothed with imperfections: But the thing that moſt troubled the
" hopes of the Cardinals was that *Cæſar* did not onely from day to day deferre to ſend eyther Prelats or Proctors, notwithſtanding the conſent he had giuen & that often tymes reaſſured by perpetuall promiſſes to the french king & the Cardinal of *S.Seuerin*: but alſo,he alleaged for his excuſe (being happly induced & councelled by others) that it was not agreable to his dignitie, to ſend to the councel of *Piſa*,the Prelats of his proper eſtates & territories,if both the example and name of all *Germany* were not concurrant in thaction: And for that cauſe he ſayd he had called a conuocacion of the Prelats of *Germany* at *Auſpurge*,to deliberat of ſome ioynt & vniuerſall forme of proceeding to be vſed touching the councel: aſſuring notwithſtanding the french mẽ,that vnder that meane he would ſo work as they ſhould all be ſent: Moreouer he much troubled the kings mind with his varietie & diuers maners of proceeding,for,beſides his vncertein & cold dealings in the affaires of the coũcel,be inclined fully & opẽly to the mocion of peace with the *Venetians*,which was ſolicited by the Pope & the king of *Aragon* with many offers: And on the other ſide, cõplaining

The fr. king ſuſpecteth Maxymylian.

bitterly

bitterly against the king Catholike, both for that contrary to all shame, he had so apparantly impugned the league of *Cambray*, & also in this new confederacion (which he rather called traison) he had named him but as accessary: he suborned *Galeas S. Seueryn* to goe to *Rome* in person as enemie to the Pope, but refurnished by the king for the greatest part of his armie, and releeued with great quantities of treasor: And yet he made no declaracion of these thinges with such assurance as it could not be doubted what he would at last determine (notwithstanding all his demaunds were satisfied to him): In this sort the kinges mind was eftsoones trauelled with his accustomed suspicions, that if he abandoned *Cæsar*, he left him at liberty to ioyne with his enemies: And if he would still sticke to him and susteine him, his alliance would be bought with too deare a price, and yet doubtfull what fruite would reuert of it well knowing by experience of thinges past, that oftentymes his owne disorders did hurt him more, then his forces did ayde him: yea the king was not able to iudge in himselfe, which would most hurt him in this action, either the well doings & good successe of *Cæsar*, or the contraries: besides, the king Catholike nourished him & enterteyned him as much as he could in that doubt, And, to make him proceede more slowly in the prouisions of the warre, he gaue him hope not to stirre in armes: The king of *England* did the like, and for the same causes, who had made aunswer to the french Embassador that it was not true that he had consented to the league made at *Rome*, but that he was fully determined to keepe thalliance which he had with the french king: Besides, at the same time the Bishop of *Tyuoly* proponed peace in the name of the Pope, so farre forth as the king would no more fauor the councell, and withdraw him selfe from the protection of *Bolognia*, for the which he offered to giue assurance that the Pope should dresse no more new enterprises against him: The king seemed lesse displeased with the peace, notwithstanding it bare hard condicions, the to put him selfe to the daungers & exspenses of the warre, which by computacion seemed infinit, hauing to make resistance against his enemies, and to refurnish the wants of *Cæsar*: Neuertheless, disdaine drew him almost to be forced by the king of *Aragon* to make peace for feare of warre: besides that it was a matter very hard to assure him that the Pope would obserue the couenants of peace, after he had recouered *Bolognia*, & should be deliuered from the feare of the councell: he doubted also that when he should be ready to consent to the condicions offered, the Pope would draw backe as he was wont to doe at other tymes: In which maner of proceeding, besides that his dignitie should be offended, and his reputacion diminished, *Cæsar* would hold him selfe iniuried, for that leauing him in warre with the *Venetians*, he sought of him selfe alone to conclude the peace: Therefore he made precise aunswer to the Bishop of *Tyuoly*, that he would not condiscend to subiect *Bolognia* to the Church in other forme then it had wont to be in auncient tymes: And at the same time, to establish a firme resolucion with *Cæsar* who lay at *Bruueth*, a towne neare to *Trente*, he sent to him in great diligence, & with very large offers, *Andre de Burgo Cæsars* Embassador resident with him: At this time certeine of his subiects of the contrey of *Tyroll* occupied *Batisten*, a place of very great strength in the entrey of the vallye of *Caldora*.

The practises of the peace being wholly broken & dissolued, the first thoughts & deuises of the king were, that when *Monsr Palissa*, (leauing in *Verona* three thowsand footemen to appease *Cæsar* not well contented with his departure) should haue led the residue of the bands to the Duchie of *Myllan*, there should be made new leauies of footemen: And so all the armie being reassembled, they should marche to assaile

Romagnia, hoping to occupye it either all or in parte, before the *Spanyard* should approach: And then either to march further according to occasions, or at least to enterteyne and beare out the warre vpon the dominions of others vntill springe time, when the king passing into *Italy* in person with all the forces of his kingdom, hoped to make an vniuersall suppression of his enemies: But as he stoode wauering in this deuise, his resolucions not proceeding with that expedicion which the occasions required, & by reason of his nature estraunged from exspenses, him selfe no lesse slow in many prouisions but specially to wage new soldiours: he fell into new suspicions of the stirring of the *Swyzzers*, of which nation for that heretofore we haue sette downe some generall mention in sondry places, it can not be inconuenient to the present purpose, to deale somewhat more perticularly.

What people the Swyzzers be.

The *Swyzzers*, which are those peoples whom auncient histories cal *Heluetians*, haue their habitations in the most high mounteins of *Iura* named *S. Claudo*, *S. Brigit*, & *S. Godat*: A race of men naturally valiant, warlike, and rude, And for the sterilitie of the contrey, more giuen to grazing, then to tillage: They haue bene in times past vnder the subiection of the Dukes of *Austrich*, whose iurisdiction they shaked of by rebellion many yeares sithens: They haue their pollicie & gouernment of them selues, without any signe of depēding or relation to either Emprours, kings, or other Princes: They are diuided into xiij communalties which they call cantons, & euery of them seuerally are gouerned by Magistrates, lawes & ordenances proper & perticular: They hold their parliament or councel euery yeare, or more often if occasion & necessitie require, wherein they dispute of vniuersal affaires, their assemblies & meetings being not subiect to certeinty of places, but referred as best pleaseth the Deputies of euery canton: They call those assemblies dyets or iorneyes, imitating the phrase & customs of the *Germains*: In them they resolue vpon peace, vpon warre, vpon confederacions, vpon legacions & demaunds made to leauy soldiours eyther by publike decree, or by permission: in them also they set downe directions for al things that apperteyne to their common interest: when they agree by publike decree to deliuer soldiours, the cantons chuse amongest them selues a Capteine general, to whō they giue the banner with the enseigne & name publike: Their vnitie & agreement, together with the glory of their armes, hath made them very notable & renowmed thorow the regions of the earth, notwithstanding for their outward shape & personage, they beare a presence barbarous & rude, & for their behauior & conuersacion, hold more of inciuilitie then of comlines: By their natural vallour ioyned to due discipline & order, they haue not onely & at all times made valiant defense at home for their owne contrey, but also in forreine warres they haue performed singuler feates of armes to their perpetuall praise: wherein sure their recommendacion and merit had bene farre greater, if they had expressed such effects of vallour for their proper iurisdiction and imperie, and not bene mercenarie to thappoyntments of others, & for thincreasing of the dominion of straungers, or if they had sette before theyr eyes an ende more worthy and noble then the desire of money, by the loue and corruption whereof they haue lost thoccasion to be feared and redoubted in *Italy*: for, where they haue not come out of their contrey but as soldiours waged & mercenary, they haue not caried back a publike frute of their victories: The desire of gayne makes them for the most part to follow armies, & besides their huge pensions, to be troublesom by new demaundes of payes almost intollerable: To such as wage & pay them, they are for the most part hard & vneasy in conuersation & obediēce: In their houses & apart, the principalls of them forbeare not to receiue giftes & pensions of Princes,

Princes, to follow and fauour their faction in their dyets and parlyaments: By reason whereof, thinges publike being referred to priuat profit, and fauors and voyces being made vendible and corrupted, discordes by litle and litle haue bene kindled amongst them selues: the same beeing thoccasion that matters which haue ben approued in the parliaments by the moste parte of the Cantons, beginning not to be embraced and followed of all, they fell at laste, not many yeeres affore that time, to manifest warres amongst them selues, muche to the diminution of the authoritie which they bare throughout the partes of the worlde: Somewhat belowe these be certayne townes & villages inhabited by a people called Valleymen, as hauing their dwellings in valleys, they are inferiour to the *Svvizzers* in number, in authoritie, in vallour, and in euery other disposition: And yet more lower then they is an other generation of men called *Grisons*, which are gouerned by three *Cantons*, and vppon that are called the Lordes of the three leagues: the capitall towne of their countrey is called *Coire*: they haue often societie and confederation with the *Svvizzers*, and with them they go commonly to the warre: they haue almoste the same policie, the same lawes, the same constitution of maners and customes: In matters of armes and vallour they are preferred affore the valley men, but they holde no comparison with the *Svvizzers*, eyther in numbers, in politie, or in vertue. The *Svvizzers* then, who at that time were not so muche degenerate and corrupted as they haue beene since, tooke incitation by the Pope, and prepared to discende vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, both dissembling that that leauie of armes proceeded of the vniuersitie of the *Cantons*, and also spreading a brute, that the *Canton* of *Svvitz* and *Fribourg* were the authors of the action: of whom, the first tooke his complaint and consideration of this, that a post of theirs passing throwe the duchie of *Millan* was murdred by certayne French souldiours: The other pretended a reuenge for certayne particular wronges that had bene done to them: The Councells of these, and generally, the resolution of the whole nation, albeit they were affore signified to the French king, yet they coulde do nothing to drawe him to accorde with them, notwithstanding the aduise and perswasions of his Lordes and wise men concurred in it, and the friendes and fauourers which he had amongst them gaue him hope to be hable to obteine it: He was stayed also by his accustomed difficulties to enlarge their auncient pensions with twentie thousande frankes, which may be a little more or lesse then tenne thousande duckets: So that he refused for a matter of small price and vallue the amitie, which afterwardes he would haue bought with infinite treasurs: He perswaded him selfe that eyther they would not stirre at all, or if they did, at leaste they could not muche hurt him, for that beeing accustomed to go to the warre on foote, their want of horse and artilleries would bring great impedimentes to their seruice: Besides, about that time (nowe was Nouember begonne) the ryuers were swelled, and they had neither vesselles nor bridges: The vittayles of the Duchie of *Millan* were restrayned into fortresses and places of strength, the townes thereabout well garded and kept, and in the playne the men at armes were hable to make head agaynst them: By whiche impedimentes and necessities he presumed that if they did march, they would be constrayned eftsones to retyre. But the *Svvizzers* taking little amaze by these difficulties, began to discende at *Varesa*, at which place their numbers increased continually: They had with them seuen fielde peeces and many harquebushes a crocke caried by horses, and some reasonable prouision of vittells: Their comming seemed to be so muche the more daungerous, by howemuche, the inhabitantes of *Millan* began to be weary of the Frenche iurisdiction,

Valesiens.

Grisons.

the ſame growing both by certayne newe inſolencies and diſorders in the Frenche ſouldiours more then of cuſtome: and alſo by the couetouſneſſe of the king, who would not ſuffer to be made any newe leauyes or prouiſion of footmen: Beſides, the men at armes that at that tyme were in *Italie* which in true computation exceeded not a thouſande and three hundred launces, together with the two hundred gentlemen, were not all hable to make reſiſtance to the *Svvizzers*, both for that parte of them were gone to the garde of *Verona* and *Breſſa*, and alſo *Monſr de Foix* had newly ſent two hundred launces to *Bolognia* to withſtande the comming of the Cardinall of *Medicis* and *M. Anth. Colonno* to *Faenza*: where albeit they had no footemen as yet leauyed, yet both to repreſſe the deuiſions that were in *Bolognia*, and alſo for that at that time the Caſtlekeeper of the rocke of *Saſſilon* (a borowe of the mountayne of *Bolognia*) had voluntarily put it into the Legates handes, it was thought neceſſarie to ſende a garriſon thither: From *Vareſa* the *Svvizzers* ſent a trompet to defye the kinges liefetenant, who hauing aſyet but a ſlender ſtrength of men at armes, and no more then two thouſande footemen, whereof he was not yet reſolued to make newe leauies for feare to diſpleaſe the king, was nowe come to *Aſſaron* a place about xiij. miles from *Millan*: he had no intention to feight with them, but to accoaſte them and cut of their vittells, in which action onely reſted his hope to lette and ſtay them, ſeeing there was not betweene *Vareſa* and *Millan* neither ryuers harde to paſſe, nor any place of defence. From *Vareſa*, the *Svvizzers* marched to *Galera*, where they muſtred their armie whiche conteined ten thouſande hable bodies: *Monſr de Foix* who followed *Iohn Ia. Triuulce*, put him ſelfe within *Leguano*, which is about iiij. miles from *Galera*: By reaſon wherof they of *Millan* hauing more feare then aſſurance, and yet their perill aſyet leſſe then their ſuſpicion, waged bands of footemen at their proper charges for the garde of their towne: Alſo *Theoder Triuulce* cauſed to fortifie the baſtillions, and (as though the armie would haue retyred within *Millan*) he cauſed to caſt ſquares and Cariers within and about the rampiers that enuironed the ſuburbes, the more eaſily to manage horſes. Neuertheles, *Monſr de Foix* accompanied with fiue hundred launces, and the two hundred Gentlemen of the kings, preſented himſelfe before *Galera*, with great ſtore of artilleries: which aſſoone as the *Svvizzers* were aware of, they iſſued out in order of battell, and retired eftſones within the towne, refuſing to feight in a place open vnleſſe their numbers were greater. During theſe actions, and in a ſmall reſpite of time, their numbers increaſed, in which reſpect determining no more to refuſe the feight, they marched to *Buſty*, where was a garriſon of an hundred launces, who ſaued them ſelues with much a do, loaſing their baggage and part of their horſes: At laſt the Frenchmen, who retyred alway by the like meaſure and diſtaunce that tht *Svvizzers* aduaunced, were returned and lodged within the ſuburbes of *Millan*, but there was no ſuretie that they would ſtay and ſtande to defence, for that ſometimes they affirmed and ſometimes denied, furniſhing with great diligence the Caſtells with vittayles. The *Svvizzers* afterwardes marched within two miles of the ſuburbes, but the vniuerſal feare that was had of them before, began now to diminiſh much, both for that the bandes of mē at armes that were reuoked began to arriue continually at *Millan*: and beſides, they muſtred many footemen, exſpecting alſo from time to time Captaine *Molard* wirh his regiment of *Gaſcon* footemen, and Captaine *Iacob* with hys launceknightes, the one directed to come from *Verona*, and the other from *Carpy*: About this time alſo were ſurpriſed certayne letters written by the *Svvizzers* to their Lordes, whom they aduertiſed that the Frenchemen gaue them no great impedimentes,

pedimentes, And that albeit they had as yet receiued no newes from the Pope, and lesse intelligence what the *Venetian* armie did (whereof they marueyled) yet they forbare not to marche and aduaunce continually according to the orders of the resolution. They were by this time xvj. thousande in number and turned towardes *Moncia*, which they assayed not to take, but bearing more towards the ryuer of *Adda*, they kept the Frenchmen in feare that they woulde aduenture to passe ouer: By reason whereof they caste a bridge at *Cassan* to hinder their passage, vsing therein thopportunitie of the towne and the bridge. In this meane while a capteine of the *Svvizzers* hauing first obteined safeconduit, came to *Millan* and demaunded a monethes paye for all the footemen which offred to returne into their countrey: But being departed without any effect of his message, for that their offers were farre inferiour to his asking, he returned the day following with greater demaundes: and albeit there were made to him greater offers then the day before, yet assoone as he was returned to his armie he sent backe immediatly a trompet to signifie to them that they woulde no more harken to accorde: The day following contrarie to thexspectation of euery one, they retired towards *Coma*, and so returned into their countreys, leauing to iudge whether they were discended to assayle the Duchie of *Millan*, or to passe into some other place: and also for what cause, beeing as yet constrayned by no euident necessitie, they returned so sodenly: and if they were affore determined so to do, why they did not accept the money that was offred them, seeing withall, them selues made the demaundes. What so euer the cause was, this is certayne, that as they retyred, there came two postes from the Pope and the *Venetians*, who if they had arriued somewhat sooner, it is likely the armie of the *Svvizzers* had not returned: And it is not to be doubted, that if at the same time that the *Svvizzers* entred the Duchie of *Millan*, the *Spaniardes* had bene neare to *Bolognia*, the affayres of the French who were not hable to make resistance in so many places, had forthwith falne into manyfest ruine and perdition.

The French king finding nowe by experience the perill which he could not foresee afore by reason, sent to *Monsr de Foix* (before he knewe of the breaking vp of the *Svvizzers*) that he should not spare neither labour, money, nor diligence, to make agreement with them: And not doubting of any other violent assault, the *Svvizzers* beeing compounded withall, he gaue present direction to all the men at armes that he had in *Fraunce* (except two hundred launces which he reserued for *Pikardy*) to passe the Mountes, sending besides a new strength of *Gascon* footemen, and commaunded *Monsr de Foix* to furnishe his armie with footemen of *Italians* and launceknightes. And becausé the succors of the *Florentins* were of great importance to him, both for that the warre was made very neare them, and also for thopportunitie of their frontiers to trouble thestate ecclesiastike, besides cutting off of vittayles and other commodities from tharmie of the enemies if they should approch *Bolognia*, he solicited them with great instance, to declare on his side and ioyne with him in the warre with all their forces, for that the present necessitie required an other matter then eyther a succor litle or limited, or that they should nowe stande conteined within the tearmes of confederations: Besides, they could neuer exspecte a more great or goodly occasion to binde him perpetually to them, nor do a more singular benefite or pleasure which both he and his successors should reknowledge to them and their estate from age to age: Lastly he tolde them that if they discended into the matter with necessarie consideration, they shoulde finde that to succor and defende him, did comprehende to support and protect their owne cause, for

The French king demaundeth succors of the Florentins.

that they were not ignorant what hatred the Pope bare to them, and with what desire the king Catholike laboured to dresse and establishe in that Citie an estate depending wholly vpon him. But at *Florence* the opinions of men varied and were deuided, for many blinded with the sweetnes of present sparing, considered not what the tyme to come might bring: and with others preuayled not a litle the memorie of auncient dealings, wherein neither the fayth nor the actions of that cõmon weale had bene at any time thankfully requited by the king raigning, nor by *Charles* the eyght his predecessor: They remembred howe he had solde with a great price his promise, not to hinder them in the recouery of *Pisa*, by which examples they sayde they had no reason to trust eftsones in his promises, neither could they stande assured by any offers he could make, that he would yeelde recompence, for any office or benefite they should do to him: In these respectes they helde it great rashnes to resolue to enter into a warre, which not well succeeding they should partake in all the euills more then eyther reason would, or in due proportion they ought: and falling out happily, they should in no sort communicate with the fruites and benefites, or at least in very small parte and share. But of farre greater importance were they, who either for hatred, or for ambition, or for the desire of an other forme of gouernment, were opposed agaynst the Magistrate or *Gonfalonnier:* They extolled the reasons afforesayde, and inferred others, that beeing newters they should not incurre the hatred of eyther partie, nor giue to any of the two kings iuste occasion to complayne: for that touching the french king, they were not bound to him in any other thing, then to ayde him with three hũdred men at armes for the defence of his proper estates, a proportion which they had already accomplished to him: And for the king of *Aragon*, he could not be discontented with them, but would esteeme it a great gayne if they would forbeare to intermeddle otherwise in that warre. They occupied also this reason that suche as kept their fayth best, were most worthy of prayse and merite: and by that example he was to hope that when he shoulde fall into affayres and doings, they would likewise obserue iustly to him that which was promised in the capitulation made in common with the French king and with him: That proceeding in this sort, if peace were made betwene the Princes, the Citie should be named and preserued of them both: And in case the victorie should fall to the one of them, neither holding him selfe offended, nor bearing them any particular hatred, they should more easily buy his friendship with the same money and happely with a lesse quantitie, then they should haue disbursed vpon the warre, which was an expedition & meane, with the which, more then by armies and warres, their elders had many times saued their libertie: where if they should proceede otherwise, they should defray for an other during the warre and without any necessitie, intollerable exspences: And yet the victorie falling to thenemie, the libertie and safetie of their countrey should remayne in most manifest perill: The aduise of the Magistrat or *Gonfalonnier* was contrarie to thoppinions of these men: he helde it better that the common weale should take armes for the French king, for which reason he had afore fauoured the councell, and giuen to the Pope sufficient matter to be discontented, to thende that the Citie beeing prouoked by him, or at least beginning to enter into suspicion, might be as it were constrayned to make that resolution: he perswaded besides, that in that nature of time it could not be but a councell preiudiciall, to remayne ydle, exspecting the issue of the warre managed so neare them, and betwene Princes so mightie and farre aboue them: for that in the warres of an other, then is newtralitie commendable and apt to shake off and auoyde many troubles

Soderin for the Frenche king.

bles and exſpences, when our proper forces are not ſo weake as may make vs feare the victorie of eyther partie, ſeeing that then it bringeth vs a ſuretie, and oftentimes by their long warres, we are enhabled to good meanes to encreaſe our eſtate: He tolde them it was no ſure foundation not to haue offended eyther partie, or not to haue giuen any iuſt occaſion to complayne, for that very rarely it happneth that the inſolencie of the conqueror is brydled or repreſſed eyther by equitie, iuſtice, conſcience, or other diſcrete conſiderations, the ſame beeing the reaſons whye great Princes eſteeme them ſelues not the leſſe iniuried, when they are refuſed in the things they deſire, but ſtande diſdainefull agaynſt euery one that followeth not their will, and ioyneth not their mindes to their fortune: The Prince for the time he cõmaundeth hath his fortune hardly brought to limitte his deſires, or in his ambition to reſpect other things then ſuche as may glorifie his victories: That it was a follie to beleeue that the French king would not take it for an offence, to ſee himſelfe left abandoned in ſo great perills, to finde that the effects nothing aunſwered the confidence and exſpectation whiche he had in the *Florentins*, bothe touching matters which he promiſed to himſelfe of them, and alſo for thinges which they had ſo oftentimes aſſured: That it was alſo a greater follie to beleeue that the Pope and the king of *Aragon* beeing victors, would not diſpoſe immoderately of the victorie agaynſt that common weale, waighing with thinſatiable hate of the one, the ioynt deſire of them both, to erect there a gouernment to their fancie, leaſt that Citie remayning in her libertie, woulde be alwayes more inclined to the Frenche then to them: Thexperience and proofe of which deſire might be eaſily diſcerned, in that the Pope (the king Catholike approuing it) had preferred the Cardinall *Medicis* as Legate to tharmie: So that as to remayne Newter, was as muche as to offer them ſelues a willing pray to who ſoeuer ſhould become victor: ſo, in ioyning to the one of them, at the leaſt, by his victorie, they ſhould be aſſured and preſerued, a reward and fruite to be well conſidered vpon, ſeeing the daunger wherein were reduced theſtate of their affayres: And in caſe the peace were made, they ſhould reape benefites vnder better conditions: But to whether of the parties they ought rather to ioyne themſelues, it was ſuperfluous to diſpute, for that there was no compariſon betweene friendſhippes auncient, experienced, and tryed, and fauors newe, vncertayne, and doubtfull: Leſſe doubt to followe an auncient amitie, by whoſe meane albeit the common weale had not bene rewarded and recompenced, at leaſt it had bene oftentimes defended and preſerued, then to embraſe newe fauours & leagues which would be neuer vnaccompanied with their infidelities and ſuſpicions. The Magiſtrate occupied in vayne theſe diſcourſes, ſuche beeing the moſte hindrers of his aduiſe, whome it greeued moſt that it ſhould come to the French kings knowledge that it was by his meane and working that the *Florentins* ſhoulde be ioyned with him: Suche is the propertie of enuy, not onely to wiſhe harme to an other, but alſo to lette that by an other no good be done. The Adder doth ſhoote out his ſting, and partaketh no more after with poyſon: but the man of enuie, when he can do no more harme of him ſelf, forbeareth not to let an other to do good. Amid theſe contentions, one faction breaking thaduiſe of the other, there could be eſtabliſhed no reſolution, whether they ſhould declare, or ſtande newters: Their counſels oftentimes were very vncertayne, their affections different, their willes contrarie, and their deliberations repugnant in them ſelues, without concluding any grace or merite towards any partie. But that which more is, proceeding with theſe incertenties, they ſent (to the great diſpleaſure of the Frenche king) Embaſſador to the king of

Aragon, *Frauncis Guicciardin* Doctor of Lawe, he who wrote this preſent hiſtorie, and at that time of ſo young age, that, according to the lawes of the contrey, he was vnhable to manage any office: and yet they gaue him not ſuche natures of commiſſions, as thereby he was hable to make the confederates to leaue off in any ſort their yll diſpoſitions.

But a little after the *Svvizzers* were returned to their countreys, the Popiſh and Spaniſh ſouldiours began to enter into *Romagnia*, whoſe comming bringing more feare then perill, made all the townes which the Duke of *Ferrara* helde on this ſide *Pavv*, except the *Baſtillion* of *la Foſſe* and the foard of *Geniuola*, to render at the ſommonce of a ſimple trompet. And for that the whole regimentes were not yet aſſembled & arriued in *Romagnia*, nor the artilleries which the *Viceroy* exſpected at *Ymola*: it was thought good, to thende the tyme ſhould not be ſpent without profite, that *Peter* of *Nauarre* Captayne generall of the Spaniſh footemen, ſhould go to beſiege the *Baſtill*: he begon to batter it with three peeces of artillerie, and finding it more harde to be taken then he looked for, both for the quantitie of munitions being aptly applied and executed, and for the reſolute defence of the ſouldiours, beeing fiftie hable bodies, he cauſed to make two bridges of wood to giue a greater commoditie to the ſouldiours to paſſe the diches whiche were full of water: And aſſoone as he might cary with him thoportunitie of theſe bridges, the thirde day after his approching before the *Baſtill*, which was the laſte day of the yere 1511. he gaue a furious aſſault, and ſuch as after a long and braue feight, the footemen winning the walles with the helpe of their ladders, at laſt tooke it, making ſlaughter almoſte of all the footemen defendantes together with their capteine. *Peter* of *Nauarre* left two hundred footemen within the *Baſtill*, contrarie to thopinion of *Iohn Vitelli*, who aſſured that it was ſo much ſhaken with artillerie, that there was no poſſibilitie to defende it without making new fortifications: But he was ſcarſly returned to ioyne him ſelfe with the *Viceroy*, ere the Duke of *Ferrara*, being gone thither with nine great peeces of artillerie, aſſaulted it with ſuche furie, that laying open a little place reuerſed in many partes, he entred by force the very ſame daye of his enterpriſe, where were ſlayne partly in fighting, and partly to reuenge the death of his people, the Captayne with all his footmen. The Duke himſelfe was hurt on the head with a ſtoane, which did him little harme for the defence of his head peece, his vallour carrying him further into perill then belonged to the regarde of ſuche a perſonage, if in noble men honor and reputation were not dearer then life.

In this meane while all the regiments eccleſiaſtik and Spaniſhe were aſſembled at *Ymola*, mightie in numbers, braue ſouldiours, and valiaunt capteines: for as the brute went, the king of *Aragon* had there a thouſande men at armes, eight hundred mounted vpon Iennets, and eight thouſande footmen Spaniſhe, to whome beſides the perſon of the *Viceroy*, were ioyned many barons of the kingdome of *Naples*, of whom the moſt notable and renowmed by experience of armes, was *Fabricio Colonno*, in whom was inueſted the title of Gouernor generall, *Proſper Colonno* hauing refuſed it, for that in the warre he could not brooke to be ſubiect to the commaundementes of the *Viceroy*. On the Popes ſide there were eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horſemen, and eight thouſande footemen *Italians* vnder *M. Anth. Colonno*, *Iohn Vitelli*, *Malateſta Baillon* ſonne to *Iohn Paule*, *Raphael de Pazzi*, with other leaders and capteines, all ſubiect to thobedience of the Cardinall *de Meditis*, Legate: onely they had not as yet a capteine generall, for that the Duke of *Termini* whom the Pope had choſen as one in whom the king of *Aragon* reappoſed muche,

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dyed at *Ciuita Castellana* comming to tharmie: And the Duke of *Vrbin* to whom that place was wont to be transferred, came not at all, eyther for that suche was the Popes pleasure, or else that he helde it as a thing vnworthy of him euen vpon the territories and lands of the Church, to obey a *Viceroy* bearing authoritie of capteine generall ouer the whole armie of the confederates.

The enterprise of Bologna by the Pope and king of Aragon.

With this Armie plentyfully furnished with artilleries whiche were almoste all come from the Realme of *Naples*, they determined to bring the campe before *Bologna*: Not that they were not ignoraunt that the enterprise was of very harde action, seeing howe easily the Frenche men might minister succours: but for that there was no other sorte of enterprise whiche conteyned not greater difficulties and impedimentes: And to remayne ydle with so greate an armie, coulde not be without manyfest argumente of cowardise. Moreouer the Pope made so greate instaunce to embrace some enterprise, that who so euer woulde put into consideration the difficulties, seemed to giue him occasion to beleeue and cause to complayne, that the sleightes and wyles of the *Spaniardes* beganne to appeare. The forwarde horse is not holden backe with the brydle without foaming and shewing his furie: The streame that runneth is not stayed contrarie to his course, without roaring and making a noyse: And to the mynde desirous, euery little impediment is greeuous, and with hys trouble bringes both suspicion and feare (exspectation of it selfe beeing no lesse ielouse then infinite in desire.) In these respectes the *Viceroy* causeth the Armie to marche, incamping betweene the ryuer of *Adice* and *Bologna*, where, after he had giuen order to thinges necessarie for the besieging of that Citie, and turned the Channells which go to *Bologna* by the ryuers of *Rhene* and *Sauanna*, he approched neare the walls, he stretched out and bestowed the greatest parte of his armie betweene the mountayne and the waye that goeth from *Bologna* to *Romagnia*, and that for the commoditie of vittailes that come from that side: *Fabricio Colonno* with the auauntgarde conteining seuen hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horsmen, and six thousand footmen, was lodged betwene the bridge of *Rhene* standing vpon the high waye of *Romagnia* whiche leadeth into *Lombardy*, and the gate *S. Felix* beeing also vppon the same waye, and that to obiect more easie impediments for any French succors to enter: And because they would commaunde the mountaynes, they bestowed one parte of their bandes of souldiors in the Monasterie of *S. Michaell* of the wood which is very neare the Citie, but seated in a high place and commaunding ouer it: They also made themselues Lord of the Church which is more high called *S. Maria* on the Mount. In *Bologna*, besides the people that bare armes happly more by necessitie then by nature, with certaine trowpes of horsmen and footmen waged by the familie of *Bentiuoley*, *Monsr de Foix* had sent thither two thousand launceknights, and two hundred launces, vnder *Odet de Foix* and *Yues Allegre* very notable Capteines, the one for his long experience in warre, and the other for the nobilitie of his house ioyned to the great tokens of valor that euen his youth did expresse: with them was capteine *Saietta* and *Vincent* called the great deuill: Neuertheles they reapposed more surety in the succors which *Monsr de Foix* had promised them, then in their proper forces, bothe considering the great circuite of the Citie, and also wayghing thincommodities that were on the Mountayne syde: Besides, there were no other fortifications, then suche as for the present daunger were made in haste, and the *Bentiuolois* distrusted manye of the Nobilitie and people: And lastly they had made a late experience about the *Bastill* of *Geniuola*, that the vallour of the *Spanishe* footemen aunswered the

prayſes that haue gone on them in all tymes, to bee men apte to beſiege townes by reaſon of their great agilitie: Neuertheleſſe they beganne eftſoones to be aſſured, when they ſawe thenemies aduaunced litle, lying nyne dayes about the walles without dooing any thing, ſauing that they beganne with two Sakers and two Colueringes planted in the Monaſterie of *S. Michaell* to ſhoote in vayne into the Citie, rather to terrifie men then to hurt howſes: An execution whiche they gaue ouer immediatly, knowing by experience that in dooing little domage to thennemie in that ſorte, they made alſo an vnprofitable waſte of their Munitions. The matter that kepte them ſo long from dooing any thing, was an aduertiſement that they had the ſame daye they incamped, that *Monſr de Foix* beeing then come to *Finalo*, waged ſouldiours from all partes, with intention (which he cauſed to be iuſtified with a brute running) to offer him ſelfe to all perills for the preſeruation of the Citie, knowing howe muche it woulde preiudice thaffayres of the king, and no leſſe diminiſhe his owne reputation, if he ſuffred a Citie of that importance and conueniencie to be taken out of his handes. This made them drawe into councell to debate better, not onely on whiche ſide they might beſiege it with moſte hope and greateſt facilitie, but alſo by what wayes they might lette the Frenche ſuccours for entring: In the firſte councell it was aggreed, that *Fabricio Colonno* paſſing to the other ſyde of the towne with his due prouiſions of vittayles and artilleries, ſhoulde lodge vppon the hill ſyde beneath *S. Maria* of the Mount, from whence he might both eaſily giue impedimentes to any that ſhoulde attempt to enter into *Bolognia*, and yet he ſhould not be ſo farre deuided from the reſidue of the armie, as not to be ſuccoured in time what perill ſoeuer could happen: And that at the ſame time they ſhould begin from that part where they were incamped, or very neare, to batter the towne. Suche as were thauthors of this counſell, alleaged, that as all that the french helde in *Italie* depended wholly vpon the preſeruation of tharmie, ſo, it concerned *Monſr de Foix* in diſcreſſion and all good reſpects, not to hazarde to do any thing, in thexecution wherof he might be conſtrayned to fight: And much leſſe would he be of that iudgement, albeit he knew he might do it in ſuretie, to encloſe himſelf with al his army within *Bolognia*: An action wherin he ſhould depriue himſelf of all meanes to ſuccor in caſes of neceſſity theſtate of *Millan*, which was not as yet wholly aſſured from the mouings of the *Svvizzers*, and where alſo was greater doutes to be aſſayled by the *Venetian* army, which beeing come vpon the marches of *Verona*, ſeemed to threaten the town of *Breſſia*. Theſe reaſons being layd in conſideration with thennemie and his eſtate, and waighed withal with the examples & experiences of times paſt, ſeemed at the firſt to cary much in the minds of men: But the day folowing almoſt all ſuch as had approued this councell, were of opinion contrarie, conſidering it was not a thing certayne that the Frenche armie would not come, and if it dyd come, the vauntgard only would not ſuffice to reſiſt them. They ſayd alſo that that deliberation was not to be approued which was eſtabliſhed vpon ſuche a fundation that it reſted alwayes in the power of thenemie to innouate or chaunge it: for this cauſe the aduiſe of *Peter* of *Nauarre* was allowed by the *Viceroy*, to whom onely he communicated his opinion, that making prouiſion for fiue dayes, & leauing a garde only in the church of *S. Michael*, al the army ſhould paſſe to the other ſide on the city, where both might be obiected cõuenient impediments, that thenemy ſhould not enter: and alſo the towne, not fortified on that ſide (neuer fearing to be there aſſailed) they ſhould be hable without doubt to cary it in fiue dayes. But aſſone as this reſolution was diſpearſed amongeſt the armie and generall bands of ſouldiours, there was

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none whiche did not openly reproue the direction to go lodge with tharmie in a place mearely voyde of all traffike of vittells whiche were brought from *Romagnia:* which as it was the onely meane to sustayne and nourishe the armie, so no doubt it could not stand vndissolued and broken, if within fiue dayes it enforced not *Bologna.* And what is he (sayth *Fabricio Colonno*) that can assuredly make promise of suche a thing within so short a time, seeing there is nothing lesse likely to come to passe then that whiche dependes vppon many daungers and difficulties: Matters of enterprise can not be warranted by coniectures onely, seeing oftentimes they draw with them so many accidentes, that euen the wisedomes of the wisest men are found vnperfect to assure them: What reason is there that vnder a vayne hope, which of her proper nature is fallible and subiect to chaunces, we should offer so glorious an armie to so manifest a daunger? It is more honorable to auoyde a perill by counsells and considerat ons, then by too muche rashnes and presuming to offer our selues to an action wherein the confidence is farre lesse then the dispayre: Who seeth not, that our houres & tyme limited being ronne out, we haue no possibilitie to retyre our selues & our people made hungry, disordred, and feareful, without our losse and certaine ouerthrowe, hauing *Bologna* in our face, where is a great masse of people and many souldiours, and at our backs the French armie which will not ouersee the oportunitie of our great presuming and securitie. Some others aduised, that bestowing in the vauntgard a greater strength of footmen, it should incampe on thother side of *Bologna* almost at the foote of the mountaine betwene the gate *Seragossa* and *S. Felix*, fortifying them selues with trenches and other defenses: And from that side the towne should be battred, being there not onely the weakest in walles and rampiers, but also by planting some peeces of thartillerie aboue the mountayne, they should execute in flanke during thassault, such of the defendantes as would come to the breach. This counsell also was reiected as not sufficient to let the comming of the Frenche: and no lesse daungerous, for that if they shoulde be charged by thennemie, the armie, notwithstanding it commaunded the mountaynes, coulde not discende to their succors in lesse time then three houres. Amid these variations and ambiguities, being farre more easie to reproue the counsells that were propounded by others, then to open other aduises that deserued to bee followed: At laste the capteines grewe to a deuise to assayle the towne on that side wherein the armie was already incamped: A resolution which amongest other reasons tooke furtherance by an opinion they had that *Monsr de Foix* would not come at all, since he lingred so long: Therfore they began to caste platformes to bring the artillerie to the walles, and called backe the vauntgarde to incampe together with the others. But a little after they had many aduertisementes that the Frenche bandes increased dayly at *Finalo*, which reuiuing eftsones their former suspicion of their comming, there might be discerned amongst them a newe diuersitie and disagreement of opinions: for euery one being of this minde, that if *Monsr de Foix* approched, they should laye to set vpō him afore he entred *Bologna*, many perswaded that in that case, thartillery planted already before the walls, which then should be retired, would giue many impedimēts & difficulties to tharmy: A matter in such tearmes of affaires, both dangerous & hurtfull: Others reasoned, that it was no lesse to their infamie then to their hurt, to remayne so many dayes about the walles of *Bologna* without dooing any thing, both confirming at one time the courage of those that were within, and giuing leasure to such as were without to prepare to succour them: And therefore it were not beste to [illegible] anye longer to plant thartillerie, but in suche place as it

might be easily retyred, making, the better to oppose agaynst the Frenche men, the platformes so large, that both the artilleries and the armie might be hable to moue together: The Legat was fully with them that gaue counsell to begin to batter the towne, both for the displeasure he had of so long deferring, and also somewhat suspecting least the matter had bene wrought by the direction and fancie of the king of *Aragon*, according to the subtleties & dissembled maner of procedings of the Spanish: he complayned that if from the first incamping they had begon to batter the towne, they might happly afore that time haue bin masters of it: That it belonged not to noble men of warre to ioyne fault vnto fault, & much lesse to remaine as enemies about a towne, and yet expresse no valour to assayle it: That the Pope sent to him dayly corriers and postes, but he knewe no more what to answere and alleage, holding it a dishonor to enterteine & norish him any longer with promises & vaine hopes: Lastly, that it touched much the reputation of a general to prepare to an enterprise which he durst not execute. These wordes moued not a litle the *Viceroy*, complayning much againſt his importunitie & hast, that he being a man of no trayning in armes nor exercises of warre, would so vehemētly solicit a resolution so rash and dangerous, he said that in those counsels there was debated thintereſt of all the world, wherin yet they could not procede with such absolute maturity as there were not further nede of deper counsel & cōsideration: that there were no humane things more suttle & intricate then thenterprises of warre, nor any worldly accidēt of more cōpassion then the losse of a battell: that the counsels of warre drew with them infinite considerations and reasons, and yet kept alwayes suppressed and reteined some secrets which the wisedome of men could not finde out: that it was the custome of Popes and common weales to enter willingly into warre, and afterwardes thexpenses and perplexities encreasing aboue exspectation, to wishe the ende with vndiscrete desires: he willed him to giue ouer to the Capteines the deliberations of thinges, who hauing the same intention that he had, were somewhat aboue him in thadministration and experience of a warre: Lastly *Peter de Nauarre*, in whom the *Viceroy* reappposed moste, alleaged, that in an expedition of so great importance, men ought not to respect so much the distance of two or three dayes: and therefore it was necessarie to continue the counsell & direction for prouisions necessarie, aswell for the besieging of *Bolognia*, as for the battell, and for their better gouernment afterwards according to the proceedings of the French: two daies passed afore could appeare any light of the better resolution, for that *Monsr de Foix*, to whome *Centa*, *Piaua*, with many other borowes of the countrey of *Bolognia* were rendred, remayned still at *Finalo*, where he layed to reassemble his forces and bandes of souldiors, who aswell for that they had bene distributed in many places, as also that his foote-bandes which he had waged were long in comming, could not so sodenly come to the muster: So that, no further cause of deferring appearing, at laste the artilleries were planted agaynst the walles, about thirtie fadomes neare the gate of *S. Stephen* whiche leades to *Florence*, where the wall turning and crooking towardes the gate called *Chastillon* that hath his prospect vppon the mountayne, maketh an angle. And at the same tyme *Peter de Nauarre* was about to make a mine drawinge more towards the gate of the way of *Chastillon*, on that side the wall where within is a litle chappell called *Barbacana*, to thende that thassault beeing giuen at the same instant, they might with more difficultie make resistance beeing deuided, then if they were vnited and ioyned, to defende one onely place: Moreouer following still their firste thoughtes to oppose agaynst the French men, they gaue order that the vauntgarde should

ſhould returne to the lodging where it was before: The artilleries brought downe to the earth in xxiiij. houres an hundred fadomes of wal: and the towér of the gate was battred with ſuch furie, that being no more hable to mainteine defence, it was abandoned, ſo that they might very conueniently giue thaſſault on that ſide: But they exſpected til the mine were accompliſhed, notwithſtanding by the raſhnes of the ſouldiors, thaſſault was almoſt executed the ſame day in diſorder: for certayne *Spanishe* footmen being climed vp by a ladder to a hole which had bin made in the towre, diſcended that way into a litle houſe whiche on the inner ſide belonged to the walles, wherein was no garde: which being found by the other bands of footmen, they had all ronne thither by heapes, if the capteines hearing of the noyſe, had not repreſſed their wilfulnes: But after the defendantes, hauing leauyed a Cannon iuſte with the houſe, had ſlayne one part of them, the others fled for ſafetie from the place where vndiſcretly they entred to ſeeke for perill: And whyleſt they were buſie about the mine, others labored in the armie to make bridges of wood, and to fill vp the diches with baskets and earth, the better to be hable (marching as it were in a playne way) to bring the footemen to the wall which had bene well battred, and to drawe euen vpon the ruines ſome peeces of artillerie, to thend that in the execution of thaſſault, the defendants ſhould not be hable to continue the reſiſtance: But the Frenchmen, ſeeing into theſe preparations, & diſcerning withal that the people began already to giue thẽ ſelues ouer to feare, ſent immediatly to pray ſuccors of *Monſr de Foix*, who diſpatched thither the ſame daye a thouſand footmen, and the daye after fourſcore launces: a matter which made the enemies beleue aſſutedly that he was determined to paſſe no further, it ſeeming a matter not likely nor congruent that he would ſeperat from himſelfe one part of his ſtrength if he had an other intention: But truely ſuche was his meaning, for that holding that ſuccor ſufficient to defend *Bologna*, he would not without neceſſitie aſſay the fortune of the battell. At laſt the mine was accompliſhed, & the army ſtanding in order of battell to go forthwith to thaſſalt, for the execution wherof with greater ſtrength the vauntgard was reuoked, *Peter* of *Nauarre* cauſed fire to be put to the mine, which with ſo great noyſe & fury blew vp ſo high the wall and chappell, that in that ſpace and diuiſion was made open to thoſe without, the intralls of the Citie within together with the maner of the ſouldiors prepared to defende it: But falling eftſones downe agayne, the whole wall tooke the ſame place from whence the violence of the fire had driuen it, and was ſo reioyned and knitte agayne as if there had not bene any ſeparation or remouing at all: ſo that being impoſſible for the ſouldiours to go to thaſſault on that ſide, the Capteines iudged it no leſſe harde to follow it on the other part: They of *Bologna* interpreted this aduenture to a miracle, ſaying it was impoſſible without diuine ayde that the wall ſhoulde fall and reioyne ſo iuſtly vppon his olde foundations: for which cauſe the Chappell was afterwardes increaſed and frequented of the people in great deuotion. This ſucceſſe (as though there remayned nothing elſe to be feared touching thaffayres of *Bologna*) was the cauſe that *Monſr de Foix* thought good to go to *Breſcia*, both for an eſpiall he had that the *Venetian* armie drew that way, and alſo for feare leaſt thinhabitants there fell not into ſome want and neceſſitie, for that by reaſon of the perills of *Bologna* he had lefte there a very ſlender garriſon, and nó leſſe doubted of ſecret practiſes and intelligences: Neuertheleſſe he chaunged opinion at the contemplation and requeſtes of the Capteines that were within *Bologna*, who ſometimes alleaged to hym that yf he wente hys waye, the daungers of the warre woulde redouble and become greater then before, and ſometimes they gaue

him hope to ouerthrowe the campe of the enemies if he would but ioyne his presence to their valour: In regarde of which reasons accompanied with a deepe consideration of the perill of the affaires present, notwithstanding in the councel almost all the capteines were agaynst him, he issued very late out of *Finalo*: and the morning following, being but two houres of daylight, he drew towards *Bologna* with all his army in battell aray, laboring with importunitie of trauell against the snowes, the yse, & bitter wether: he entred by the gate of *S. Felix*, hauing with hin xiij. hundred launces, vj. thousand launceknights whom he had bestowed al in the vauntgard, and viij. thousand footmen aswell French as Italians: Being thus with great felicitie and valour entred into *Bologna*, he put into question to assaile the morning folowing the camp of the enemies, the souldiors making their sallies at three gates, & the people issuing out by the way of the mountaine: if this resolution had bin aduaunced he had found them not douting of his cõming: A matter which assuredly their capteins had no knowledge of, neither that day nor the most part of the day folowing: The executiõ was hindred by *Yues Allegre* who gaue counsel that the bands made wearie with the bitter wayes they had marched, should haue one day to repose themselues, thinking withal (which also any wise man might haue iudged) that it was not possible that so great an army, & in the broad day, & by the high way, could without their knowlege enter into a citie before the which they lay incamped. The same ignorance had also kept them abused the day after, if by aduẽture a Greeke stradiot had not bin taken being issued out of the skirmish amongst other horsmen: and beeing demaunded of the state of the towne, & what they did within it: he answered that he was hable litle to informe them, for that he had but entred the day before with the French armie: Vppon his words, confirmed both with fayth and constancie, the capteynes entred into such amaze & maruell, that they determined to leauy their campe, holding the danger to great to remaine there, aswel for the bitternes of the season which greatly afflicted the souldiors, as for the neighborhead of the citie whereinto so great an army was entred: They iudged it no policie to contend at one time, & with one force, against so many aduersities: thintemperance & afflictions of the season were more intollerable to them then the hande of thenemie, who yet could not but be fearefull, both for their numbers, their trayning, and their resolute mindes: They made also coniectures of the monstrous reioyning of the wall after it was blowen vp, a consideration whiche not the least increased their feare, though in souldiours vallour ought to be more ready then superstition. The night following, whiche was the xix day since their incamping, they retyred their artilleries with as litle brute as they could, & marched with their armie in good time along the high way towards *Ymola*, drawing along the playnes and squares by the which they came, in the middest of which was the high waye and the artillerie: and bestowing in their rearegard the flower of their armie, they marched & wonne way with surety, for that there issued none out of *Bologna* other then certayne French horsmen, who hauing made spoile of parte of the munitions and vittells, and therefore begonne to fall into disorder, were to their harmes repulsed euen to *Bologna* by *Malatesta Baillon*, who gouerned the last parte of tharmie.

The Popes armie retireth from before Bologna.

Assoone as the campe was leauyed, *Monsr Foix* leauing three hundred launces and foure thousande footmen within *Bologna*, departed in great diligence to march to the succors of the Castel of *Bressia*, the Citie being taken by the *Venetians*, the day before he entred into *Bologna*: for *Andrevv Gritti* induced by *Count Lovvis Auogato* a gentleman of *Bressia*, the moste parte of the people of the contrey concurring also,

and

and hoping much that within the towne they would drawe to some mutinie, had passed by commaundement of the Senat with an armie of three hundred men at armes, xiij hundred light horsemen, and three thowsand footemen, the riuer of *Adice* at *Albera* which is a place neare to *Leguague*, and afterwards waded the foarde of *Myncia* at the turning mill betweene *Croito* and *Valegge*: And comming at last to *Montcharo*, he encamped by night at *Castagnet* a village within fiue miles of *Bressia*, & from thence made suddeine incursions with his horsemen euen to the gates: And at the same time the authoritie and affection to the name of *S. Marke* resounding in all places, *Count Lovvys* came hard to the gates with eight hundred men of the vallyes of *Entropien* and *Sabina* whome he had drawne into commocion, and sent his sonne on the other side of the citie euen to the gates with other cõpanies of footemen: But *Andrevv Gritti*, neither receiuing from within the citie those intelligences which he exspected, nor being made to him any such signes as were agreed, he helde him selfe preuented by the pollicie and well garding of the citie: And therefore, refusing to abide perill where he saw no tokens of sauetie, and at the same tyme the sonne of *Auogato* being taken prisoner by a sallye made out of the towne, he retyred to *Montagnano* from whence he departed at first, leauing a sufficient garde vpon the bridge which he had made vppon *Adice*: But being called againe not many dayes after, he repassed the riuer of *Adice* with two cannons and foure falconets and incamped at *Castagnet*, *Count Lovvys* beeing at the same tyme approched within a mile of *Bressia* with a great strength of the sayde vallye men: And albeit there were as yet small tokens or apparance of fauour from them within, yet, *Gritty* seeing his strength to be greater then it was, determined to venter to haue it by force: his vallour made him resolute against all doubtes of fortune, which is not the least vertue in a man of warre disposed to doe an enterprise: he brought all his paysants to the walls, and began to execute the assalt in three places, which albeit was ill followed at the gate of the tower, yet it did more happely succeede at the gate of the piles where *Auogato* fought, and at the gate *La Garzula* where the soldiours led by *Baltazar Scipion* entred by the yrõ grates, by the which the riuer (bearing his name of the towne) entreth into the citie: In this furie of thassalt, notwithstanding the resistance of the french men, who both seeing the ennemies enter the citie, and the townesmen conspyre in their fauor, they retyred into the castell together with *Monsr du Lude* their gouernor, losing their horses and baggage: In this tumult, that part of the towne which is called the Citadell and standeth separated from the residue of the citie, A part wherein almost all the *Gebelins* inhabited, was spoyled and sacked, except the houses of the *Guelffes*: After the conquest of *Bressia*, *Bergama* rendred immediatly except the two castells, whereof the one is in the middest of the citie, and the other standes within halfe a myle: This rendring happened not so much by the example of *Bressia*, as by the meane and working of certeine Citizens: *Orciuecche*, *Orcinouo*, and *Pontuiquo*, with many other places there about did the like: And perhaps much more had bene done, or at the least the victorie had bene better assured, if at *Venice* they had had a care necessary and conuenient both to send soldiours and artilleries to get the castell, which no doubt would haue made no great resistance, And also to create Magistrates for the well guiding of places already recouered: Their ioy was greater for the victorie they had gotten, then their prouision to preserue the thinges which their fortune had brought them: Their glory was farre aboue their pollicie which in men of warre is not the least errour, for that it makes them more apt to winne, thẽ able to hold: And this negligence of the *Venetians* was so much the more hurtfull,

by how much more great was the celeritie and diligence of *Monſr de Foix*, who, hauing paſſed the riuer of *Pavv* at *Stellato* (from whence he ſent launces for the gard of *Ferrara* and fiue hundred french footemen) he paſſed alſo the riuer of *Myncia* at the mill bridge, hauing almoſt at the ſame time of his marching, ſent to demaunde paſſage of the Marquis of *Mantua*: his ſuddeine demaund of the Marquis drew one of theſe two reaſons, either to giue him no reſpit to take aduiſe in a matter ſo preſent and perentory, or els that the *Venetian* bandes ſhould be ſo much the later aduertiſed of his comming: A man of warre hath no one propertie more commendable then his celeritie and ſpeede, for that by aduauncing opportunities, he takes from his aduerſarie all councel, And by his quicknes ouercommeth the hardnes of things which otherwayes his vallour were not able to ſuppreſſe: The tyde that is driuen with a violence more then ordinary, beguileth the Mariner that ſtādeth to exſpect, but maketh much for the ſhip that taketh the benefit of it: There is no ſort of action wherein fortune more fauoreth men of enterpriſe, then when their celeritie is equall to their vallour, for that it cuts of from the enemy all diſcourſe of councel and makes him blind in the defenſe of his proper harmes. From thence he went the day after to *Nogero* vpon the territories of *Verona*, and the day following to *Pontpeſere* & to *Treuilla* three miles from *Eskalo*: where, receiuing aduertiſement that *Iohn Paule Baillon* was come from *Frankcaſtel* with three hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horſemen and twelue hundred footemen, to encampe within the Ile of *Eskalo*: he made haſte thether to charge him with three hundred launces & ſeuen hundred Archers, the reſidue of tharmie comming after, which otherwayes could not march with ſuch diligence: But finding that he was remoued an hower affore his comming, he put him ſelfe in order to follow him without tarying: *Ioh. P. Baillon* had receiued aduertiſement that *Barnardin de Montono* to whom was left the garde of the bridge made at *Albero*, had broken it vp, hearing of the comming of the french, for feare he ſhould not be incloſed by them, and the launceknightes which were within *Verona*, whether *Cæſar* had a litle before ſent three thowſand footemen which he had in *Fryull*, being at that time releaſed of all gard at *Fryull*, for that all was returned to the power of the *Venetians*, except *Gradiſqua*, who more then the reſt expreſſed her fidelitie againſt the aduerſaties of the warre: for this cauſe *Ioh. P. Baillon* had gotten into *Breſsia*, if he had not bene told that a litle beneath *Verona* the riuer might be paſſed ouer by foard: But as he went to performe his paſſage, he diſcouered a farre of *Monſr de Foix*, whoſe incredible celeritie for that it was farre more then the reaport and renowme that went of him, he thought they could be no other trowpes then one part of the ſoldiours that were within *Verona*, And in that perſwaſion ranging his companies in battell araye, he taried their comming with great courage at the tower *Magnanino*, which is ſomewhat neare *Adice*, and of a very litle diſtance from the tower of *Eskalo*: The encownter of both parties was very furious with their laūces, and afterwards falling to other weapons, the battell was hoatly continued more then an hower: But the condicion of the *Italians* grew worſe and worſe, for that the other part was continually ſupplied with newe releefe of ſoldiours from the armie which was left behind: And albeit not ſo much by the vallour of their enemies as by their proper imbecillitie of numbers, they were often put to diſorder, yet by their vertue and gouernment they reaſſembled as often: At laſt, being not able to make a perpetual reſiſtance againſt the greater number, they were broken and put to flight, and were chaſſed by thennemie (the night now beginning) euen to the riuer which *Ioh. P.* paſſed in ſafetie, his fortune being better then many of his people who were drowned

M. de Foix defeateth Ioh. Pavvle Baillon.

drowned by the furie of the chaſſe: In this medley were ſlaine and taken about foure ſkore and ten men at armes of the *Venetians*, Amongeſt whom fell into the calamitie of priſoners *Guido Rangon* and *Baltazar Signorello de Perouſa*: The footemen were all diſperſed and broken, and two falconnets loſt which was all they had to leaue to thennemie as monuments of that miſerable aduenture: In this calamitie, it ſeemed fortune reſpected much the french men, for that few of them fell into the mercie of thennemie, and fewer into the miſerie of impriſonment, (their felicitie with their vallour, making them free from thoſe daungers which reaſon and coniecture threw vpon them): The day after they encowntred *Meleager de Furly* with certeine light horſemen of the *Venetians*, whom they eaſily put to flight *Meleager* remeyning priſoner: And in this courſe of felicitie, holding it not neceſſary to loſe one hower of time, the ninth day after they parted from *Bologna*, *Monſr de Foix* with the vauntgard incamped within the ſubburbs of *Breſcia* about two croſbowſhootes from the gate of *Tourlonguo*, and the reſidue of tharmie more backeward along the way that leades to *Peſquiero*: Aſſoone as he was incamped, not giuing to him ſelfe as it were any leaſure to breathe, he ſent one part of his footemen to charge vppon the Monaſterie of *S. Fridian*, which is halfe way to the hill vnder the which he was incamped, and the hill kept by many payſants of the vallye *Tropia*: This gard was ſoone broken and moſt of them ſlaine by the footemen, who made their entrey into many places by clyming being fauored with certeine ſhowers of rayne by the which thartilleries that were in the Monaſterie could not execute: The day following *Monſr de Foix* ſent a trompet to ſomon the towne to render with condicions of ſauetie for their liues and goods, except the *Venetians*: And his Meſſenger being prowdly aunſwered in the preſence of *Andrevv Gritty*, he turned his armie to thother ſide on the towne to be more neare the caſtell, and was lodged in the ſubburbes of the gate called *S. Johns* gate: The morning following, euen by the firſt reuealing of the daye, he chuſed out of the mayne armie more then foure hundred men at armes all armed in white, and ſix thowſand footemen, part *Gaſcons* and part launceknightes, And with them putting him ſelf on foote, he went vp on that ſide towards the gate of the piles and entred without reſiſtance within the firſt waſte of the caſtell: where cauſing his companies to reſt and refreſhe them ſelues a litle, he encouraged them with ſhort ſpeeches to mount reſolutly vp to that riche and welthy citie, where the glorye and bootie would be greater without all compariſon then the paine or perill, hauing to fight with ſoldiours of *Venice* who were manifeſtly inferior to them in numbers, in vertue, and in fortune: he contemned their numbers, for that being people vnexperienced in warre, he iudged them more apt to flee then to fight: he bad them hope that the cowardiſe of ſome bringing diſorder to the reſidue woulde be the cauſe that the whole would fal into feare, negligence & confuſion: be put them in remẽbrance of their auncient victories wherein their vertue was no leſſe meritorius then their fortune: he told them that to men of action nothing more hindreth their glory then to be ſlow to take the benefit of occaſions, and the reſolute man neuer findeth want of fortune where he expreſſeth no want of vallour: he deſired them laſtly that as he had choſen them for the moſt valiant of the whole armie, ſo they would not bringe ſhame to them ſelues and to his iudgement, but that they would conſider what infamie and diſhonor it would be to them, if they who made profeſſion to enter cities notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of ſoldiours, of artilleries, of walls, and of rampiers, ſhould not now reioyce in their deſires, hauing no other impediment then men only in whom nothing was leſſe familiar then diſpoſicions to fight: Immediatly he put

his footemen before his men at armes and began to march out of the caſtell, and at his going out he found certeine bandes of footemen who with their artillerie aſſayed to ſtoppe him for paſſing further: But his vallour making them to retyre, he diſcended furiouſly by the ſkirtes of the pallaice greene of the Capteine *Burletto* where the *Venetian* regiments well raunged and cloaſe together, exſpected him with great reſolucion: They fell immediatly to hand ſtrokes, when the medley was terrible for a long time, the one part fighting for their proper ſauetie, and the other part for glorye, ioyned to a deſire to ſacke a citie ſo full of riches: The Capteines, beſides their office to commaund and diſpoſe, moſt often tooke the places of meane ſoldiours, the vertue of *Monſr de Foix* being ſinguler aboue the reſidue: At laſt the *Venetian* armie were driuen from the place after they had made a wonderfull defenſe: In ſo much as the Conquerers, who nowe deuided them ſelues into two bandes, made their entrey, the one by the citie, and the other by the Citadel, finding in euery quarter and corner a meruelous reſiſtance by the ſoldiours and by the people, In whom it ſeemed their aduerſitie had nothing diminiſhed their vertue: But the french men being alwayes followed with victorie paſſed thorow all impediments and chaſſed all their ennemies that ſtoode affore them: They gaue not their mindes to pillage vntill they ſawe them ſelues abſolute Maiſters of the towne: ſuch was their direction of their Capteine, whom they obeyed and obſerued ſo iuſtly, that what ſoeuer he were that did otherwayes, he was forthwith ſlayne by his fellowes: In theſe encownters there dyed of the french parte many footemen and a greate number of men at armes: But of thennemies were left on the ground eyght thowſand dead carkaſſes, part of the people and part of the *Venetian* ſoldiours which were fiue hundred men at armes, eyght hundred light horſemen, and eyght thowſand footemen, amongeſt whom was *Contaryn* commaunder of the ſtradiots, who was ſlaine vpon the greene with a bullet of a harquebuze: All the reſidue were taken except two hundred ſtradiots who fled by a poſterne neare the gate of *S. Nazareth*, albeit with no better fortune, for that falling vppon the french armie which remeyned without the towne they were almoſt all taken or killed: They alſo immediatly after the execution entred the towne by the ſame gate, and falling to pillage aſwell as the reſidue, they enioyed the trauells and daungers of others: *Andrevv Gritty* & *Anth. Iuſtynian* whom the Senat had ſent into that citie as gouernour, remeyned priſoners together with *Ioh. P. Manfron* & his ſonne the Knight *de la Volpe*, *Baltazar Scipion*, one of the ſonnes of *Anth. de Pio*, *Count Lovvys Auogato*, and one of his ſonnes, and *Domynik Buſechio* Capteine of the ſtradiots: Theſe being chieftaines of tharmie were reſerued as miſerable examples of their owne calamitie: they were by the wretchednes and fortune of priſoners diſpoſed & caried about as beſt pleaſed the appetit of the Victors, ſometymes brought to behold the dead bodyes of their companions and friends, A ſpectacle lamentable to be compelled to ſee thoſe men deade, whom in life they ſo much honored and loued: And ſometymes appoynted to ſtande in the preſence of thennemie, taking ſpeciall glorie in that which to them could not be but an increaſe of diſcomfort: by ſtrait commaundement of *Monſr de Foix*, the honors of the women of religion were kept vndefiled, but their goods together with ſuch others, as for protection were conueyed into their couents, were made a praye to the Capteines: *Count Lovvys* was executed in the market place *Monſr de Foix* being preſent, and ſeemed to holde it a ſacrifice beſt acceptable and pleaſing to his eyes: his two ſonnes albeit they were for a tyme deferred, ſuffered in the ende the ſame payne, thauthoritie of the Victor raigning very iudicially ouer the liues of whome ſoeuer it pleaſed

Breſſia taken and ſacked.

pleased him: In this sort by the vallour & fortune of the french men of whom they of *Bressia* vaunted to be discended, fell into this extremitie that citie, for nobilitie & dignitie nothing inferior to any other citie of *Lombardye*, but in riches and plentye, farre aboue them all except *Myllan*: And as the miseries that warre draweth with it are infinit, so the whole citie for seuen daies together was exposed to the couetousnes, to the lust, and to the crueltie of soldiours, thinges sacred aswell as prophane being percell of the pray, And no lesse the liues then the goods of men committed to the discression of spoylers: This victorie brought great reputacion to the name of *Monsr de Foix*, *Italy*, no lesse then the other regions of Christendō resounding much his glory, that by his celeritie and vallour in the space of xv. daies, he had compelled the armies Ecclesiastike and spanish to discampe from before *Bolognia*, ouerthrowne in the plaine fielde *Ioh. P. Baillon* with part of the *Venetian* regiments, and reconquered *Bressia* with so great aslaughter of soldiours and other sortes of peoples: it was confirmed by the iudgement of wise men, that touching enterprise and matters of warre, *Italy* had not felt the like of long time, the aduersitie farre exceeding the memorie and example of all times past.

After the action of *Bressia* together with the other places that were lost, of whom *Bergamo* drawne into rebellion by the ayde of very few of the towne, had by cōmon consent reuoked the french men before *Monsr de Foix* made his entrye into *Bressia*: And after *Monsr de Foix* had set downe a forme to thaffayres of *Bressia*, and had somwhat refreshed and reordered his armie made wearie with so great trauells, and no lesse disordered partly by keeping and partly by distribucion of the spoyle: he determined according to the kinges commaundement, to go seeke the armie of the confederats, which, after his departure from before the walls of *Bolognia*, was stayed vpon the landes of the *Bolognois*: To this direction the king was constrayned by many vrgent accidents, which droaue him into neceffitie to take newe councells for the sauetie and benefit of his affayres: for, he discerned manifestly that he should haue warre with the king of *England*, notwithstanding that king had in franke termes afore, assured him the contrary, And since, kept him in suspence with tokens and wordes doubtfull: The actions which were quite contrary to his promisses could be no more couered, for that there came aduertisement from *Rome*, howe he had at last approued and ratified the league by writing: Besides, the french king was not ignorant that in *England* were made great preparacions of men and ships, and in *Spayne* was rigged a great nauie to passe into *England* where was an vniuersall disposicion in all sortes of the people of that region, to make warre vppon the Realme of *Fraunce*: To this humor of the king & people, was much helping the arriual of a galeasse from the Pope laden with Greeke wines, with cheeses, and other prouisions, which distributed in his name to the king, Barons, and Prelats of the Realme, were receiued of all with a wonderfull gladnes: The common sort of people which oftentymes is no lesse caried by vaine and small thinges, then by matters more graue and great, ronne with generall admiracion to beholde the galeasse, accounting it so much more to their pleasure and glorie, by how much they had neuer seene in that Ile any vessell bearing the Popes banners: At last Bishop *Morton*, who had long negociated betwene the Pope and the french king, induced either by his conscience, or by desire to be Cardinall, was appoynted in an assembly of all the states of that ylande, where he shewed with equall fauor & full testimonie, what was the iustice of the Popes cause: Vppon this both it was determined to send the Prelats to the councell of *Latran* in the name of the whole Realme: And also, (the importunities of the Popes Embassa-

dor concurring) the king commaunded the french kings Embassador to depart out of the Realme: he published this reason of his commaundement that it was not cõuenient to enterteine about the person of a king and in a kingdome so deuout to the Churche, a man that represented a king so manifestly persecuting the sea Apostolike. Now began to be discouered the secret resolucion wherein the king of *England* with his armie by sea should molest the shoares of *Normandy* and *Britaine*, & should send eyght thowsand footemen into *Spaine* to make warre vpon the Duchie of *Guyenne* together with the forces of the king of *Aragon*: A suspicion which not a litle afflicted the french king, both for that the memorie of the warres past had made the english name very terrible to those peoples, and also he knewe the daunger woulde grow so much the greater by how much the spanish forces were ioyned with them: He was fearefull also by the consideracion of his owne weakenes, hauing sent into *Italy* all his companies of men at armes sauing two hundred launces, which if he should call backe eyther in part or in all, the Duchie of *Myllan*, which he esteemed much should remeyne in manifest perill: And if for his resupplie he should encrease the auncient band of eyght hundred launces, he could reapose litle confidence and hope for lesse assurance amyd so great daungers, in persons newly created and vnexpericnced: he added to this the suspicion of thallienacion of *Cæsar* which daily more and more encreased: for, notwithstanding *Andrewe Burgos* whom he had sent with so great exspectacion, and being returned, brought tydings that *Cæsar* was disposed to abide in the confederacion, yet he made offers of very harde condicions entermedling many cõplaints: for, he required of the king, to assure him to recouer al that apperteyned to him by the capitulacions of *Cambray*, alleaging that he could no more trust in simple promisses, for that he hath alwayes knowen, both from the beginning and since, that it was a matter very greeuous to the king that he should conquer *Padoa*, And that to consume and hold him in continuall, trauels he had willingly wasted two hundred thowsand duckats euery yeare, knowing that to him, the spẽding of l. thowsand was much more: That he had refused the last yeare to deliuer to him the person of *Tryuulce*, being a Capteine that had both the will and the experience to put a speedy ende to the warre: he required that the kings second Daughter being but two yeares olde, might be promised to his Nephew, in duing her for her dowrye with *Burgonnye*, and that the Daughter might presently be deliuered to his handes: Lastly that there should be left referred to him the quarrells of *Ferrara*, of *Bolognia*, and the controuersie of the councell, forbidding the french armie to march towards *Rome*, & protesting that he was not to endure that the king should any way encrease his estate in *Italy*: These condicions of them selues greeuous and almoste intollerable, were yet made more heauy by the experience he had, that notwithstãding he should accord to him so many thinges, yet he could not be assured that he would not varye, eyther according to occasions or according to his custome: yea, thiniquitie of the condicions offered, serued almost as a certeine argument that being already alienated from the french king, he sought thoccasion to put it to effect vnder some cooller, seeing that aswell in words as in works he disclosed many signes of an ill will: for, both the Proctors which he had so many tymes promised to sende to the councell of *Pysa* were not come with *Burgos*, and also the Prelats assembled at *Auspurge*, had at last made aunswer by a publike decree, that the councell of *Pysa* was schismatike and detestable, but yet with this moderacion that they were ready to chaunge sentence, if they might be resolued in the contrary by reasons more strong and auaileable: And yet notwithstanding the king, at a tyme when he stoode most

neede

neede to assemble his forces, was constrayned to menteyne at the request of *Cæsar* two hundred launces and three thowsand footemen in *Verona*, & a garde of a thowsand footemen in *Leguagne:* Moreouer the feare of the *Svvyzzers* vexed not a litle the kings mind: for, albeit he had obteyned to send to their parliaments the Bayliffe of *Amyens* to whom he had giuen very ample commissions, and was nowe resolued by discreete councell, (if such may be called councells discreete as are taken when thoportunitie of helping is past) to spare no liberalities nor offers of money to reduce them to his amitie: yet what with the hatred of the Commons (which in this respit was made greater) and with thimportunate persuasions of the Cardinall of *Syon*, preuailing aboue thauthoritie of those that from parliament to parliament had hindred all resolucions that were to be made against him: it was discerned that they inclined to send 6. thowsand footemen to the pay of the confederats, who made demaund of them, to oppose against the firme squadrons of the launceknightes: Besides all this, the king found him selfe depriued of all hopes of peace and agreement, notwithstanding during the heate of the warre, there had bene great labor and solicitacion made by the Cardinall of *Nantes* and the Cardinall of *Strigonia*, A mightie Prelate of the Realme of *Hungria:* for, the Pope had made this last and resolute aunswer that if they would be better heard then before, they shoulde so bringe to passe that the diabolicall councel of *Pysa* might be reuersed, & see restored to the Church her cities of *Bolognia* and *Ferrara:* Wherein expressing no lesse violence in effects then furie in wordes: he had newly deposed from their dignities many of the french Prelats which were resorted to the councell, together with *Phillipp Dece* one of the most excellent lawyers of that time, both for that he had written and disputed in the iustice of their cause, and did follow the Cardinalls to be at hand for direction when matters required aduise and interpretacion of law: In all these difficulties, daungers, and aduersities which inuyroned the french king on all sides, he had not one firme or certeine footing in any part of *Italy:* The estates of *Ferrara* and *Bolognia* serued him (as in times past) more for vexacions and charges, then for any other vse: And touching the *Florentyns* to whom he made a new instance to ioyne with him in a warre against *Romagnia*, he could not draw from them other then general aunswers: No he rather held them suspected by reason of the *Vicerois* Embassador of *Naples* ordinarily remeining at *Florence*, but much more for that they had sent th Embassador to the king Catholike, & did no more communicat with him of their affaires, as they were wont: But most of all, for that hauing labored to prolonge the league which was finished within fewe moneths, without that they demaunded eyther money or other great obligacions, they temporised, to thende to be at libertie to take that part that seemed best for their sauetie, & conuenience of their affaires: The Pope also to augment this disposicion, & for feare withall, lest his too great seueritie and rigour induced them to follow with their force, the fortune of the french king, both gaue them absolucion of paines & censures, the common weale not suing for it, and also sent as *Nuncio* to *Florence* with very easie and gracious condicions, *Ioh. Gossadin* a *Bolognois* one of the Clerkes of the chamber Apostolike laboring to take from them the suspicion that they had had of him: So that the king seeing him selfe left alone against so many ennemies eyther already pronownced or very likely to be so, And hauing but very hard meanes of resistance, if so many aduersities should thunder vppon him in one time: he addressed speedy commaundement to *Monsr de Foix*, to march with as great diligence as he could against the army of the confederats, against whom, as he promised to him self the victory, supposing thē to be the weakest, so, being possessed

of the victorie, he ſhoulde proceede to aſſayle *Rome* and the Pope without any reſpect, in the good yſſue and ſucceeding of which, he had opinion that he ſhoulde ſtande acquited of all his greate daungers; And to thende that both the enuye of thenterpriſe might bee diminiſhed, and his iuſtificacions the more increaſed, he gaue order that thenterpriſe ſhoulde be made in the name of the councell of *Pyſa*, by whom ſhould be aſſigned a Deputie Legat to goe with the armie, and vnder the ſayd name, to receiue the townes that ſhould be conquered.

Thus, *Monſr de Foix*, departing from *Breſſia*, came to *Finalo*, where he remeyned certeyne dayes, partely to make prouiſion of vittells that came out of *Lombardye*, and partely to reaſſemble and drawe into one ſtrength all his bandes which the king had ſent out of *Italy* except ſuch as by neceſſitie remeyned for the garde of townes, and partely for the great and ſuddeine raynes that fell, which gaue impediment to his marching: from thence he went to *S. Georges* which is vpon the territories of *Bolognia*, and thether came to him a new ſupplie of three thowſand footemen *Gaſcons*, A thowſand aduenturers, and a thowſand *Pickards*, all men of choyſſe and ſuch as the french men made great reputacion and reckoning of: his whole campe according to a iuſte number conteyned fiue thowſand launceknightes, fiue thowſand *Gaſcons*, and eyght thowſand *Italians* and frenche, with a thowſand ſix hundred launces comprehending the bande of two hundred gentlemen: The Duke of *Ferrara* was alſo to ioyne to this armie with a hundred men at armes & a great traine of good artilleries, *Monſr de Foix* hauing left behind him all his great ſhot and municions for the deepe and fowle wayes to drawe them: To this armie was alſo to come, and was already on his way, the Cardinall *S. Seuerin* appoynted Legat of *Bolognia* by the councel, he was a braue and valiant Cardinall bearing more inclinacion to armes then to holy exerciſes and contemplacions of religion, And leſſe giuen to the vocacion of the church or ciuil or priuat profeſſion, then to publike action & warlike imitacion: Aſſoone as *Monſr de Foix* had ſet downe theſe directions for his affayres, he marched forward to ſeeke thennemies, his vallour carying him in a burning deſire to fight with them, no leſſe for the continuall commaundements and incitacions of the king, then by a reſolute working and propertie of his owne minde, naturally thirſting after glorie, and in him ſo much the more vehement & kindled, by how much his former ſucceſſe and victories caried him into a weening of further fortune and felicitie: And yet he gaue not him ſelfe ouer ſo much to this humor of glory and deſire as that his intencion was to ſet vppon them raſhly, but approching neare their campe either to ſee if he could willingly drawe them out to the battell in ſome place where the qualitie of the ſituacion might giue leaſt impediment to his vertue, or els to conſtrayne them to fight in cutting of their vittells and their other ſuccours: But farre other was thintencion of thennemies, in whoſe armie (after the regiment of the Duke of *Vrbyn* was gonne vnder cooller of ſome controuerſie) were a thowſand foure hundred men at armes, a thowſand light horſemen & ſeuen thowſand ſpaniſh footemen, with three thowſand *Italians* newely leauyed: They were of this opinion that being both inferior in nũbers, & the french horſemen better diſpoſed then theirs, it could not be for their ſewertie to fight in a place of equalitye at the leaſt affore the ſix thowſand *Swyzzers* were come, which, being newly graunted by the Cantons, there was practiſe at *Venice*, whether the Cardinall of *Syon* with twelue Embaſſadors of that nation were gon for that purpoſe, to leauy at the cõmon charges of the Pope and the *Venetians*: There was added to this, the wil of the king of *Aragon*, who had giuen commaundement both by letters and Meſſengers expreſſe, to

The armie of Monſr de Foix.

The armie of the Confederats.

abſteine

abſteine from battel as much as could be: for he hoped ſpecially in the thing which the french king feared moſt, that if the battel were deferred vntil the king of *England* & he began the warre in *Fraunce*, the french king would be conſtrained to cal home either all or the greateſt part of his companies, & by that meane he ſhould put ende to the warre of *Italy* & remeine poſſeſſed of the victorie without blood or daunger: And for this reaſon he had forbidden the *Viceroy* to beſeege *Bolognia*, had it not bin for the great inſtance and complaints that the Pope made: Thus the *Viceroy* of *Naples* together with the other capteines, were at this point to encampe alwayes neare to the french armie, both to let that the townes of *Romagnia* remeyned not to them in pray, & alſo to ſtoppe the way for going to *Rome*: And withall they were reſolued to keepe them alwayes in places of ſtrength, where, eyther for their ſituacion, or to be backt with ſome great towne, the french men ſhoulde haue no opportunitie to charge them but to their great diſaduauntage: And therefore they were determined to make no account nor difficultie to retyre as often as neede ſhoulde bee, iudging, as men well vnderſtanding the qualitie of warre, that they were not bownd to thapparances and brutes that ranne, but principally had to looke to obteine the victorie which was followed with glory, with reputacion, & with praiſe of men: According to which reſolucion, the ſame daye that tharmie was lodged at the caſtell *Guelffe* & at *Medicina*, ſuch as were incamped neare thoſe places, retyred to the wals of *Ymola*: The day following the french men paſſed within a mile & an half of *Ymola*, thennemies keeping good order in the place where they were incamped: But refuſing to aſſaile thē at ſo great a diſaduantage, they paſſed further, the vauntgard lodging in the borow of *Bubana* foure myles from *Ymola*, and the other part of tharmie at *Mordana* and *Baguaro*, townes ſomewhat more then a myle one from an other: They chuſed their lodging places beneth the high way for the oportunity of vittels, which with ſewertie were brought by the riuer of *Pavv*, *Lugo*, *Bagua Cauall* and the townes thereabout, being abandoned of the *Spanyards* & eftſoones returned to the deuocion of the Duke of *Ferrara* when *Monſr de Foix* entred vppon the territories of *Bolognia*: The day after the *Spanyards*, leauing ſufficient garriſon in the caſtell of *Ymola*, and lx. men at armes in the towne vnder *Ioh. Saſſatello*, went to Caſtell *Boulonnois*, and incamped vppon the high way, their campe ſtretching towards the Mounteines: And the ſame day, the french men tooke by force the borow of *Solarola*, the terror whereof made *Cotignola* and *Grauarola* to render to them, where they remeyned the daye following And the ennemies encamping in a place called the fielde of flees: In theſe litle remouings and nearenes of places, the two armies marched alwayes in good order, their artillerie going formoſt, with the face to thennemye as though the battell were to beginne at euery hower: And yet both the armies marched with very great reſpect, the one not to be conſtrayned to come to blowes but in a place where thaduauntage of the ſituacion ſhoulde recompenſe the diſaduauntage of their number and forces: And the other to ſeeke to drawe thennemies to a neceſſitie to fight, but with this regarde that at one tyme, both the weapons and place ſhoulde not bee contrarye to them: In that place, *Monſr de Foix* receyued a newe commaundement from the Kinge to haſten the battell, the ſame cauſes and reaſons ſtill increaſinge that had firſt induced him to aduaunce to ſeeke thennemyes: For, where the *Venetians* had obſtinately refuſed to make peace with *Cæſar* but vppon condicion that they might reteyne *Vincenſa*, notwithſtanding they were muche weakened by the accident of *Breſſia*, and alſo muche preſſed firſt by requeſtes and after by proteſtacions and threatninges of the Pope and Kinge of

Aragon: There was at laſt made betwene them a truce for eyght monethes before the Pope, with couenant that either partes ſhould reteyne the thinges they poſſeſſed, and to pay to *Cæſar* fiftye thowſand florins of the *Rhein:* The ſame remouing from the king all doubtes that he would not be deuided from him, and at the ſame tyme he had intelligence that he would haue warre beyond the Mountes: for, *Ierome Cabauillo* the king of *Aragons* Embaſſador and reſident in his Court, making inſtance to be heard in playne councell, tolde him he had receiued commaundement from the king his Maiſter, to departe, exhorting him in his name to forbeare to fauor againſt the Church the tyrants of *Bolognia*, &, for ſo vniuſt a cauſe, to leaue of to trouble a peace of ſo great importance and profit to the whole common weale of Chriſtendom: In which exhortacion he offered, that in caſe he feared to receiue any domage for the reſtitucion of *Bolognia*, he would aſſure him in all ſorts he would deſire, Adding in the ende for a reſolucion immouable, that he would not nor could not faile to defend the Church according to the office of euery Chriſtian Prince.

Therefore *Monſr de Foix*, being now certeine that he ſhould neuer accompliſh his intencion in accoaſting and following thennemie, for that, for the commoditie they had of the townes of *Romagnia*, he could not eaſily cut of their vittells nor force them to the battell without great diſaduauntage: And his owne armie alſo ſuffering no ſmall neceſſitie of vittells by the barreinnes of places where he lay, he tooke councel of his Capteines and determined to goe to incampe affore *Rauenna:* he hoped by this meane, thennemies, not to diminiſh their reputacion would not ſuffer to be loſt before their eyes a citie of that importance: And withall he doubted not vnder this occaſion to fight with thennemies in a place of indifferencie: And to lette the ennemie (happly ſuſpecting his deuiſe) to approche to *Rauenna*, he incamped betwene *Cotignola* and *Granarola* ſeuen myles from them, where he ſtayed foure dayes exſpecting from *Ferrara* twelue Cannons and twelue other leſſer peeces of artillerie: Thennemies doubted ſuch a reſolucion, and for that cauſe ſent to *Rauenna Mark. Anth. Colonno*, who before he entred into the iorney tooke the fayth and promiſſe of the Legat, the *Viceroy*, *Fabricio* and *Peter* of *Nauarre* with all the other Capteines of tharmie (otherwayes he woulde not vndertake thenterpriſe) that if the frenche came to encampe affore it, they ſhould make to his ſuccours with the whole armie: There went with him in this expedicion, three skore men at armes of his owne bande, An hundred light horſemen vnder *Peter de Caſtre*, and ſix hundred ſpaniſhe footemen commaunded by Capteyne *Parades* and *Salezart:* touching the reſidue of tharmie, they encamped neare the walls of *Faenza* along the gate that goeth to *Rauenna*, enterteyning the tyme of their abyding there with a hoat skirmiſhe with thennemie: About that tyme *Monſr de Foix* ſent an hundred launces and fiueteene hundred footemen to take the borowe of *Ruſſi* garded by a garriſon of the place it ſelfe, who, notwithſtanding in the beginning (according to the manner of commons and popular men,) ſhowed them ſelues very reſolute and aſſured, yet, their naturall feares vanquiſhing their frayle ſhowes of courage, they entred the ſame daye into a parley to render and yeelde: during which commonings the French men taking thopportunitie of their negligence and diſorder, entred the place with no litle furie and ſacked it, putting to the ſworde more then two hundred men, and reduced all the reſidue to the calamitie of priſoners: from *Ruſſi*, *Monſr de Foix* drewe neare to *Rauenna*, and the day after incamped neare the walls betweene the two riuers in the middeſt whereof the towne hath her ſituacion: The ryuer of *Ronquo* which olde hiſtories call *Vitis*, and the ryuer of *Montono*,

The ſeate of Rauenna.

Montono, not a litle esteemed for that next after *Pavv*, it is the chiefest of those riuers that haue their heade on the left hande of *th'Appenyn*, and entreth into the sea of his propper courrse, fall from *th'Appenyn* hills, And where they take their head, there they make the separacion of *Romagna* from *Tuskane:* These riuers make their courrse so, as they inclose the citie of *Furly*: *Montono* that ronneth on the left hande toucheth almost the walls, And *Ronquo* falling on the right hande, passeth within two myles of it, and afterwards are restrayned and drawne narrow neare *Rauenna* with so litle space, that the one on the one parte and the other on the other, make their courrse fast by the walls, A litle belowe which walls, their waters meeting and embrasing together, they fall afterwards into the sea beeing nowe three myles of, but in olde tyme (as is sayd) did beate vpon the walls of the towne: *Monsr de Foix* commaunded the space or distance that is betweene the one and other of the riuers, the front of his campe bearing towardes the gate *Adriana* which is almost ioyning to the brinke or shoare of *Montono*: The daye after he was incamped, he made to plant thartillerie, partly against the tower called *Roncono* situated betwene the port *Adriana* and the ryuer of *Ronquo*, and partly on the other side of *Montono* whether one parte of tharmie was passed by a bridge which was cast ouer the riuer: he hastned the batterie as much as he could, to thende to come to thassault, both affore the ennemies approched whome he knewe to bee marching, and also for his great necessitie and difficultie to recouer prouision of vittells, seeing the *Venetian* bandes which lay at *Ficqueroles*, with many vessells armed, gaue impediment to such as were brought out of *Lombardye*: And hauing soonke to the bottome certeine barkes in the mouth of the channell which entreth into *Pavv* twelue myles from *Rauenna* and passeth there within two myles, they also stopped the entrey of those that came from *Ferrara* in vessells of that contrey: A prouision which was no lesse daungerous then vneasie to be brought by waggen or cart: besides this, the incommodities and daungers were no lesse for their forragers, who of necessitie were to raunge seuen or eyght myles from the campe: impediments not small to a campe lying vppon thexecucion of some enterprise: In regarde of these difficulties, concurring also the consideracion of other extremities and daungers, *Monsr de Foix* determined to giue thassalt the same day, notwithstanding he knew it was no lesse hard then daungerous to make his entrey: for, of the wall that was battred, there was brought downe to the earth but thirty fadoms, and yet they not altogether ruinous for that three fadoms were yet left standing on high, so that there could be made no entrey but by ladders: But to surmount these difficulties with vallour and direction, and the better to encourage his people by a striuing and emulacion amongest them selues, he deuided in three squadrons distinct and separat one from an other, the regiments of footemen of the *Almains*, *Italyans*, & french: And after he had chosen out of euery companie of the men at armes, tenne of the most trayned & resolute, he charged, that being couered with the same armes with the which they were wont to fight on horsebacke, they shoulde marche affore the footemen: he brought them all in good order of warre affore the walls, and recommending them to their seuerall fortune, he sawe them giue a very furious assault, respecting so much the lesse the perills that were affore them, by how much more euery one of them labored to make good his election and iudgement of their vallour: The defendants made valiant resistance, to the speciall prayse of *Mark. Anth. Colonno*, who, duringe that sharpe storme, omitted in him selfe no office, no parte, no place, that concerned the reskewe and succour of his people

doing double ſeruice, both by direction and by example: The french men were wonderfully troubled with a coluerine that was planted vpon a baſtillion, by which, with other afflictions farre contrary to their looking, they ſawe them ſelues out of all hope to be able to force the towne, & therefore after they had fought three howers, they retyred to their lodgings with the loſſe of three hundred footemen and certeyne men at armes: many were miſerably hurt, as *Monſr Chaſtillon* and the Capteine of thartillerie, who receyuing their woundes from out of the towne, dyed not many dayes after: *Federyk de Boſſolo* was alſo hurt but not to the death, All men in ſuche a calamitie, not being ſubiect to one kinde of fortune: The daye following, the deuiſes to batter the walls, were turned to fight with thennemies in the fielde: They, aſſoone as the frenche armie was remoued remembring their fayth and promiſſe to *Mark. Anth.*, were entred within *Furly* which is betweene the ſame ryuers, and hauing afterwardes paſſed the ryuer of *Ronquo* a fewe myles lower, they came towardes *Rauenna:* About which tyme the Citizens of the towne, brought into terrour by the aſſalt of the daye before, ſent out one to treate of compoſicion without the priuitie of *Mark. Anth.:* But as he was in the action, going and returning with aunſwers, the armye of thennemie was diſcouered, which marched along the ryuer, And aſſoone as the Frenche men diſcerned it, they drew immediatly into armes with a greate noyſe and ranged their companies vnder their enſeignes: They retyred in greate haſte their artilleries from before their walls, and turned them towardes their ennemies: And in the meane whyle *Monſr de Foix*, conſulted with the other Capteynes whether it were good to paſſe the ryuer at the ſame inſtant, to lette them for entring into *Rauenna:* A matter which eyther they had not determined to doe, or at leaſte it was impoſſible with order conuenient, and with neceſſary diligence: where it was eaſie to tharmye of the confederats to enter the ſame daye into *Rauenna* by the wodde of *Pineta* which is betweene the ſea and the citie, A deuiſe which had conſtrayned the French men to retyre with ſhame, and to goe out of *Romagna* conſidering the want of vittells: But they eyther not knowing thoccaſion, and fearing withall that as they marched they ſhoulde be enforced to fight in the playne fielde: or els ſuppoſing that by the onely viewe and ſhowing of their armye, *Rauenna* was ſufficiently ſuccored, for that *Monſr de Foix* durſte not eſtſoones ſende to thaſſault: They encamped, contrarye to all exſpectacion three myles within *Rauenna* in a place called *Monlinacco*, ſpending the reſidue of that daye and the nyght following in intrenching their campe with ditches ſo large and deepe, as the ſhortnes of the tyme woulde ſuffer: In this reſpyt of tyme, the french Capteines conſulted together not without diuerſitie of opinions: ſome held it an enterpriſe too daungerous to giue a new aſſault to them within *Rauenna*, hauing before them ſo litle a breache in the wall, & behind thē ſo great a campe & armie of enemies: They iudged it vnprofitable to remeine there without hope to be able to doe any thinge, yea the ſkarcetie of vittells bringing apparant impoſſibilitie to all action: And that in retyring, there would growe to the *Spanyards* a greater reputacion then was wonne the daye before by aduauncing: Laſtly, that as it was a matter very daungerous and agaynſt all deliberacions and councells made before, to goe charge them in their campe which they had to thinke was well fortefied, ſo, of all ſortes of daungers that chiefly was to bee eſchewed by which might happen greateſt harmes, and of all other harmes this is the greateſt without all compariſon to bee ouerthrowne: Amydd theſe diſcourſes of difficulties and perills it was in the ende reſolued, that they woulde goe

The Confederats at the ſuccours of Rauenna.

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sette vppon the ennemie assone as it were day, *Monsr de Foix* allowing that resolution as moste agreable to his glory, and their common safetie. All the night they wrought to set vp the bridge vpon the ryuer of *Ronquo* making playne the risings of the bankes on all sides, to make the way more easie and passible: The next morning by the first appearing of the day, beeing the eleuenth of Aprill, a daye very solemne for the memorie of the holy resurrection, the Launceknights of the footemen marched ouer the bridge, almoste all the vauntgarde and the battell passed the ryuer by foarde, and the rearegard guyded by *Yues d'Allegre* wherein were foure hundred launces, remayned vpon the shore of the ryuer on *Rauenna* side, to thende to succor the armie in necessitie, and to make head if the souldiours or people issued out of *Rauenna*: And to the garde of the bridge which had bene affore buylt vpon the ryuer of *Montono*, was appoynted capteine *Paris* a Skottishe man with a strength of a thousande footemen: Immediatly vpon this the Frenchmen prepared them selues to the battell in this order: The vauntgarde with thartillerie before, gouerned by the Duke of *Ferrara* with seuen hundred launces and the Launceknightes, was placed vpon the banke or shoare of the ryuer which was on their right hande, the footmen beeing on the left hande to the horsemen: On the side of the vauntgarde and in flanke, were bestowed the footemen of the battell whiche were eighte thowsande, parte *Gascons* and parte *Pickardes*: And after, in enlarging alwayes and bearing further from the banke of the ryuer, was the laste esquadron of *Italian* footemen ledde by *Federike Bossolo*, wherein was not aboue the number of fiue thousande bodies: for notwithstanding *Monsr de Foix* comming from before *Bolognia* tooke with him such as were there in garrison, yet many of them were shronke away by reason the paye was small: And on the side or wing of this squadron were all the archers and light horsemen, which exceeded the number of three thousande. After the ordering of all these squadrons, who not stretching directly right foorth, but plying and bowing, bare the forme of a halfe moone, and vppon the banke of the ryuer, were the six hundred launces of the battel commaunded by *Monsr de la Palissa*, together with the Cardinall *S. Seuerin* Legate of the councell, who being of stature huge & mightie, and of courage and minde nothing inferior, and armed withall from toppe to toa with glittering armes, performed farre better the office of a Capteine then of a Cardinall or Legate. In this disposing of the armie, *Monsr de Foix* reserued to him selfe no charge or place particular, but hauing made a choyse of thirtie of the most valiaunt Gentlemen of the whole armie, he stoode free and at libertie to be the better hable to succour and minister to all partes: The goodly estate and presence of his personage couered with armor shining and wrought, made him easie to bee discerned from all others, ioyning his liuery or cassacke, in whose coollers was represented the inclination of his minde: And because there shoulde be omitted in him nothing that eyther belonged to the testification of his proper vallour, or was necessarie to stirre vp the mindes of his people, he mounted vpon the rysing of the shore of the ryuer, and with a countenance of singuler ioye and comfort dispersed into his eyes and all his other outward senses and partes, he spake to his companies with an eloquence more then martiall in this sort:

The order of the Frenchmē in the battell of Rauenna.

My good friendes and souldiours, this is the day wherein fortune offreth to leade vs to fight with our enemies in open fielde: A matter so muche the more welcome, by howe muche it hath bene long desired with an vniuersall exspectation of vs all: The same fortune, whose fauour we haue caried alwayes vpon our shoulders in so many victories, presenteth her selfe nowe to kisse our cheekes in signe of her perpe-

Mōsr de Foix encourageth his souldiours to the battell.

" tuall assistaunce: and holding her lappe open, she puttes into our handes an oc-
" casion to winne the moste honorable and glorious victorie that euer was gotte by
" any armie in the memorie of man: for not onely *Rauenna*, not onely all the townes
" and limites of *Romagnia*, are subiect to your discression, but also the wealth and plen-
" tie of riches conteined in those large limites, shall be the least parte of the rewardes
" of your valour. Not one Prince, or Potentat remayning in *Italie* hable to make head
" agaynst your force and felicitie, what shall lette you to ronne vp euen to *Rome*, where
" the infinite treasors of that wicked Court drawne in so many ages out of the bowels
" and intrals of Christendome, shall be the honorable fruites of your trauell: yea your
" vallour and your fortune will put into your handes so manye stately ornamentes,
" suche heapes of siluer, so many wedges of golde, suche mountaynes of precious
" stones, and so many riche prisoners, that the whole world will enuy your condition:
" And from *Rome*, euen with the same facilitie, we shall marche into the bowels of
" the kingdome of *Naples*, executing reuenge vppon the iniuries done to vs and ours
" heretofore. These be felicities which I see not subiect to any impediment when I
" consider your vertue, your fortune, and the honorable victories you haue gotten in
" fewe dayes. These expeditions bring with them no doubt nor feare, when I beholde
" your countenances, and do remember that there are very fewe amongest you, who
" in my presence hath not giuen some notable testimonie of his vallour. Our enemies
" be the same *Spaniardes* whom our arriuall forced with shame to flee by night from
" before *Bolognia*, they be the same mindes and bodies who not many dayes since
" sought their safetie from vs, no otherwise then by hiding themselues vnder the walls
" of *Imola* and *Faenza*, and afterwards couered their dishonour in places montenous
" and impassible. This is a race of people and nation that in the kingdome of *Naples*
" neuer fought agaynst our armies in playne fielde, or places discouered, but brought
" with them alwayes the aduauntage of rampiers, of ryuers, of diches, or the wether,
" reapposing lesse in their vallour and vertue, then in their sleightes and ambushes:
" And yet I can not tearme them that portion of *Spaniards* which haue bene norished
" and made olde in the warres of *Naples*, but rather a people newe, rawe, and vnexpe-
" rienced, who neuer fought agaynst other armes then bowes and arrowes and laun-
" ces poynted after the maner of the *Moores*: who notwithstanding is a nation and
" people weake of body, without harte, without armour, and wholly without know-
" ledge of the arte of warre, yet the laste yere they ouerthrew this prowde generation
" of *Spaniards* to their great infamie in the yle of *Gerbes*: from which place fledde this
" *Peter* of *Nauarre* a capteine of so great name and reputation with them, seruing as a
" notable example to all the worlde touching the difference to make walles fall with
" the furie of powder, and subteltie of vaultes secrete and vnder earth, and to feight
" in the fielde with a true resolution and magnanimitie of courage: They are nowe
" inclosed with a trenche which feare hath driuen them to make this night in great
" haste: their footemen are shadowed and couered with the rysing of the banke, and
" they put confidence in their armed wagons, as if the battell were to be performed
" by those childishe instrumentes, and not with the resolution of minde, and meare
" force of handes and armes: But with our artilleries we can not but hunte them out
" of their vaultes and caues, and compell them to come into the fielde and open
" playnes, where the world shall heare of the oddes and difference betwene the furie
" of the Frenchmen, the resolution of *th Almains*, vallour of *th Italians*, and the subtel-
" ties, wyles, and ambushes of the *Spaniards*. The greatest matter that I finde to di-
" minishe our glorie, is the inequalitie of our numbers beeing almost twice so many

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as they: And yet to vſe this aduauntage can not be referred to our cowardiſe, but to » their raſhnes, for that their vallour and courage is not the cauſe of their appearing, » but the authoritie of *Fabricio Colonno* in reſpect of his promiſes vndiſcretly made to » *Marke Antho.* or rather it is a ſentence of Gods iuſtice for the iuſte punithment of » the pride and impudent vices of that falſe Pope *Iulius*, and of ſo many treaſons and » deceites as that diſloyall king of *Aragon* hath wrought againſt vs, abuſing the good- » neſſe of our king. But in vſing ſo large a skoape of perſwaſions to ſouldiours of your » vertue, methinkes I do ſo muche deferre and hinder our victorie and the glory ther- » of, as I ſpende time in debating with you to whom the rewardes of the iourney are » not vnknowen: Marche on a Gods name according to the direction ſet downe, and » feight with this hope, that this day will giue vnto the king the imperie and iuriſdi- » ction, and to you the wealth and ryches of all *Italie*: For my parte I will be all this » day at your election, not further extending my authoritie then may needefully tend » to the benefite of the ſeruice, and make leſſe reſeruation of my ſelfe then belonges » to the place which I occupie amongeſt you. The ſeruice of this day beeing all one, » the perill ſhall be equall both to you and to me, and as I promiſe to be indifferent » with you in the action, ſo I doubt not but we ſhall all communicate in one fortune » and felicitie: It ſhall be a great happineſſe to me, that being the Capteine of this » dayes battell, my ſouldiours ſhall be made more glorious and more riche, then hath » bene euer any army or ſouldiours theſe three hundred yeres. »

With theſe wordes the army fell to a generall ſhowting and crying, euery one wiſhing that they were at the place where they might expreſſe their vallour: They all called vpon him to be forwarde to leade them, whom they were willing to follow euen to the laſte man. Then the trompettes blewe and the drommes ſtroke vppe, warning euery ſouldiour to repayre to his enſigne: in which order, with more ioye then feare, they began to marche towardes thennemies campe, diſtant from the place where they paſſed the ryuer leſſe then two myles: Their lodgings ſtretched out along the ſhoare of the ryuer, which was of their lefte hande, where they had caſte afore them a trenche ſo deepe as the ſhortneſſe of the time would ſuffer, which winding and turning vppon the right hande, inuironed all the place where they were incamped, ſauing they had left at the entrie of the trenche an opening of xx. paſſes for the horſemen to iſſue out to the skirmiſhe. In this campe, aſſone as they ſawe the Frenche begin to paſſe the ryuer, they were ranged in battell in this ſorte: The vauntgard of eight hundred men at armes commaunded by *Fabricio Colonno*, was beſtowed along the ſhoare of the ryuer, and ioyning to the right hande of the ſame a ſquadron of ſix thouſande footemen: after the vauntgarde occupying the place along the ryuer, was the battell of ſix hundred launces, and on the wing a ſquadron of foure thouſande footemen, all gouerned by the *Viceroy*, who was accompanied by the Marquis of *Palude*: The Cardinall *de Medicis* who by nature had no cleare ſight, and in behauiour very eaſie and tractable, marched in the battell in an habite of peace, ſeeming aſwell in demonſtrations as in effects, very vnlike to the Cardinall *S. Seuerin*. After the battell, and likewiſe along the brinke of the riuer, followed the arearegard of foure hundred men at armes, ledde by *Caruagiall* a Spaniſh Capteine, with a ſquadron for his wing of foure thouſande footemen, and with the bands of light horſemen, of whom was capteine generall *Fernand d'Aualo* Marquis of *Peſquiere*, albeit but very young, yet of ſingular exſpectation: They were on the right hande at the backes of the footemen to ſuccor ſuch as ſhoulde ſuffer diſtreſſe: The artilleries were beſtowed aboue the men at armes: And for *Peter* of *Nauarre*

The confederates army.

who had made a choyse of fiue hundred footemen, and would not for that day be bounde to any one place, had bestowed vpon the trench affore the footemen, thirtie waggons resembling the example of the olde tymes: euery waggon was full of small shotte, with a very long boare speare vppon them, the more easily to susteine thassault of the Frenche men: In this order they kept themselues cloase within the body of their trenche, exspecting tharmie of thenemie to come and charge them: A resolution that as it proued in the ende little to their profite: so, from the beginning it appeared very preiudiciall: for *Fabricio Colonno* had giuen aduise to charge thennemie when they began to passe the ryuer, iudging a greater aduauntage to consiste in this to feight agaynst one parte onely, then to stande to the defence of a slender trenche whiche they had caste affore them: Agaynst this aduise was *Peter* of *Nauarre*, whose counsayles were receyued of the *Viceroy* as Oracles, and by him it was resolued to suffer them to passe: An opinion no lesse vndiscrete, then altogether full of perill. The Frenche men marched on, and were by this tyme come within two hundred passes of the trenche: and seeing their enemies showe no disposition to come out of their place, they stayed for not to giue them thaduauntage whiche they sought to haue: and in that sorte both the one and the other armie stoode at gaze without stirring for the space of two howres, onely the shotte executed on both partes, endomaging not a little the Frenche footemen, for that by direction of *Peter* of *Nauarre*, thartilleries were planted in a place that gaue great oportunitie to distresse them. But the Duke of *Ferrara* retyring behinde the armie one parte of thartillerie, drewe it in great haste to the poynt of the Frenchemen, in the very place where the archers had bene bestowed: This poynt, for that tharmie bare the forme of a halfe Moone, was almoste vppon the backes of thennemies, who were nowe furiously battered in flanke, and to their great harmes, but specially the horsemen: Those companies of the Spanishe footemen whiche the Capteine of *Nauarre* had withdrawen into a lowe place on the syde of the rising of the ryuer, beeing in no perill to be hurte, for that according to his commaundement they threwe them selues flatte vpon the earth, *Fabricio* cryed aloude, and with greate importunities by messengers, called on him to issue out to the battell, and not tarye tyll they were consumed with the shotte of thartilleries: But it was in vayne to raunge the Capteine of *Nauarre*, in whome bare more dominion a cursed ambition, then eyther reason or conduit: for imagining that by the vallour of the *Spanishe* footemen (though all the residue perished) he should cary the victorie, he esteemed his glory would by so much be augmented, by howmuche shoulde be increased the daunger of tharmie. By this tyme thartillerie had made suche mortallitie of the men at armes and light horsemen, that they were hable to susteine no longer: There might be seene with a miserable spectacle mingled with cryes lamentable, bothe men and horses fall dead to the grounde, their quarters flye into the ayre, and their heades and armes separate from the residue of their bodies: An execution so bloudy in the eyes of *Fabricio*, that he cryed out, shall we all dye heare through the wretched obstinacie of one straunger, shall this galland Army be offred to the butchers bowle without anye reuenge of the blood that is spilte? Where is the glorie of our victories so oftentymes obteyned agaynst the Frenchmen? Shall the honour of *Spayne* and *Italie* be loste for the pleasure of a particular man of *Nauarre*? In whiche rage and furie of complainte, he caused his companies to issue out on the other side of the trenche without tarrying for licence or direction from the *Viceroy*: And beeing followed with all the horsemen, *Peter* of

Nauarre

Nauarre was compelled to make signe to his footemen, who beeing risen from the ground charged with incredible furie the footemen of the launceknightes whiche were already come vpon them: By this meane all the squadrons being ioyned pelmell, there began a moste desperate and hoat battell, and out of doubt one of the greateſt, and best executed that had bene fought in *Italie* of long time: for the battell of *Taro* was almoste no other thing then a gallande encounter of launces, and the deedes of armes in the kingdome of *Naples*, were rather actions of disorder and rashnes, then battels pitched and performed: and in *Guiaradada* the lesser part onely of the *Venetians* was brought to the feight: but here there was not a body which passed not through the middest of the battell, the feight beeing in the playne feelde without impediments of waters or rampiers, both the armies fought with a wonderfull resolution and courage, they came to the fieldes with mindes indifferently determined to dye or lyue, beeing kindled not onely with glorie, with hope, and with daunger, but also with hatred of Nation agaynst Nation. In the heate of the feight there hapned this spectacle worthy of memorie: In the medley of the launceknightes with the *Spaniards*, two capteines of great reputation marching affore their squadrons, fought hande to hande as it were by defyance, where the Launceknight beeing slayne, the *Spaniard* had no more glory by his victorie, then the other had honor by his death. The horsmen of the league which ordinarily were not equall to the French, and that day hauing suffred muche by the artillerie, were become farre inferiour, being not hable to make further resistance, gaue their backes to the enemie, hauing long borne out the furie of the feight more with courage then with strēgth: And *Yues d'Allegre* also whom *Monsr la Palisſa* had called, comming with the rearegard to charge them in the flanke, and with a thousande footemen that had bene left at *Montona*, were taken prisoners by the souldiours of the Duke of *Ferrara*, together with *Fabritio Colonno* feighting valiauntly: In this giuing backe the example of the capteines did muche, for that the *Viceroy* and *Caruagiall*, without making a laste proofe of the vertue of their men, began to flee, carying with them the thirde squadron almoste whole and vnbroken: with them fled *Antho. de leua*, a man at that tyme of very base condition, but rysing by continuall exercise of armes, to all the degrees of warre, he became at laste a capteine of singular reputation and name: All the light horsemen were likewise ouerthrowen, and their capteine the Marquis of *Pesquiere* taken prisoner, hauing his armor all couered with blood, and his body full of woundes, expressing his vallour to be greater then his fortune: There was taken also the Marquis of *Palude*, who in great disorder had ledde the seconde squadron to the battell through a fielde full of diches and bushes: And albeit by the wretched succesſe of that daye, all the place was couered with bodies of dead men and carkasses of horses, yet the footemen of the *Spaniards* abandoned of their horsmen, continued to feight with an incredible vallour and assurance: for albeit in the beginning of the feight and at the first encounter with the launceknights, they were somewhat shaken by the firme and close order of the pikes, yet comming afterwards to the swordes poynt, and many of the *Spaniards* couered with their targets running with their daggers and short weapons betwene the legges of the launceknightes, they came with a wonderfull slaughter almoste euen to the middest of their squadron: And neare vnto them the *Gascon* footmen hauing occupied the way betwene the ryuer and the rysing, had charged the *Italian* footmen, and albeit they had much suffered by the artilleries, yet they had expulsed them to their great prayse, if, with a guidon of horsemen *Yues Allegre* had not thrust in amongest them, with a greater

vallour then fortune: for *Monsr Vinarais* his sonne being slaine in the action euen afore his eies, he thought to take present reuenge of his new sorow, or happly hauing lesse delite to liue after he sawe the priuation of his sonne, he thrust in with his horse into the thickest presse of enemies, where he cõmunicated in the miserable destinie of his sonne, fighting as apperteined to a valiant capteine: The *Italian* footmen gaue backe, being no more hable to resist so great a multitude: but one part of the *Spanish* footmen running to their succors susteined them for a time: neither could the footmen of the launceknightes make any further resistance, being also oppressed by the other part of the *Spaniards*: but the horsmen being already fled, *Monsr de Foix* turned him to charge them with a great troupe of horsmen, by reason wherof the *Spaniards* rather retyring then chased out of the battel, and winning the way which is betwene the riuer and the rising without shewing any maner of disorder, they began to gette further off, not giuing faster back then by foote pases, keping the front of their squadron very close, by whose force they repulsed the frenchmen: It was at that time that *Peter de Nauarre* hauing lesse desire to liue thẽ to saue himself, & in that mind would not go out of the battell, was taken prisoner, receiuing a reward of his obstinacie to the vniuersall ruine of tharmy. The minde thirsting after glory is infinite in opinion & weening, and to the man that is caried with ambition & desire of honor, nothing can stay or limitte his aduentures: for *Monsr de Foix* could not brooke that the *Spanish* footmen should go their waies as it were victorious & in so good order, neither could he thinke his victorie was perfect, if they were not ouerthrowen aswell as the residue: therfore respecting more the glory he should get, then the perils that commonly lye lurking vnder vndiscrete aduentures, he went furiously to the charge with a squadron of horsmen, and executed vpon those that were last, by whom being enuironed and caste from his horse, or as some suppose, his horse falling vpon him whilest he fought, he was slayne with a thrust of a pyke giuen him in the flanke. And if it be then time for a man to desire to dye, when his fortune hath set him in the full of his felicitie, he may by imputation be sayd to dye happily, falling into his last time when he fell into the last act of so glorious a victorie: He dyed very yong, but with a singular reputation throughout the world, hauing in lesse thẽ three moneths, & being almost a capteine before he was a souldiour, obteined so many victories with incredible celeritie & valour: Neare vnto him *Monsr Lautrech* was left as dead, hauing vpon him twenty wounds, but being afterwardes carried to *Ferrara*, his life was saued by the diligent cure of Phisitions. *Monsr de Foix* being dead, the *Spaniards* went away without receiuing afterwardes any trouble or impediment, the residue of the army being dispersed and put to chase, the baggage sacked, the ensignes and artilleries spoyled, and the Popes Legate taken, who from the handes of the stradiottes being come into the power of *Federike Bossolo*, was by him presented to the Legate of the councell: There fell also into the fortune of prisoners *Fabricio Colonno*, *Peter Nauarre*, the Marquis *Palude*, the Marquis *Bitonte*, the Marquis *Pesquiere*, with many other Lords, Barons, and honorable gentlemen, aswell *Spaniards* as of the kingdome of *Naples*. In battells there is nothing more vncertayne then the computation and number of the dead, the common brute was, that of the one and the other armie, there was left on the ground at the least ten thousande bodies of men, one part being of the French part, and the two other halues of the confederates: some publishe a greater number, onely this is certayne, that the calamitie fell vpon the moste valiaunt and braueste sort, of which number on the ecclesiastike side was *Raphaell de Fassi*, a capteine of great name, and of suche as were hurt the number was infinite: Touching

The death of Yues d'Allegre.

Monsr de Foix slaine.

The number of the dead.

ching the Frenchmen, the victorie was not more glorious then full of domage and discomfort, by reason of the death of *Monsr de Foix*, *Yues de Alegre*, and many of the nobilitie of *Fraunce*: as also of the *Almains*, for the losse of capteine *Iacob* with many other resolute leaders and commaunders, to whose vallour (but with a great price of their blood) the victorie in the greatest part was attributed: And lastely for the death of many *Gascons* and *Pickards* being left there with capteine *Molard*, whiche nations loste that day all their glory with the French: onely the harme that exceeded all those losses, was the death of *Monsr de Foix*, with whome perished wholly the very synewe and strength of that armie: Of suche as were vanquished and saued themselues from the miserie of the battell, the moste parte drewe towardes *Cesena*, and from thence fledde further of: The *Viceroy* him selfe made small reposeis tyll he came into the contrey of *Ancona*, whither he brought with him a very slender trowpe of horsemen: Many escaping the stroake of the battell, founde perill by fleeing where they sought for safetie, for that the wayes beeing full of peisantes, they were slayne and stripped by them, their fortune taking them out of one daunger which they could not but feare, and carryed them into another whiche they had no reason to doubt: so suttle is the stroake of destinie, ordeined from the beginning to fall vpon mortall men: And the Duke of *Vrbin* did not onely stirre vp the countreymen agaynst suche as fledde, but also sent bandes of souldiours into the territorie of *Pesera* to aggrauate their calamitie: He was in this suspected, for that many dayes affore he had sent *Baltazar Chastillon* to the Frenche king, and enterteyned also certayne bandes of men with *Monsr de Foix*: reasons that made some men beleeue he had secretly conspired agaynst his Vncle: onely suche as fledde by the dominions of the *Florentins*, passed without any harme, the compassion of that common weale beeing greater then to adde affliction to the afflicted, since one sorte of calamities sufficeth to vex the minde that caryeth with it feare and dispaire: Assoone as the Frenche armie was returned to their tentes, not more reioycing in the honour of their victorie, then loaden with burdens of sorrowe and lamentations, the people of *Rauenna* sent to render them selues: But suche is the nature of fortune to suffer no parte vntouched whom she hateth, as they were in debating of the couenauntes, or happly beeing already concluded, the *Almain* footemen and *Gascons* taking thopportunitie of their negligence in garding their walles, entred the towne at the breache whiche *Monsr de Foix* had made: And as men whose myndes were not yet free from the blood of the battell, they sacked it in great crueltie, adding to the despite of the harmes they receyued in the battell, the vniuersall and naturall hatred they bare to the *Italians*. In this cruell action nothing was lesse respected then moderation in killing and spoyling, no age spared, no sex reserued, no sorte of people nor goodes pardoned, all thinges were brought into the rewardes of the victorie, and nothing lefte free from the violence and furie of the souldiours. The fourth day after *Marke Antho. Colonno* forsooke the Citadell into the whiche he was retyred, yelding it vpon promise of lyfe and goodes saued, giuing also hys fayth, as also for his other capteines not to beare armes neyther agaynst the French king, nor agaynst the Councell of *Pisa* vntill *Magdalen* day next: By this example, and vnder the same conditions, the Bishop *Vitelli* with an hundred and fiftie footemen, consented to giue vp the Rocke whiche was committed to his keeping: The Cities of *Ymola*, of *Furly*, of *Cesena*, and *Rimini*, together with all the peeces of *Romagnia*, except the rocks of *Furly* and *Ymola*, followed also the fortune of the victorie, and were all receyued by the Legate in the name of the councell of

Rauenna sacked.

Pisa: But the Frenche armie, bothe for the death of *Monsr de Foix*, and for so great harmes receyued at the battell, remayned foure myles from *Rauenna*, without doing any thing, the terrour of their losses beeing greater in them, then that they were yet apte to take counsayle what to do: The Legate and *Monsr Palissa* to whom was diuolued the gouernement of tharmie (for *Alfonso d'Este* was nowe returned to *Ferrara*) beeing vncertayne what woulde be the kings will, temporised and tarryed for his further direction: neither was their authoritie suche with the souldiours, as to commaunde the armie to marche, beeing so troubled in sending to places of suretie the things they had sacked: and also so weakned in force and courage for so bloudy a victorie, that they seemed to carrye the countenaunces rather of men vanquished, then of conquerours: This amaze and confusion made all the souldiours with plaintes and teares call vppon the name of *Monsr de Foix*, whose presence onely had sufficed to remoue all impedimentes that mighte haue lette them to haue followed him: And it was not to be doubted, that beeing pushed on with the furie of his vallour, and the promises that the king had made to him, that to his vse the kingdome of *Naples* shoulde be conquered, he had not with his accustomed felicitie and diligence stretched out his victorie euen to the bosome of *Rome*, and that the Pope and all his dependantes had not bene put to chase, hauing no other hope to saue them selues.

The Cardinals councell the Pope to harke to peace.

The thirteenth daye of Aprill the newes of the battell came to *Rome* by the relation of *Octauian Fregoso*, who went thither in post from *Fossambrun*: They were heard not without a great feare and tumulte of the whole Court, whiche made the Cardinalls runne in haste to the Pope, and with vehement petitions to presse him, that accepting peace, which they distrusted not to obteine of the French king vnder honest conditions, he would at last dispose himselfe to deliuer the sea Apostolike and his person from so many perills: They tolde him he had taken trouble and trauell ynough for thaduauncement of the Churche, and the libertie of *Italie*, his intention onely giuing him sufficient glory: They alleaged, that in so holy an enterprise, the will of God stryuing agaynst him, which he might knowe by many signes and tokens, to obiect him selfe agaynst Gods ordinance, were no other thing then to tempt God, and turne the whole Churche into her lateste ruine: That as to God more then to him apperteined the care of his spouse: so it belonged to hym beeing a man to referre him selfe to his will, and embrasing peace according to the voyce of the Gospell, to retyre his olde age and the state of the Churche from so many perplexities and trauells, giuing his whole Court time to take breath from the long afflictions of so raging a time: That it was to be beleeued that the fortune of the victors would rayse them vp to a higher ambition, euen to come to the walls of *Rome*: that felicitie beeing to be feared wherein is offred glory ioyned with profite and riches: It was to be doubted leaste his nephew woulde ioyne with them, *Robert Vrsin, Pompei Colonno, Antho. Sauello, Peter Margano*, and *Rance Mancin*, bearing the same inclination: And as it was knowen that all these had receyued money of the French king, and were prepared euen affore the battell to distresse *Rome*: so to meete with these pretences affore they burst out into action, and to auoyde the falling of the storme that was already gathered into a cloude, there was no other helpe then the remedie of peace. On the other side thembassadors of the king of *Aragon* and the Senate of *Venice*, solicited vehemently to the contrarie: They perswaded him that the state of things was not reduced to so great affliction, that the despayre was lesse then the hope and comfort, nor the armie so extremely dispearsed, that

without

without great charge and in little tyme it might not be readreſſed: They alleaged that the *Viceroy* was in ſafetie with the greateſt parte of the horſemen, and that the Spaniſhe footemen not broken were retyred from the battell in good order, who if they were reſerued (as was very likely) all the other loſſes were of no importaunce: It was not to be feared that the Frenche men could marche ſo ſpeedily to *Rome* but that there woulde be reſpite enough to prouide agaynſt them, both for that it could not be but that the death of their Capteine woulde be followed with many diſorders and inſolencies, and alſo that they woulde be holden in ſuſpence for feare of the *Svvizzers*, who nowe were no more to be doubted to profeſſe openly for the league and diſcende into *Lombardie:* Laſtely, that there was no hope to obteyne peace of the Frenche king but vnder conditions vnequall and full of infamie, being alſo driuen to receiue lawes of the pride of *Bernardin Caruagiall*, and of the inſolencie of *Federike S. Seuerin.* In theſe reſpectes they helde it better to take anye other courſe then to ſtowpe vnder the winges of peace, ſpecially in ſuche intollerable and vnfaythfull ſeruitude, and with ſo greate indignitie and infamie: the rather (ſayde they) for that theſe trowpes and leagues of Schiſmatikes woulde neuer ceaſſe to perſecute his authoritie and his lyfe: They helde it yet a leſſe euill (yf extremitie woulde it ſo) to abandon *Rome*, and to withdrawe himſelfe and all his court eyther to the kingdome of *Naples* or to *Venice*, where he might remayne with the ſame ſurety, the ſame honor, and the ſame greatneſſe, that he had there: for that with the loſſe of *Rome*, the Pontificacie was not loſte, beeing alwayes tyed to the perſon of the Pope in what place ſoeuer he were: Laſtely, they encouraged him to keepe ſtill his accuſtomed conſtancie and magnanimitie, and that God, who is the ſearcher of the heartes of men, woulde neuer fayle to ayde him in ſo holy a purpoſe, and muche leſſe woulde abandon the little ſhippe of *Saint Peter*, whiche though it hath bene wont to be tormented with the ſtormes and waues of the Sea, yet it is ordeyned neuer to bee drowned: And finally, it woulde ſtande with the zeale, with the honour, with the pietie, and with the policie of Chriſtian princes, to be ielouſe ouer the mightineſſe of the Frenche king, and bearing any affection to religion, they woulde communicate with him in this quarrell, and ioyne to hys defence both with their forces and their proper perſons. Theſe reaſons were heard of the Pope with ſo greate doubte and ambiguitie of mynde, that beeing not hable to conceale his paſſion, it was diſcerned howe on the one ſide dyd worke in him hate, diſdayne, and his inuincible obſtinacie to bende or ſubmitte: and on the other ſide, the conſiderations of feare, ſuſpicion, and daunger: The aunſwers he made to thembaſſadors comprehended that it was not ſo greeuous to him to abandon *Rome*, as that he coulde not reſorte to any place where he ſhould not be in the power of an other: He tolde the Cardinalls that he woulde haue peace, conſenting that the *Florentins* might be ſolicited to interpoſe to that end with the French king: And yet his aunſwere bare not that reſolution, nor was ſo cleare from doubtes, as might aſſure them what was his intention. He cauſed to come from *Ciuitavechie*, *Baſcia* a *Genovvay* and capteyne of his Gallies, which was a manyfeſt coniecture that he woulde go from *Rome:* but afterwardes he diſmiſſed him to returne to his charge, leauing doubtfull that exſpectation: He ſpake to leauye thoſe Barons of *Rome* which were not of the conſpiracie with the others: He heard willingly the comfortes of the two Embaſſadors, but ſo, as oftentimes he aunſwered them with words full of reproche and diſdayne: He diſſembled alwayes in incertenties, whiche for the moſte parte deceiued the wiſedomes of ſuche as gaue him counſell.

About this time came *Iulio de Medicis* knight of the *Roades* and afterwards Pope, him the Cardinal *Medicis* vnder the leaue of the Cardinall *S. Seuerin*, ſent from tharmie vnder cooller to recommende him ſelfe to him in ſo greate a calamitie, but in dede to relate vnto him in what condition and ſtate things ſtoode: The Pope vnderſtanding by him at large how much the Frenchmen were weakned, of howe many capteines they were depriued and made naked, and howe many valiaunt bodies of ſouldiours they had loſt: how many lay hurt, and for many dayes would be vnprofitable, what ſpoyle of horſes they had ſuffred, and howe one parte of the armie was diſperſed abroade by reaſon of the ſacke of *Rauenna*, the Capteines vncertaine of the kings will, and not at good agreement amongſt them ſelues, becauſe *Monſr Paliſſa* refuſed to endure thinſolencie of the Cardinal *S. Seuerin* vſurping the office of a Legate and a capteine: that there were ſecret murmures of a diſcending of *Svvizzers*, and no apparant token ſene that the armie could marche ſo ſoone: This diſcourſe recomforted muche the Pope, who cauſing the reporter to be brought into the conſiſtorie, he willed him eftſones to relate them in the preſence of the Cardinalls in the ſame forme of diſcourſe which he had vſed to him apart: To theſe was added the doing of the Duke of *Vrbin*, who (whatſoeuer moued him) chaunged councel, & ſent to offer the Pope two hundred men at armes and foure thouſande footemen. Notwithſtanding theſe reapportes and all the comfortes they brought with them, the Cardinalls continued to aduiſe him to peace: A matter whiche albeit in wordes & outward actions ſeemed not vnplauſible to him, yet in mind he was not reſolued to accept it but for a laſt remedy: yea albeit for the preſent there appeared no preſent cure or ſalue for the ſore, yet he would rather chooſe to go from *Rome*, ſo farreforth as he were not out of all hope that his cauſe might be ſupported by the armies of princes, and principally that the *Svvizzers* would ſtirre, who ſhowing great inclination to his deſires, had many dayes before forbidden the French kings Embaſſadors, to be in the place wherein were aſſembled the deputies of all the Cantons to determine vpon the Popes demaundes.

In this eſtate of affayres, there appeared ſome hope of peace, for that, before the battell of *Rauenna*, the french king what with the conſideration of the daungers that hong vpon him on all ſides: and what with the deſpite of thinconſtancie of *Cæſar* & the hard conditions he proponed, reſpects that much induced him to yeld rather to the Popes will in many things: had ſecretly ſent *Fabritio Caietto* brother to the Cardinall *Finalo*, to the cardinalls of *Nantes* and *Strigonia*, who had not yet altogether abandoned the negociations of peace: his charge was to require thē to propound to the Pope that he was cōtent to render vp *Bolognia* to him: That *Alfonſo d'Eſte* ſhould giue vp to him *Lugo* with the other townes that he held in *Romagnia*: That he ſhould be bounde to paye him his auncient tributes, and to make no more ſalte vppon his grounds: And that he would agree to thextinction of the councell: he demaunded no other thing of the Pope, thē to haue peace with him, & that *Alfonſo d'Eſte* might be abſolued of the paynes, and reſtored to his auncient rightes & priuiledges: That to the family of *Bentiuoleis*, who ſhould remaine in exile, their proper goodes ſhould be reſerued, & the dignities reſtored to the cardinals & prelates which had folowed the councell. Which conditions albeit the two cardinals feared that the king would no more conſent vnto by reaſon of the victorie that had ſucceeded ſince, yet they durſt not propound them in other maner: And the Pope, ſeeing them ſo honorable for him, & not yet willing to manifeſt that which he had ſecretly determined in him ſelfe, iudged not that the king could refuſe them, but peraduenture that it was more

profitable

profitable with theſe enterſpeeches to ſtaye the kings armie, to haue the better leaſure to ſee what would be done by thoſe in whom he had reapoſed the reſidue of his hopes: So that the Cardinalls ſtill importuning him, he ſubſigned thoſe articles the ninth day after the battell of *Rauenna*, giuing to the Cardinals his fayth & promiſe to accept them if the king did confirme them: He ſent alſo by letters to the Cardinall *Finale* remaining in *Fraunce*, but abſented from the Court for feare to offende the Pope, and to the Biſhop of *Tiuoli*, who kept the place of legate in *Auignon*, that they ſhould go to the king to debate of theſe things: but he ſent them no authoritie nor power to conclude them.

Vntill this time thaffayres of the Pope went but in an euill courſe: vntill this day was aduaunced the full of his calamities & his daungers: but after this day (worldly affaires haue their ordinarie mutations) his hopes began to appeare greater, and the wheele of his fortune ceaſed not with an incredible ſwiftnes to turne to his greatnes.

The thing that gaue beginning to ſo great a mutation, was the ſodayne departing of *Monſr Paliſſa* out of *Romagnia*: he was reuoked by the generall of *Normandy* for feare of the diſcending of the *Svvizzers*, and for that cauſe he drewe his armie towards the duchie of *Millan*, leauing in *Romagnia* vnder the Legate of the councell three hundred launces, three hundred light horſemen, and ſix thouſande footemen with eight peeces of great artilleries. The feare of the comming of the *Svvizzers* was made greater, for that the ſame generall thinking to do a ſeruice more agreable to the king, had vndiſcretely diſmiſſed the Italian footmen, and parte of the French footemen immediately after the battell of *Rauenna*, contrarie to all reaſon, pollicie, and that which the preſent affayres required. By the departure of *Monſr Paliſſa*, the Pope was deliuered of the feare that troubled him moſte, he was more confirmed in his obſtinacie, and it helped him greatly to aſſure the affaires of *Rome*: for the better oportunitie whereof he had leauyed certayne Romaine Barons with three hundred men at armes, and debated to make capteine generall *Proſper Colonno*, the rather for that the courages of ſuche as deſyred newe thinges beeing abated, *Pompey Colonno* that made preparation at *Montfortin*, conſented by the working of *Proſper* to depoſe *Montfortin* into the handes of *Marke Antho. Colonno* for the Popes ſuretie, reteyning baſely in his handes the money he had receyued of the French king: By this example alſo *Robert Vrſin* who was come affore from *Petillano* vppon the landes of the *Colonnois* to leauye armes, keeping likewiſe in his handes the money he had receyued of the Frenche king, was brought in afterwardes by the meane of *Iulio Vrſin*, receyuing of the Pope in recompence of his diſloyaltie, the Archbiſhoprike of *Regge* in *Calabria*: Only *Peter de Margana* was aſhamed to kepe the money he had receiued, doing the ſame happly with a councell no leſſe honorable then happy, for that otherwayes he had iuſtly payed the merite and payne of his deceite, beeing not long tyme after taken priſoner by the ſucceſſor of the king raigning.

But nowe the Popes mynde beeing greately confirmed by reaſon of theſe thinges, and hauing no more to feare eyther enemies forreine or domeſticall, the thirde daye of Maye in greate ſolemnitie, he gaue beginning to the Councell in the Churche of *Saint Iohn Latran*, beeing nowe aſſured that not onely the moſte regions of *Italie* woulde come thither, but alſo the Realmes of *Spayne*, of *Englande*, and of *Hungary*: In this firſte action, he was in perſon in habite pontificall accompanied with the colledge of Cardinalls and great multitudes of Biſhoppes, where the Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt (beſides many other prayers) being celebrated according to auncient cuſtome, and the fathers exhorted with a publike oration to

inclined with all their hartes to the publike benefite & dignitie of christian religion: it was declared(the better to lay fundatiõs for other matters)that afterwards ſhould be ordeined that the councel aſſembled was a true,a lawfull,& holy councel,& that in the ſame remayned vndoubtedly all the authoritie and power of the vniuerſall Churche: Ceremonies aſſuredly both goodly and holy, and hable to pearce euen into the heartes of men,if it might haue bene beleued that the thoughtes and intentions of the authors had bene ſuch as were their words.In this ſort did the Pope gouerne him ſelfe after the battell of *Rauenna*.

But the french king,notwithſtanding that after the death of *Monſr de Foix* which ſomewhat troubled the ioy of the victorie as one whom he loued dearely,had commaunded *Monſr de Paliſſa* and the Legate to leade the armie vp to *Rome* aſſoone as they could: yet he ſeemed to abate of that inclination,and began to returne with all his deuiſes to the deſire of peace, fearing that at one tyme and from many places, great ſtormes woulde thunder vpon him and trouble his affayres: for,notwithſtanding *Cæſar* diminiſhed nothing of his promiſes that he would remayne firme with him, aſſuring that the truce made with the *Venetians* in his name, was concluded without his conſent,neither would he ratifie it: yet beſides the feare of thinconſtancie of *Cæſar*, and doubt whether his promiſes were diſſembled,it ſeemed to the king that for the conditions which he demaunded, he ſhould haue a companion in time of warre chargefull to him,and to the proceeding of the peace very preiudiciall and hurtfull,fearing that by his interpoſing,he ſhould be conſtrained to conſent to more vnworthy conditions: Beſides all theſe, he had no more doubt that the *Swvizzers* would ioyne with them of the league: And he was ſure he ſhould haue warre with the king of *Englande*,who had already ſent a Herald to ſignifie to him that he pretended to be ended all confederations and couenantes betwene them, for that in them all was comprehended this exception,that he ſhould make no warre neither againſt the Church,nor agaynſt the king Catholike his father in lawe: Therefore the king vnderſtanding with a great pleaſure that the *Florentins* were ſolicited to worke the peace, he diſpatched ſpedely to *Florence* the preſident of *Grenoble* with verye large commiſſion,to thende matters might be debated more at hande, and if neede were he might go vp to *Rome:* And knowing afterwards by the ſubſcription of the articles that the Popes inclination was more ready then he ſeemed, he gaue him ſelfe ouer for his parte wholly to the peace: And yet fearing leaſt for the retyring of his armie the Pope would eftſones returne to his obſtinacy,he ſent to *Monſr Paliſſa* lying then at *Parma*,to marche agayne immediatly into *Romagnia* with part of his regimentes, ſpreading a brute that it was to paſſe further. It ſeemed to him a matter greuous to deliuer vp *Bolognia*,not ſo much for the inſtance that *Cæſar* made to the contrarie,as for the feare he had,that notwithſtanding the peace, the Pope woulde continue his euill minde towards him: and therfore it could not but be an action preiudiciall to him to depriue him ſelfe of the towne of *Bolognia*,which was as the fort and bulwark of the Duchie of *Millan:* And beſides,the Cardinall *Finalo* and the Biſhop of *Tiuoly* being come without expreſſe authoritie to conclude, he interpreted that to an apparant ſigne that he had diſſemblingly giuen his conſent, partly for the ſtraytes and daungers wherewith he ſtoode enuironed: Neuertheleſſe at laſte he determined to accept the ſayde articles vnder certayne limitations,and yet not ſuch as by them the ſubſtance of things ſhould be troubled or altered. With which aunſwere the Secretorie of the Biſhop of *Tiuoly* went to *Rome*, demaunding in the kings name, that the Pope would ſende authoritie to the Cardinall and the Biſhoppe to conclude,

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or els, that he would call affore him the Presidēt of *Grenoble* who was at *Florence*, to whom was recommended sufficient power to doe the like: But the hopes of the Pope augmented daily, and by consequent, if he euer had had any inclinacion to the peace, it was now diminished, he being a man more disposed to obserue and followe tymes, then to respect and imitate the qualitie of his calling.

About this time arriued the commission of the king of *England*, by the which, being dispatched since the moneth of Nouember, he gaue power to the Cardinall of *Yorke* to enter into the league: The reason why he was so long in comming, was the longe course he had by sea hauing bene affore in *Spayne*: *Cæsar* also, after very longe doubtes, had newely ratified the league made with the *Venetians*, beeing principally pushed on to that action for the hopes which the kinges Catholike and of *England* gaue to him of the Duchies of *Myllan* and of *Burgondye*: In like sort the matter that much helped to confirme the Pope were the very great hopes which the king of *Aragon* put him in: who, hauing the first knowledge of the ouerthrow by letters from the french king written to the Queene, expressing that *Guaston de Foix* her brother was dead with great glorie, carying with him the reputacion of a famous victorie obteyned vpon his enemies: And afterwards more perticularly by aduertisements of his owne people comming somewhat later for thimpediments of the sea: And for that withall, it seemed to him that greater perill would growe to the kingdom of *Naples*: he had determined to sende into *Italy* the *Great Capteine* with a strength of new men: A remedy which he was driuen to vse, hauing almost no choyse of others: for, notwithstanding in outward show he semed to respect much the *Great Capteine*, for his behauior in the kingdom of *Naples*, yet he both suspected his greatnes, and durst not trust him with authoritie: The Pope then, being confirmed by these occasions, at suche time as the Secretory of the Bishop of *Tyuoly* ariued with the articles that had bene debated, putting him also in hope that the limitacions added by the king to moderat thinfamie that might grow to him by abandoning the protection of *Bolognia*, should bee referred to his will: he determined altogether not to accept them: But making semblance of the contrary in regard of the subscripcion & faith he had giuen to the Colleage of Cardinalls, A manner which some times he vsed contrary to the opinion that went on him to be alwayes vpright and iust: he caused the articles to be red in the Consistorie, and asked aduise of the Cardinalls: Whereupon the Cardinall *Arborenso* a *Spanyard*, and the Cardinal of *Yorke* an English man, according to a secret packt affore, the one speaking for the king of *Aragon*, and the other in the name of the king of *England*, perswaded him to perseuer in his constancie, and not to leaue abandoned the cause of the Churche which he had embraced with so great honor: They alleaged that all the necessities that had induced him to harken to these offers were remoued and ceassed, And that nowe it was manifestly seene that God woulde not suffer his shippe to perish though for some purpose vnknowne to the wit of man he had suffered it to lye open & subiect to sondry stormes: They told him it was not reasonable, that he made peace onely for him self, & much lesse to debate it without the participacion of the other confederats, the action being common and deuided from all particularitie: Lastly they exhorted him to consider well what preiudice it might bring to the sea Apostolike and to him, to seperat him selfe from true and faithfull friendes, to embrace the amitie of enemies reconciled: By the operacion of these councells, the Pope openly refused the peace: And within a very short time after, proceeding in his auncient furie, he pronownced in the Consistorie an admonicion against the french king, charging him to release the

Cardinall of *Medicis* vpon the penalties ordeyned in the holy Cannons: But he forbare to publish it, for that the Colleage of Cardinalls beseeching him to deferre asmuch as he could rigorous remedies, offred to worke by letters written in the name of them all, by the which they would both comfort him and beseech him as a right Christian Prince to set him at libertie.

The Cardinall *de Medicis* was caried to *Myllan*, where he was kept vnder reasonable and easie garde: And albeit his fortune had brought him subiect to the power and disposing of others, yet such was his vertue & spirit, that thauthoritie of the sea Apostolike shined in him, together with a wonderfull reuerence of religion: And about this time beganne to appeare a great contemning of the councell of *Pysa*, the cause whereof was not onely abandoned of others with deuocion, with diligence, & with faith, but also euen of such as affore had followed it with armes and fauored it with affection, with studie, & with resolucion: for, the Pope hauing sent to the Cardinall of *Medicis*, full power both to absolue from all paines and cursings the souldiours that would promise to beare no more armes against the Churche, and also to giue libertie of holy buriall for all the bodies that were slaine at the battell, (A fauor demaunded with great importunities) The concurse of people was wonderfull, and no lesse maruelous the deuocion of them that came to demaund and promise such matters: yea the Ministers and officers of the king were not against it: onely it was not without manifest indignacion of the Cardinalls who saw euen before their eyes and in the place where was the seate of the councell, the souldiours and subiects of the king, contrary to his honor, against his profit, vpon the landes of his iurisdiction, and without respecting any thing thauthoritie of the councell, ronne after and follow the Romaine Church, acknowledging with great reuerence as Legat Apostolike, the Cardinall *Medicis* being prisoner: great is the force of a people and multitude beginning to vary and chaunge, And so much more preiudiciall and perillous their reuolt, by how much vpon their numbers and forces depende principally the estate and exspectacion of affayres.

Nowe because the truce was ratified by *Cæsar*, notwithstanding his agents that were within *Verona* menteyned that it was nothing, the french king called home one part of the bandes that he had in garrison in that citie as seruing to small purpose: And hauing reuoked also the band of two hundred gentlemen, the Archers of his garde, and two hundred other launces, fearing the threats of the king of *England*, he knewe by the suspicion he had of the *Svvyzzers* which was redoubled in him, that he should neede greater forces in the Duchie of *Myllan*: for which cause he had presséd the *Florentyns* to send him into *Lombardye* three hundred men at armes, as they were bownd by the couenants of confederacion betwene them for the defence of his estates in *Italy*: And for that, that confederacion drew to end within two monethes, he compelled them (the memorie and reputacion of the victorie being yet fresh) to confederat with him of new for fiue yeares: Wherein he bownd him selfe to defend their estates with six hundred launces, and the *Florentyns* for their partes promised to furnishe him with foure hundred men at armes for the defence of all that he possessed in *Italy*: And yet, to auoide all occasions to enter warre with the Pope, they excepted in the generall obligacion of defence, the towne of *Cotignole*, as if the Church might pretend right to it.

The Svvyzzers rise for the Pope against the frenchmen.

But nowe were apparantly disclosed right great daungers to the affaires of the king, for that the *Svvyzzers* at last were determined to send six thowsand footemen to the pay of the Pope, who had demaunded them vnder cooller to employ them against

gainſt *Ferrara:* Thoſe that in this action ſuſteyned and fauored the kings ſide, could obteyne no other thing but to protract and deferre the deliberacion till that tyme: And againſt thoſe men the Communalties of people made vniuerſall exclamacion in their parliaments for the wonderfull hatred they bare to the name of the french king: They affirmed that the king reſted not contented with this kind of ingratitude, to refuſe to encreaſe a litle the penſions of thoſe by whoſe blood and vallour he had won perpetuall reputacion accompanied with a great eſtate, but alſo with wordes full of reproche he had deſpiſed and reiected them as Villaines, as though all men in the beginning were not conceyued vnder one element, were not caſt in one molde, and had not one maner of creacion vpon the earth, and as though any mortall man were nowe either great, renowmed or noble, whoſe Aunceſtors in the beginning were not poore, vnknowen, & baſely diſcended: That he had begon to wage footemen of the launceknightes, to ſhow the contempt he had of their nation for the ſeruice of his warres, perſwading him ſelf that ſuffering priuacion of his pay, they could not but dye in their Mounteines of idlenes and famine: Therefore they had reaſon to expreſſe to all the world, how much he was deceyued in his vaine thoughtes and perſwaſions: That his ingratitude was only hurtfull to him ſelf: That nothing could ſtay men of warre from ſhowing their vallour: That for ſuch was fit the vſe of gold and ſiluer, in whom was moſt apt and readye the managing of armes: Laſtly that it was neceſſary to ſhow once to the world howe vndiſcreete were the reſolucions of him, who in warre would preferre the launceknight footemen affore the nation of the *Svvyzzers:* This affection and violence of paſſion caried them ſo farre, that wedding them ſelues to the cauſe of the Pope, as if it had bene their owne, they departed from their houſes, hauing receiued in preſt onely one Florin of the *Rhein* for a man, where affore they were not wont to marche for the ſeruice of the king, without promiſe of many payes, and great diſtribucion of preſents amongeſt their Capteines: Their mooſter was at *Coire* the capitall towne of the *Griſons*, who hauing confederacion with the french king, and being in his ordinary penſions, had ſent to excuſe them ſelues, that for the auncient alliances they had with the higheſt Cantons of *Svvyzzers*, they coulde not refuſe to ſend with them certaine bandes of footemen: This mouing troubled much the minds of the french men, whoſe forces were now much diminiſhed: for, after the generall of *Normandie* had diſmiſſed the regiments of *thItalian* footemen, they had not in all aboue ten thowſand footemen, And the companies of men at armes which the king had reuoked being returned ouer the Mountes, there were left in *Italy* but xiij hundred launces whereof three hundred were at *Parma:* And yet the generall of *Normandie* doing more the office of a Treaſorer then of a man of warre, woulde in no wiſe leauye newe ſuccours of footemen without the kings commiſſion: Onely he had cauſed to returne to *Myllan* the bands that ſhould haue marched into *Romagnia* vnder *Monſr Paliſſa* which were already ariued at *Finalo:* The Cardinall of *S. Seuerin* had direction alſo to doe the like with thoſe companies that were in *Romagnia:* for the retyring of which ſtrengthes ſo needefull for the ſewertie of that contrey, *Rymyny* and *Ceſena* together with their caſtells, & alſo *Rauenna*, reuerted without difficultie to the obedience of the Pope: And becauſe the french men would not diſfurniſh the Duchie of *Myllan*, *Bolognia* for the defending whereof they had receyued ſo many afflictions, ſtoode in great daunger being almoſt abandoned both of fortune and of men: ſuch is the inſtabilitie of mortall thinges, neither certeine in them ſelues for an vniuerſall frailtie in all earthly actions, nor made aſſured by the deuiſes and wiſedoms of men for infinit imperfecti-

ons which are proper to them with their creacions: After the *Svvyzzers* had moo-
ſtered at *Coire*, they marched from thence to *Trente*, hauing permiſſion of *Cæſar* to paſſe thorow his landes, who yet ſtudying to hyde from the french king as much as he could, the thinges he had determined, excuſed him ſelfe that he could not withſtand their paſſage in reſpect of the confederacion he had with them: from *Trente* they went vpon the territories of *Verona*, where they were taried for by the armie of the *Venetians* who together with the Pope contributed to their paye: And albeit there was not in the campe ſufficient money to pay them for that their number was farre greater then ſix thowſand which was demaunded, yet, ſuch was the hatred that the Commons bare to the kings name, that contrary to their cuſtom they brooked with patience all difficulties.

On the other ſide *Monſr Paliſſa*, who was firſt come with his armie to *Pontoillo* to thende to hinder their paſſage thinking they would deſcend into *Italy* on that ſide, but finding afterwards their intencions to be otherwayes, he incamped at *Chaſtillon*, A place ſix miles from *Peſquiera*, being vncertein whether they would take towards *Ferrara* according to the brute, or els doe ſome enterpriſe vpon the Duchie of *Myllan* which was to be feared: It may be that this incerteintie haſtened and brought forth the harmes that hapned: for, it is not to be doubted that they had not taken the way to *Ferrara*, if by ill aduenture had not falne into the handes of the *Venetian* eſtradiots, A letter, by the which *Monſr Paliſſa* debated with the generall of *Normandie* beeing at *Myllan*, the eſtate wherein ſtoode their affaires, aſſuring him it woulde be hard to reſiſt them if they turned towards the Duchie of *Myllan*: By the direction of this letter they chaunged aduiſe, and the cardinall of *Syon* who was now come from *Venice*, with the other Capteines, after they had taken councel together, determined with reaſon (which ſeldom beguileth men) to follow that enterpriſe which they perceiued by the letters to be moſt troubleſom to thennemies: In which opinion they went from *Verona* to *Villa Franche* where they ioined with the *Venetian* armie, where in (vnder the gouernment of *Ioh. P. Baillon*,) were foure hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horſemen, and ſix thowſand footemen with diuerſe peeces of artillery aſwell for batterie, as for the fielde: This was the cauſe why *Monſr Paliſſa* abandoning *Valegge* the place not being defenſible, retyred to *Gambara*, with intencion to incampe at *Pontuiqua*: his ſtrength was not aboue a thowſand launces, and ſix or ſeuen thowſand footemen, the reſidue being diſtributed in *Breßia*, *Peſquiero*, and *Leguaguo*, for, notwithſtanding he was reſolued to call backe the three hundred launces that were at *Parma*, yet, what by compulſion of thapparant daunger of *Bolognia*, and great importunities of the *Bentyuoleis*, he gaue order that they ſhould be beſtowed in that citie remeyning almoſt without garriſon. But ſeeing in that place into the daunger wherein they were, and examining at laſt the vanitie of the hopes wherewith they had bene beguiled, & withall complayning bitterly againſt the couetouſnes and corrupt councells of the generall of *Normandy*, they conſtrayned him to ſuffer *Federyk Boſſolo* with certeine other *Italian* Capteines to leauye ſo faſt as they could, ſix thowſand footemen: A remedie which they could not apply to any purpoſe, till at leaſt the ſpace of ten dayes were paſt: And beſides the ſmall number of ſouldiours, the diſagreement amongeſt the Capteines weakened much the french armie: for, the Capteines were hardly brought to obey *Monſr Paliſſa*, And the ſoldiours and men at armes made weary with ſo long troubles & trauells of warre, wiſhed rather the Duchie of *Myllan* were loſt to thende they might returne into their contrey, then to continue the defence of it with ſo many diſaduauntages and daun-

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gers: Assoone as *Monsr Palissa* was gon from *Valegge*, the *Venetians* and the *Svvyzzers* entred into it, and afterwards passing ouer the riuer of *Myncie*, they lodged vpon the territories of the *Mantuans*, where the Marquis gaue them libertie of passage, excusing him selfe vpon his disabilitie: Amyd these difficulties, the generall resolucion of the Capteines was to abandon wholly the fielde, and to laye for the defence of places of most importance, hoping that by temporising, so great a multitude and number of *Svvyzzers* would at last disperse and breake: Wherein they were gouerned with this reason, that the Pope no lesse cold to furnish the exspenses, then hoat to further the warre, was very slow in sending their payes, being no more able to aduaunce the wages of so great a number.

The french men bestowed within *Bressia* two thowsand footemen, an hundred & fifty launces, and an hundred men at armes of the *Florentyns*: To *Crema* they sent fifty launces and a thowsand footemen: And in *Bergama* they put a thowsand footemen and an hundred men at armes of the *Florentyns*: The residue of tharmie which conteyned six hundred launces, two thowsand footemen french, & foure thowsand launceknightes, was retyred to *Pontuiqua*, A place very stronge by the benefit of his situacion, and no lesse conuenient to succour *Myllan*, *Cremona*, *Bressia*, and *Bergama*, and there they hoped to be able to susteine thennemies: But the day after came letters and commaundements from *Cæsar* to the *Almain* footemen, to depart immediatly from the pay of the french king, And they, being subiects of the contrey of *Tyroll*, obeyed the letters the same day they receyued them, as not to be disobedient to their natural Lord: By reason of their departure no lesse suddeine and vnlooked for, then most preiudiciall to the french affayres, *Palissa* and his Capteines lost all hope to be able any longer to defend the Duchie of *Myllan*: And in that passion of feare and dispaire, they retyred in great haste from *Pontuique* to *Pisqueton*: by whose departure, they of *Cremona* being left abandoned, gaue them selues vp to the armie of the confederats which was at hande, binding them selues to paye to the *Svvyzzers* xl. thowsand duckats: But as amongest such varieties of nations, nourishing not few differences of ambicion, desire, and opinion, there was no certeintie in whose name the money should be receyued, so after some disputacion, the *Venetians* making great instance that it might be deliuered to them, it was at last receiued (the french men notwithstanding holding as yet the castell) in the name of the league and of *Maxymylian* sonne to *Lodovvyk Sforce*, on whose behalfe the Pope and the *Svvyzzers* pretended the conquest of the Duchie of *Myllan*: At the same tyme the citie of *Bergama* fell into the power of the confederats, the meane was this: After *Monsr Palissa* had called backe the companies that were there to ioyne them to tharmie, certeine of the banished crewes who entred assoone as the other companies were departed, procured them to reuolt: (it beeing no hard matter to alter a multitude that hath no heade to hold them) from *Pisqueton* *Monsr Palissa* passed the riuer of *Adda*, where the three hundred launces appoynted for the defence of *Bolognia* came to him, hauing reuoked them to him for the greatnes of the perill: There he hoped to be able to giue impediment to thennemie to passe ouer the riuer, if the strength of footemen that were appoynted to be leauyed, had come: But it was in vayne for him to thinke vpon those things, for that neyther was there present money to wage so many footemen, neither could the generall of *Normandye*, binding for securitie the kings demaine, raise it by any deuise, (credit being wholly lost in so great daungers:) And therefore hauing remeyned there foure dayes, assoone as he saw thennemies approch the riuer three myles below *Pisqueton*, he retyred to *S. Ange* to goe the

day following to *Pauia:* And ſo their daunger redoubling and no exſpectacion of ſuccours in a ſtate ſo deſperat, both the hope to defend *Myllan* being taken away, & the contrey already drawing faſt into tumult, *Ioh. Iacq. Tryuulce*, the generall of *Normandie*, *Anth. Maria Paluoiſin*, *Galeas Viſconte*, with many other gentlemen, and all the kinges ſeruauntes and officers, went from *Myllan*, & ſought their ſauetie in *Piemont:* Not many dayes affore the Cardinalls fearing no leſſe the people then thennemies, were fled, notwithſtanding (to ſhowe that vallour in decrees, which they durſt not expreſſe in other actions) they had at that tyme almoſt ſuſpended the Pope from all adminiſtracion ſpirituall and temporall of the Church: A degree to depriue him of the place which he helde: Theſe tumultes were much helping to the ſauetie of the Cardinall *Medicis* whom it ſeemed God reſerued to a greater happines: for, as they were leading him into *Fraunce*, and the morning that he entred the barke at the paſſage of *Pavv* which is right ouer againſt *Baſignany* called in hiſtories *Anguſta Bacienorum*, certeine paiſants of the village beginning to murmure, one *Reignold de Lallo* chiefe of the conſpiracie accompanied with certeine of the Cardinalls fauorits lodging there all night, aſſembled a number, and tooke him from the french men that garded him: They, whom other aduerſities had made fearefull of all accidents, hearing a noyſe of a tumult which they durſt not abide to ſuppreſſe, were more carefull to flee then to fight, loſing their priſoner by cowardiſſe whome they had wonne in the daunger of a battel: *Paliſſa* being entred into *Pauia* determined to ſtay there, ſending for *Tryuulce* and the generall to come to him thether: Whereupon *Tryuulce* by thaduiſe of the general and principalls of the french ſide, laied affore him the vanity of the councell, and how vnpoſſible it was to abide ſo great a ruine, the armie being vnmanned with footemen: That the ſhortnes of the time ſuffered not to wage new companies, And much leſſe to drawe any but from places farre remoued and with great difficulties: Laſtly, that though all theſe impediments were not, yet there was no money to pay them, all their reputacion being loſt, their friendes full of aſtoniſhment, and the people puffed vp with incredible hatreds for the immoderat inſolencies which the ſoldiours had vſed ſo long time: *Tryuulce* applying this councell to the preſent neceſſitie of thinges, he went and cauſed to caſt a bridge where the riuer is ſtraighteſt and furtheſt of from *Valence* towards *Aſt*, by the commoditie of which he ment to paſſe his companies ouer *Pavv*: But by this the armie of the confederats (to the which after the french men were retyred from *Adda*, the citie of *Lody* was rendred together with the caſtell) diſcamping from *S. Ange*, was come neare to *Pauia* where the *Venetian* Capteines euen at the firſt arriuall began to batter the caſtell & one part of the *Svvyzzers* to paſſe the riuer that ioyneth to the citie, with boates: The french men fearing they ſhoulde finde impediments to paſſe the ſtone bridge which is vppon the riuer of *Teſin*, by the which onely they might ſaue them ſelues, wonne the other bridge to be able to yſſue out of *Pauia:* But affore the reareguard was come forth, wherein to ſuſteine the horſemen, certein footemen of the launceknightes which were not yſſued out with the others, were beſtowed the laſt of all, with whom the *Svvyzzers*, yſſuing out of the new gate and of the caſtell which was now abandoned, went skirmiſhing all along *Pauia* and the bridge, the footemen of the launceknightes making a reſolute defence aboue all others: But paſſing ouer the bridge of *Grauatona* which was of wood, the plankes breaking with the waight of the horſes, all the french men and launceknightes that were not yet paſſed ouer, were eyther ſlayne on the place, or taken priſoners: (That laſt calamitie being ſo much the more lamentable and greeuous, by howe much they hoped by their diligenc

The Card. of Medicis eſcapeth from the french.

gence to make waye for their sauetie which they sawe their fortune persecuted to thuttermost) The towne of *Pauia* bownd it selfe to pay a great quantitie of money, by whose example also *Myllan* compownded but for a greater summe, And all the other townes except *Bressia* and *Crema*, fled from the aduersities of the french men: All the contrey cryed now vpon the name of thEmpire, the state was receiued and gouerned in the name of the holy league (so was it called vniuersally) and all affaires disposed by thauthoritie of the Cardinall of *Syon* assigned Legat for the Pope: But the treasor, and what soeuer was taxed vpon the townes was made a reward to the *Svvyzzers*, to whom was transferred an interest in all things that concerned gaine or profit: the same beeing the cause that many other bandes and trowpes of them discended into *Lombardye* to ioyne with the residue, after the parliament of *Zurich* was ended which was assembled for that cause: In this mutacion, the cities of *Plaisance* and *Parma*, gaue them selues willingly to the Pope, who pretended they apperteyned to him as members of *Rauenna*: The *Svvyzzers* made them selues Lordes of *Lucarno*, and the *Grisons* got *Valuoltolino* and *Chiauenna*, places very commodious for them: And in the heate of this fortune, *Ianus Fregosa*, Capteine of the *Venetian* armie, beeing gonne to *Genes* with such bandes of horsemen and footemen as he had obteyned of tharmie, was the cause that that citie renolted (the french gouernor beeing fled) whereof he was created Duke, A dignitie affore tyme inuested in his father: with the same violence of fortune, all the townes and castells of *Romagnia* returned to the Popes obedience: And lastly the Duke of *Vrbyn* approching neare to *Bolognia* with the bandes of souldiours of the Churche, the famulie of the *Bentyuoleis*, left it abandoned, their fortune leauing them desperat, hauing by these violent degrees depriued them of all hope: The Pope pursued this famulie very sharpely, excommunicating all the places that should receiue them hereafter: he expressed no lesse hatred against the citie, And beeing most kindled for their forgetfulnes of so many his benefits bestowed vpon them, and in that ingratitude not only reuolting from his obedience, but also in their spite, had not forborne to spurne his picture, and rayle out many villanous words against him: he would consent no more that they should create new Magistrates, nor communicat any way in the gouernment of the towne: he exacted by the meane of seuere officers, huge summes of money of sundry Citisens, as partakers with the *Bentyuoleis*: yea the opinion ronne, that if his deuises had not bene broken by death, he had a meaning to destroy that citie, and translate thinhabitants to *Centa*.

The ende of the tenth Booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE ELEVENTH BOOKE.

THe Duke of Ferrara is in great trouble: The Medicis returne to Florence: The king of Romains makes alyance with the Pope: Maxymylian Sforce is put in the possession of the Duchie of Myllan: The French king makes his preparacions to recouer Myllan: Pope Iulio dyeth: Leon the tenth is created Pope: The French men are ouerthrowen neare to Nouaro: and the Venetians neare to Vincensa.

THE ELEVENTH BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

NOTwithstanding the Pope, amyd his greatest aduersities & daungers, had not onely obteyned victorye of his ennemies contrary to all hope and coniecture, but also with the same felicitie, had amplified the iurisdiction of the Churche aboue exspectacion and contrary to common equitie: yet, his auncient couetousnes to the citie of *Ferrara*, (the first matter of all these broyles) so helde him still ouerruled, that he could not make his desires equal to his fortune, nor conforme his wandring minde to rest and tranquilletie: Such
" is the rage of couetousnes when it hath thassistance of authority, which makes men
" hard to be contented with that which occasion doth offer, for that those things that
" come first doe abhorre them, so long as by the greatnes of their power and place,
" they aspyre and thirst for better: But albeit the Pope had violent desires to turne his forces against *Ferrara*, yet, the way of peace seeming more easie then the warre, or rather hoping more in the benefitte of secret and artificiall practises, then in actions apparant and discouered: he gaue eare first of all to the Marquis of *Mantua* who besought him that *Alfonso d'Este* might come to him to *Rome* to demaunde pardon, and that he woulde eftsoones reclayme him to grace vnder some indifferent condicions: In this request was concurrant thEmbassador of the king of *Aragon*, suing for him bothe for that he was the kinsman of his king (for *Alfonso* came of a Daughter of tholde *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*) and also for that he esteemed it more to the commoditie of the affayres of his kinge to binde him to him by this propertie of benefitte, then to suffer so great an estate to bee adioyned to the greatnes of the Churche: Moreouer the famulie of the *Colonnois*, beeing become of greate amitie with *Alfonso*, were earnest solycitors in this cause: The reason of their compassion was, for that after the battell of *Rauenna*, *Fabricio Colonno*, who was *Alfonsoes* prisoner, beeing sent for and requyred of him, he vsed so many delayes, first in refusing, and then in interposing many excuses, that by the

the mutacion that hapned, he brought it into his owne power to giue him his libertie without any charge or raunsom: At last safeconduit was obteyned for him from the Pope, by the sewertie whereof confirmed also with the faith of thEmbassador of *Aragon* in the name of his king, which was protested to him by the consent and priuitie of the Pope, he went to *Rome*, his submission beeing greater then his hope to be forgiuen: And being come to *Rome*, the Pope admitted him into the Consistorie suspending in the meane while all censures and paynes: There, with great humilitie he demaunded pardon, & with the same submission besought him, that he might bee receyued into his grace and restored to the fauour of the sea Apostolike, offering to doe hereafter all those offices and duties which might apperteyne to a moste deuout and faythfull Vassall of the Church: The Pope heard him with a countenance and asspect reasonably peasible, and substituted six Cardinalls to debate with him touching condicions of agreement: who, after certeine dayes spent in disputacion and argument, declared to him, that the Pope neyther would nor ment to depriue the Church of the citie of *Ferrara*, since it was lawefully reuerted to the imperie of the Churche: But in recompense, there should be giuen to him the citie of *Ast*, which beeing receyued in the name and authoritie of the league by the departure of the frenche men, the Pope had vainely sent thether to take possession of it, the Bishop of *Agrigenta*, pretending that what soeuer was on this side *Pauy*, apperteyned to the Churche: This offer was constantly refused of *Alfonso*, who, for that it comprehended a demaunde contrary to all the hopes that had bene giuen him, beganne to feareleast the Pope sought but to interteyne him cunningly within *Rome*, whilest he dressed some execucion agaynst *Ferrara*, the late accident at *Regge* nothinge diminishing the reason of this feare.

The D. of Ferrara goeth to Rome to demaund pardon of the Pope.

The Pope had dealt with thinhabitants of *Regge*, (who in so great confusion of thinges feared much) to giue them selues vppe to the Churche, following the example of *Parma* and *Plaisance*, wherein to giue greater force to his councells and perswasions, he had giuen direction to the Duke of *Vrbyn* to march with his companies vppon the territories of *Modona*: In like sorte *Vitfruch* was gonne to *Regge*, to attempt the like action for the profitte of *Cæsar*, on whose behalfe did worke the Cardinall of *Este*, who, in the absence of his brother had charge ouer his estates, he, seeing that citie could not bee kept, and iudging the daunger would bee lesse if it fell into the handes of *Cæsar*, who bothe pretended nothing against *Ferrara*, and also in his affayres there was hope of a greater chaunge, he aduised the people of *Regge*, rather to acknowledge the Empire then the Church: But they aunswered (in matters of election the will of a popular multitude is stronger then their reason) that they woulde followe thexample of the Duke, who was gonne to the Pope and not to *Cæsar*, And so receyued into their towne the souldiours of the Church, who immediatly founde meanes to bee Lordes of the Citadell, notwithstanding *Vitfruch* had furnished it with a garrison of footemen: Lastly *Garfagnana* was rendred to the Duke of *Vrbyn*, who returning afterwards to *Bolognia*, dismissed all his bandes of footemen: for that the confederats somewhat angrie that the Pope occupied *Parma* and *Plaisance*, the Cardinall of *Syon* signified to the Duke that it was not necessary he passed further, since the victorie was already obteyned against the common enemies.

The Duke of *Ferrara*, being entred into many suspicions, both for the hard condicions that the Pope offered, and for the taking of *Regge*, made meane to the Pope by the spanish Embassador and *Fabrice Colonno* who neuer left to accompanie him,

The D. of Ferrara in daunger to be prisoner at Rome

to haue leaue to returne to *Ferrara:* This requeſt the Pope ſhowed no diſpoſicion to agree vnto, but menteyned that the ſafeconduit which he had giuen him for the controuerſie he had with the Church, could not let him to doe iuſtice to his perticular Creditors, of whom many demaunded inſtantly that he would adminiſter iuſtice to them: ThEmbaſſador and *Fabricio* aunſwered him frankely, that it was not to the Duke and to them that he ought to breake his faith, And therefore to preuent the Pope to doe any further ſpite againſt him, the next morning *Fabricio* being well mounted, went towards the portall of *S. Iohn de Latran*, the Duke and *Mark. Anth. Colonno* following him a good diſtance of: And finding the portall garded with a greater ſtrength then it was wont to bee and ſuche as was ſette to ſtoppe his going, he, hauing a force aboue theirs, brought the Duke thorowe the gate and conducted him in ſewertie to the water ſide: This friendſhippe he did to the Duke, in recompenſe of the benefit of his libertie which he had receyued of him: for, it is not to bee doubted, that the Pope would not ſtill haue reteyned him priſoner, had it not beene for thimpediment of the *Colonnois*, who finding that the way was daungerous for him to goe by lande, were driuen to procure his paſſage by ſea to *Ferrara.*

And whileſt theſe thinges were in doing, the Pope, in whome was yet no diminucion of hatred agaynſt the libertie of the *Florentyns*, had ſo wrought with the Cardinall of *Syon*, that the bandes of ſouldiours which they had ſent to the king, were ſtrypped and put to ſpoyle: of theſe bandes, albeit ſuche as were vnder *Luke Sauella* being ſix skore men at armes and fifty light horſemen (the reſidue were left for the garde of *Breſcia* vnder *Frauncis Torelle*) had, affore the Frenche armye were paſſed the ryuer of *Pavv*, obteyned ſafeconduit of the Cardinall of *Syon* confirmed by the othe and fayth of *Io. Pavvle Baillon* and almoſte all the *Venetian* Capteynes, that they myght returne to *Tuskane*: yet, as they laye lodged neare to *Cremona* according to the rule and direction they had receyued, they were ſpoyled by the *Venetian* ſouldiours by the conſent of the Cardinall of *Syon:* Who, to thende the violence myght bee executed with more ſewertie, ſent thether (as ſome ſuppoſe) two thowſande footemen, the rather for that the companyes of *Tryuulce* and others were lodged with them, and they for that they were almoſte all *Italian* ſouldiours had lykewiſe obteyned ſaffeconduit to paſſe: Immediatly vpon the robberye and ſpoyle of theſe ſouldiours, the Biſhoppe of *Syon* ſent to *Chriſtopher More* and *Pavvle Capello* agents for the Senat, to demaunde the bootye that had bene made, as apperteyning to the *Svvyzzers:* But they refuſed it, and therefore comming the next daye to the campe of the *Svvyzzers* to ſpeake with the Cardinall of *Syon*, they were almoſte all ledde priſoners to *Iacques Staffler* their Capteyne, and by him caryed to the Cardinall, who conſtrayned them to paye ſix thowſande duckatts in recompenſe of the praye, (not holding it conuenient that his diſloyaltye ſhoulde turne to the profitte of others:) he ſent alſo to ſummon the Marquis of *Montferrat* to deliuer to him as pryſoner *Nicholas Capponi* Embaſſador of the *Florentyns*, to whome he had giuen ſaffeconduit beeing retyred to *Caſall Ceruas:* In this meane whyle, the Senat, deſiring to recouer *Breſcia* and *Crema*, labored the Cardinall of *Syon*, that their companies myght be returned, whom the Cardinall enterteyned vnder cooller to marche together with the *Svvyzzers* into *Pyemont* agaynſt the Duke of *Sauoye* and the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, who had followed the faction of the Frenche King: But that reaſon ceaſſing afterwardes, bothe for the wonderfull augmentacion of the number of *Svvyzzers*, and alſo for

that

that it was well seene that the frenche souldiours returned ouer the Mountes, he neither refused nor agreed, that they should goe, A matter supposed altogether to proceede of the instance of *Cæsar* to thende they should not recouer those townes: At last, the *Svvyzzers* beeing in *Alexandria*, the *Venetians* departed from *Bosco* vppon the suddeine, and passed the riuer of *Pavv* without any impediment, at *Caua* vppon the territories of *Cremona*: An expedicion which the Cardinall might haue let, if he had not dissembled it (as was beleeued) at the Popes request: But beeing once ouer the riuer, some marched agaynst *Bressia*, and some tooke the entreprise of *Crema*, bothe which were kept yet for the frenche king: The frenche men that were within *Bressia*, seeing their present fortune could suffer no delay of action, went out and sette vppon them at the village of *Paterna*, where they were constrayned to retyre within the towne with the losse of more then three hundred men.

Conqueſt draweth with it ambicion, insolencies and couetousnes, And with men of warre triumphing in the victorie, all things seeme to hold of equitie, that they do in their rage and couetousnes: for, the *Svvyzzers* remeyning alone in the Duchie of *Myllan* and *Pyemont*, deuised how to taxe and rate the whole contrey, being now wholly assured of the french men: And albeit the french king, for the great affection he bare to the Duchie of *Myllan*, was hardly brought to abandon altogether the affayres of *Italy*: yet necessitie compelled him to harken to the councells of such, as aduised him to deferre those deuises to an other tyme, and dispose his witts for that sommer, to defende the Realme of *Fraunce*: The rather for that the king of *England*, according to the contract made with the king Catholike, had sent by sea an armye of six thowsand footemen to *Fontarabio*, A towne of the kingdome of *Spayne* standing vppon the Occean sea: the chiefe ende of this iorney was, that ioyning to the companies of the sayd king Catholike, they might in one mayne force, assayle the Duchie of *Guihen*: he beganne also with an other nauie, to skower all alonge the coasts of *Normandye* and *Brittaine* to the great astonishment of the peoples of those prouinces: Moreouer the french king had no hope to drawe agayne *Cæsar* into amitie with him, for that he vnderstoode by the Bishop of *Marseilles* his last Embassador resident in his Court, that he bare a minde farre estraunged: he aduertised him also that *Cæsar* had not enterteyned him with so many hopes, nor for other regarde debated with him vppon so many matters with so fayre apparance, then to wynne occasion to oppresse him when he thought least of it, or at least to gyue him (as it were) some violent and deadely blowe, as he gloried that he had done at such tyme as he reuoked the launceknightes.

Thus *Italy* being for this yeare assured from the armies of the french king, whose souldiours notwithstanding helde as yet, *Bressia*, *Crema*, *Leguague*, the castell and lanterne of *Genes*, the castell of *Myllan*, the castell of *Cremona*, with certeine other fortresses of that estate: There were discerned amongest the confederats, many signes of difference and disagreement, for the diuersitie of their wills, and their endes: for, as the *Venetians* desired to recouer *Bressia* and *Crema*, as due to them by the articles of capitulacion, & for that they had borne out the daungers & troubles of the warre: A matter which the Pope desired likewise for them: So, on the other side, *Cæsar*, (from whose will the king of *Aragon* at last could not be seperat) thought to appropriate them to him selfe, and also to depriue the *Venetians* of all that had bene iudged to them by the league of *Cambray*: Besides, *Cæsar* and the king of *Aragon* practised (but very secretly) to make to diuolue the Duchie of *Myllan* to one

of their Nephewes: A working quite contrary to the Pope and the *Svvyzzers*, who labored apparantly as much as they could, that according to the vniuerſall reſolucion and conſent from the beginning, *Maxymylian*, ſonne to *Lodovvyk Sforce* might be reſtored to the place of his father, after whoſe fall he had remeyned alwayes in *Germanye*: The matter that moued the Pope, was a feare he had, leaſt *Italy* ſhoulde fall into a miſerable ſeruitude of the *Almaines* and *Spanyards*: And that which induced the *Svvyzzers*, was a deſire for their owne profit, that that eſtate ſhoulde not bee brought into the power of ſo mightie Princes, but rather to ſtande ſubiected to one that could not menteyne him ſelfe without their ayde and ſuccours: Which election, as it depended almoſt wholly vppon thoſe in whoſe power was that eſtate, and for the feare of their forces: ſo, the Pope, the more to confirme them in that wil, and in all neceſſities to haue in his hande the bridle with the which he might moderate thambicion of *Cæſar* and the kinge Catholike, did all that he could to winne their amitie: And for that cauſe, beſides the great account he made publikely of the nation of *Svvyzzers*, rayſing to the ſtarres the actions they had done for the ſauetie of the ſea Apoſtolike, he gaue them yet for their greater honor the banners of the Church, with this glorious title, to bee the Champions and defenders of the Eccleſiaſtike libertie: Beſides theſe diuerſities, the *Viceroy* had readdreſſed the ſpaniſh companies which after the battell were retyred with him into the kingdom of *Naples*: And beginning eſtſoones to march and to paſſe with them into *Lombardye*, the Pope and the *Venetians* refuſed to recontinue the payes of forty thowſand duckats by the moneth, which had bene diſcontinued ſince the ouerthrowe: Their reaſon was, that ſeeing the frenche armie was chaſſed home, they ſtoode no more ſubiect to ſuche bonde, for that it was to ceaſſe by the articles of the confederacion when ſoeuer the frenche were expulſed out of *Italy*: Whereunto was replyed on the behalfe of the King of *Aragon*, that it could not bee ſayde that the Frenche King was dryuen out of *Italy*, ſo long as *Breſſia*, *Crema*, with other many ſtronge places, ſtoode at his deuocion: Moreouer the Kinge of *Aragon* together with *Cæſar* complayned in that the Pope did appropriat to him ſelfe the profitts of the victorie that was common to them both, And vſurped that which manifeſtly apperteyned to an other, making him ſelfe Lorde, (vnder cooller of certeine reaſons ſubborned, or at leaſt ſo olde and withered, that their force was gonne) vppon *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, cities which the Lordes of *Myllan* had holden ſo long tyme, as freeholders of thEmpire. The diuerſitie was alſo expreſſed for matters that concerned the Duke of *Ferrara*: for, as the Pope, on the one ſide nouriſhed his auncient couetouſnes to vſurpe that Dukedom, ſo, on the other ſide, the king of *Aragon* who deſired to preſerue & protect him, ſtoode yet diſcontented with the iniurie that was offered to haue ſtaied him at *Rome* contrary to the law of faith & ſafeconduit giuen: for theſe reaſons the Pope deferred to vexe *Ferrara*, exſpecting perhaps the yſſue of affayres of farre greater importance, whereof *Cæſar* not thinking good that any reſolucion were made without him, diſpatched into *Italy* the Biſhop of *Gurcy* whom he had appoynted to that expedicion euer ſince, after the battell of *Rauenna*, there was negociacion of peace betweene the Pope and the French king: he appoynted to ſende him then for the feare he had leaſt they compownded amongeſt them ſelues without reſpecting him and his affayres: but the mutacion of thinges hapning afterwards, he ſtill continued his deuiſe to ſende him: In like ſorte, fell into conſideracion the affayres of the *Florentyns*, who beeing filled full of ſuſpicion, began now to feele the frutes of the newtralitie which vndiſcreetely they

had

had vſed, finding with all that it was not ſufficient to beare themſelues vpon the iuſtice of their cauſe, wanting diſcreſſion and forecaſte: for in the warre preſent, neyther had they offended the confederates, nor miniſtred any ſuccours to the French king, but ſo farrefoorth as they were bound for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan* according to the confederation made in common betweene them, the king Catholike, and with him: They had not ſuffred within their iuriſdiction any violence to be done vpon thoſe *Spanishe* ſouldiours whiche fledde from the battell of *Rauenna*, for the which the king of *Aragon* himſelfe gaue thankes to thembaſſador of *Florence*: yea they had ſatisfied all his demaundes, for that after the councell was broken vp from *Piſa*, his Agentes beeing in *Italie*, and the king him ſelfe offring to their Embaſſador to be bounde to defende their common weale agaynſt all men, ſo farre foorth as they promiſed him they woulde not defende *Bologna*, nor take armes agaynſt the Churche, nor fauour thunlawfull councell of *Piſa*: But they being lette by ciuill diſcordes to make the better election, gaue themſelues neither to followe the Frenche, nor any other, and obſeruing newtralitie from one day to an other, and that with counſells no leſſe doubtfull then broken, not ioyntly and fully reſolued whether they woulde obſerue it, they offended muche the Frenche king, who in the beginning promiſed muche of them, they remoued not the hatred of the Pope, and lefte the king of *Aragon* without any recompence to enioy the fruite of their newtralitie: A matter which he would gladly haue couenaunted with them to obteine: So that the Pope puſhed on with his auncient hatred agaynſt the *Gonfalonnier* or Magiſtrate, and a perpetuall deſire diſcending from all Popes to haue authoritie in that common weale, ſolicited earneſtly the reſtitution of the familie of *Medicis* to their auncient greatnes. To this the king of *Aragon*, notwithſtanding he vſed diſſembled phraſes to the Embaſſador of *Florence*, bare ſome inclination, but not with ſo great vehemency, for feare leaſt in any ſtirre or alteration, they might be brought to fauor the Frenche king by thauthoritie of the Magiſtrate: yea it was diſtruſted that though the *Gonfalonnier* were depoſed and taken away, yet the common weale beeing freely gouerned, woulde not haue the ſame affection, in reſpect of the newe and auncient dependances: But the reſolution of this matter together with others, was reſerued till the comming of the Biſhop of *Gurce*, with whom it was agreed that the *Viceroy* and ſuche as were for the other confederates, ſhoulde meete at *Mantua*. In this reſpite of time that the Biſhop was comming, the Pope ſent to *Florence* his *Datario*, *Laurence Pucci* a *Florentin* (he was afterwardes choſen Cardinall, and called Cardinall of foure Saintes) to ſolicite them, together with thembaſſador which the *Viceroy* had there, that they would ſticke to the league and contribute to the charges agaynſt the Frenchmen: That was the cooller of his going, but in true meaning he was ſent to ſounde the wills of the Citizens. That demaunde was debated many dayes without any concluſion: The *Florentins* made offers to paye to the confederates certayne proportions of money, but they aunſwered doubtfully to the demaunde to enter the league and proteſt them ſelues agaynſt the Frenche king: Which doubtfulneſſe moued partly by an opinion they had (which was true) that thoſe matters were proponed artificially, rather to entrappe them then to aſſure them: and partly by an aunſwere which the Biſhop of *Gurce* had made to their Embaſſador at *Trent*, whom they ſent to meete him: He ſeeming to make ſmall reckoning of the reapport made to him that *Cæſar* by the capitulation of *Vincenſa* ſubſigned with his owne hande, was bounde to defende them, aſſured them that the Pope was determined to trouble them, and yet in paying to *Cæſar* xl. thouſand

Duckets, he would deliuer them of that daunger: To this he added that the confederation betweene *Cæsar* and the Frenche king continuing yet, they shoulde not therefore enter into the league, if first *Cæsar* gaue them not example. The *Florentins* were not farre estraunged to buye their quiet with money, but they feared that the onely name of *Cæsar* (notwithstanding the Bishop assured them that his will should be followed by the *Spaniards*) would not suffice to remoue and make ceasse the yll intention of the others: A perswasion which helde them in doubt, and kept them so restrayned, that with a councell well disposed, they could not minister the salue to suche as had power to helpe their infirmitie: It was a matter perhaps considered vppon with councell and discression, and yet it could not but proceede either of negligence, or of their discordes, or of too muche confidence in their strength of footemen, forbearing in that respect to refurnishe themselues of souldiors trayned, by whom they might haue bene defended from any sodaine assault, or at least might haue made easie the couenantes with the confederates, and with better conditions, knowing once howe harde a matter it were to force them. Whileste these thinges were in action, the *Viceroy* with his regimentes of footemen was entred vpon the countrey of the *Bolonnois*, where hauing no meane to satisfie the payes which he had promised to the souldiours, they ranne with suche a tumult to his tent threatning and conspiring to kill kim, that he had scarce leasure to steale away, seeking his safetie by fleeing towards *Modena:* one parte of tharmie tooke towardes the countrey of the *Florentins*, the residue chaunged not place, but liued there without law, without order, and without commaundement: And within three or foure dayes after, their light rages beeing somewhat satisfied with parte of the payes that had bene promised, the *Viceroy* also and the residue beeing reassembled and returned to tharmie, they gaue their promise to tarrie for him in that place tyll he returned from *Mantua*, where the Bishop of *Gurce* was nowe arriued. As the Bishop passed by the territories of them of *Verona*, the Frenche men that laye in garrison in *Leguaguo* hauing refused many offers of the *Venetians*, gaue vp to the Bishop that towne whiche they coulde no longer holde: This was thought to be done by a former commaundement of *Monsr Palissa*, aswell to them as to all the residue that had in charge the other townes, to thende to nourishe discorde betweene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians:* But it was an action very vnfortunate for the souldiours, who (without respecting their safeconduit obteined from the Bishop of *Gurce*) were miserably robbed and stripped by the *Venetian* armie which lay encamped vpon the confines of *Bressia*, after they were returned from *Bosco*, and after they had recouered *Bergama* without any difficultie: onely they forbare to batter the towne, for that (as was sayd) the cardinall of *Sion* had forbidden them.

The resolutiõ of the treatie of Mantua by the confederates.

It was resolued in the assemblie of *Mantua*, that *Maximilian Sforce* should be reinuested in the Duchie of *Millan*, the desire of the people beeing nothing inferior to the equitie of his title. To this agreed the king of *Aragon* and *Cæsar*, no lesse to satisfie the great instance of the Pope, then to please the wills of the *Svvizzers:* Touching thassignation of the maner and time, it was referred till the Bishop of *Gurce* mette with the Pope, to whom he was to go, both to conclude thalliance betwene *Cæsar* and him, and to solicite peace with the *Venetians*, and so by the meane of common alliance, to confirme *Italie* in her auncient suretie that the Frenche king should no more trouble it: In that assembly also was disputed the expedition against the *Florentins*, wherein *Iulio de Medicis* made instance aswell in his owne name, as for the Cardinall: he proued that the alteration of that state would be easie, for the

diuision

diuision amongest the Citizens: for thaffection of many that desired their returne: for the secrete intelligences they had with sundrye noble and mightie personages: And withall for that one parte of the men at armes of that common weale being in *Lombardie*, and an other moytie inclosed within *Bressia*, they had not sufficient forces to make defence agaynst an assault so sodayne: Lastely, besides the money he offred, he showed the frute that woulde come by restoring them to their former dignitie: for, the authoritie and power of that Citie beeing taken out of the handes of one that depended wholly vpon the French king, it would fal to thadministration of persons, who standing discontented and wronged by that king, had no reason to depende or holde vpon other alliance then of the confederates. *Barnard de Bibiena* (afterwardes Cardinall) vrged this matter muche in the name of the Pope, who for that occasion had sent him to *Mantua*, a man for his learning no lesse meete for this legation, then for his affection moste friendly to the *Medicis* in whose house both he and his brothers had bene trained vp euen from their youth. *Iohn Vittorio Soderin* a Lawyer and brother to the *Gonfalonnier*, was at this time Embassador to the *Florentins* with the Bishoppe of *Gurce*, to whom nothing was sayde, nor any thing demaunded, eyther by the *Viceroy* or in the name of the league: Onely the Bishop declared to him the daunger, and howe conuenient it was that they accorded with *Cæsar* according to the demaundes made before, offring that *Cæsar* and the king of *Aragon* should receiue them into protection: But the Embassador in whom was no power to conclude, could do no other thing then aduertise the common weale and expect aunswers: neither did he solicite the *Viceroy* by him selfe or by others, nor vsed any diligence to hinder the workings of the *Medicis*: hauing no fulnesse of authoritie, he was driuen to be silent in thinges that concerned directly the safetie of the common weale: And yet the matter of it selfe was not without many difficulties, both for that the *Viceroy* had not so great an armie, as to aduenture to make triall of his forces without necessitie: and also the Bishop of *Gurce*, to let the *Venetians* for recouering *Bressia*, or to make any greater proceedings, desired that the *Spaniards* might passe into *Lombardie* with all speede conuenient. By these considerations it was beleeued, that if the *Florentins* forbearing their nigardnes as the present perills required, had consented to contribute to *Cæsar* the money he demaunded, and releeued the *Viceroy* with some small summe whereof he had great necessitie, they had easily turned away and auoyded the storme: yea the Bishop of *Gurce* and the *Viceroy* might perhaps with better will haue entred into couenant with the common weale, of whom they were certayne to receiue the things that should be promised, then with the *Medicis*, who had no habilitie to giue them any thing, if first they returned not to *Florence* with armes. But the cause of that Citie being almost abandoned, eyther by the negligence or by the malice of men, it was determined that the *Spanishe* armie together with the Cardinall and *Iulian Medicis*, shoulde marche towards *Florence*: In which expedition the Pope had declared the Cardinall Legate of *Tuskane*, with fulnesse of power to leauie the souldiors of the church, and wage suche others of the townes adioyning, as he shoulde thinke conuenient for that seruice: The Pope omitted nothing that might aduaunce this enterprise, rather applying his authoritie to his will, then to the equitie of the matter.

But assone as the assembly of *Mantua* was broken vp, the *Viceroy* returning to the territories of *Bologna*, caused his armie to marche with speede agaynst the *Florentins*, who had very small respite to make necessarie prouisions, for that they were not aforehand aduertised of the resolutions of *Mantua*. The Cardinall ioyned with

The Medicis returne to Florence.

the *Viceroy* assoone as he drewe neare the frontiers, hauing caused to be drawen from *Bolognia* two Cannons to supplie the want of the *Spaniards* who had no peeces of batterie: Also *Frauntis Vrsin* and the *Vitelli* (capteines for the Churche) came thither to him, but without their bands of souldiours, both they and the other companies of the Church being forbidden by the Duke of *Vrbin*: who, notwithstanding *Iulian Medicis* had had some bringing vp in his Court, A matter to moue fauor, and that he had alwayes professed to desire the greatnesse of the *Medicis*, which was a strong argument of affection, refused to refurnishe them with artilleries or any sort of succours eyther of his souldiours or subiectes, though the Pope had commaunded the contrarie by large letters, aswell to him as to other townes subiect to the Churche. Assoone as the *Viceroy* was entred vpon the landes of the *Florentins*, there came to him an Embassador, who in the name of the whole common weale declaring the respectes they had alwayes borne to the king of *Aragon*, both what were their actions in the laste warres, and also what that king might hope for of suche a Citie receyuing it to his amitie, besought him, afore he passed further, to signifie what it was he demaunded of the *Florentins*: for that in demaundes reasonable, and not exceeding their power, they would willingly satisfie him. The *Viceroy* aunswered that his comming had not bene determined onely by the king Catholike, but also by all the confederates for the common suretie of *Italie*, seeing that so long as the *Gonfalonnier* remayned in that administration, they coulde not be assured that that common weale would not followe the French king, and be seruiceable to his occasions: Therefore he demaunded in the name of the whole league, that the *Gonfalonnier* might be depriued of the gouernment, and that there might be instituted a forme of policie not suspected to the confederates: which coulde not be vnlesse the Cardinall and *Iulian Medicis* were restored to their naturall countrey: That if they would consent to these things, they should finde agreement in the residue more easily: Lastely, he willed him to signifie this reapport and his intention to the state of *Florence*, and yet he woulde not staye his armie tyll aunswere were returned.

At *Florence* immediatly vpon the brute of the marching of the *Spaniards*, mighte be discerned an vniuersall astonishment in the mindes of men, bothe doubting that the Popes forces woulde inuade them on some other side, and fearing the diuision of Citizens, and thinclination of the multitude to newe thinges: They were verye weake in men at armes, and had no other strength of footemen, then suche as were eythet leauyed in haste, or at least drawen out of their garrisons, an estate of souldiours not yet experienced in warre: They had no excellent capteine vppon whose vertue and authoritie they might reappose the guyding of an army, and their other leaders were such as in the memorie of man they had not in their paye men of lesse exspectation: Their weakenesse was great in regarde of the strength that was comming agaynst them, their wantes were farre inferiour to the preparations of their enemies, their wisdomes vnhable to preuent the daungers that threatned, their wealth vnprofitable, where wanted men for action: Lastely, they had nothing amongest them which did not helpe to the desolation of their estate, and wanted all thinges wherein they might hope for comfort, counsell, or compassion: Their feares were vayne, for that their perill was swifter then their prouision: And there coulde be no place for confidence, where was nothing to assure their hope: All thinges were full of confusion, and the soddennesse of the calamitie made them lesse apte to consulte for their safetie: And yet making suche prouision as they coulde according to the shortnesse of time, they reassembled their men at armes distributed into many

many places, they waged footemen, but ſuche bodies as they coulde get: They chooſed out the beſte bandes of their Penſioners, and drewe to *Florence* all their principall forces, both for the ſuretie of their Citie, and to refurniſhe from thence all other places that ſhoulde ſuffer moſte daunger: And amidde theſe meanes of prouiſions for the warre, they forgate not (but very late) to proue what they coulde do by way of accorde: for which cauſe, beſides the continuall ſolicitation of their Embaſſador with the *Viceroy*, they wrote to the Cardinall of *Voltero* lying at *Gradoli* neare to *Rome*, to go to the Pope, and labour to appeaſe him with offers, with petitions, with humilities, and all other ſortes of offices what ſo euer: But he hauing a heart hardned, aunſwered notwithſtanding with words contrarie to his doings, that the enterpriſe came not of him, and that it was followed without his forces: onely not to ſtirre vp the league agaynſt him, he was conſtrayned to conſent to it, and to ſuffer the Cardinall of *Medicis* to drawe artillerie from *Bolognia*: That he was not hable to ſtaye the expedition affore it was begon, and muche leſſe coulde he breake it nowe that it was in action: He made him ſelfe ſorrowfull for their affliction, and yet expreſſed no inclination to compaſſion: his wordes were doubtfull, and his intentions diſſembled: he ſawe the humor that was offended, and yet woulde not aplye the medicine to comfort it, iudging it beſt for the ſeruing of his turne, to ſuffer them to languiſhe in their proper calamities. By this time the *Viceroy* had paſſed the mountaynes of *Barberina* within fifteene myles of *Florence*, from whence he ſent to ſignifie to the *Florentins*, that it was not thintention of the league neither to alter the iuriſdiction, nor chaunge the libertie, ſo farrefoorth as for the ſuretie of *Italie*, they would depoſe the *Gonfalonnier* from his eſtate: He deſired that the *Medicis* might be reſtored to their countrey, not as chieftaynes of the gouernment, but as perſons priuate, ſubiected to the lawes, and to the Magiſtrates, and not ſeperate in any thing from other Citizens: This propoſition being knowen throughout the Citie, the opinions of men were diuerſe according to the diuerſitie of iudgementes, paſſions, and feare: Some blamed the Councell, that would, for the regard of one onely, preferre to ſo great a daunger the generalitie of Citizens and the vniuerſall iuriſdiction: ſeeing that in depoſing him, they loſt neyther the councell popular, nor the publike libertie: A thing which it could not be hard to keepe, though the *Medicis*, depriued of reputation and power, woulde ſtriue to exceede their degree priuate and limited: That it was to be conſidered in what ſorte the Citie might reſiſte thauthoritie and forces of ſo great a league: that of themſelues they were not hable: that all *Italie* was become their enemie: that they had wholly loſte all hope of ſuccours with the Frenche men, both for that beeing driuen with cowardiſe out of *Italie*, they had enough to do to defende their owne Realme, and alſo knowing their weaknes, they had aunſwered to the demaundes of the *Florentins*, that they were contented to ſet them at libertie to make accord with the league. Of the cõtrary, others reaſoned how vayne it was to beleue that ſo great a ſtirre was made onely for hatred to the *Gonfalonnier*, or to ſet vp the *Medicis* in *Florence* as Citizens priuat: That farre otherwiſe was the intention of the confederates, who to ioyne the Citie to their willes, and to make it contributorie to their wantes of money, reſpected no other ende then to bring in the *Medicis* in tyrannie: onely they diſguiſed their corrupt intentions with demaundes not ſharpe nor ſeuere, and yet pretended the ſame effect: for it was no other thing to take out of the pallace the *Gonfalonnier* in a time ſo troubled, and with ſuche threatning and compulſion of armes, then to leaue a flocke wandring without a paſtor, the more eaſily to fall into the iawes of the wolfe:

It comprehended no other thing to bring the *Medicis* into *Florence* in so greate a tumult, then to strike vp the dromme and aduaunce the standarde that suche might followe it, as liued in no other studie then to deface the name, the memorie, and the forme of the great councell: an estate of gouernement whiche could not be deposed without the absolute ruine of the common libertie: And what is there to let the *Medicis*, backt from the forreine with the *Spanishe* armie, and followed at home with trowpes sedicious and ambicious, that they maye not oppresse the libertie euen assone as they make their entrie into *Florence*: They haue the time by election, the place is prepared, mens minds altered, the good men of the towne do feare, the euill sort exspect, if there be any place of the towne free from tumult, at least there is none voyde of suspicion, few to be trusted and none assured, all things in confusion; yea euen the wyseste furtheste of to auoyde the storme which euen nowe is gathered into a cloude and ready to breake: It were good to consider what the ouerture of suche thinges might engender, and what maye happen by yeelding to demaundes vniust and preiudiciall: That it is no good affection so muche to feare their daungers, as thereby to forget the safetie of their lyues, and to consider how intollerable it woulde be to lyue in seruitude, to suche as haue bene borne and bredde vp in libertie: That they were to remember with what vallour they had opposed agaynst the late king *Charles* the eight for the protection of their libertie, at such tyme as he was possessed of the Citie with a mightie armie: Lastely that they had to consider howe easily they might resiste so small an armie, vnfurnished of money, vnprouided of vittells, naked of great artilleries, & all other commodities to beare out the warre, if onely the Citie resisted their first furie: yea when they found a resolute defence in place of the vayne hopes that had bene giuen to cary *Florence* at the first assalt, they would be easily raunged to agreement vpon reasonable conditions. These discourses ranne in the market places and streetes amongst the Citizens: but the *Gonfalonnier* holding it best that the aunswere which the Magistrate was to make to the *Viceroy*, should be communicated with the people, called together the great councell, and in full presence of the Citizens, gaue his opinion in this maner:

Peter Soderin reasoneth in the Councell.

If I thought the demaunde of the *Viceroy* touched me onely, or that his desires were stayed simply vpon particularities, I would of my selfe make a resolution conformable to my intention, & do the thing without your counsel, which could not but
" turne to your common safety: for hauing alwayes caried this minde to giue my life
" for your benefite, it could not but be iust in me to resolue of my selfe, to renounce
" the office you haue giuen me, to deliuer you from the daungers and harmes of the
" warre, hauing especially worne out both my body and mind with the trauells of the
" place in so many yeres since you preferred me to it: But since it may be that this de-
" maund stretcheth to things further then to me and my priuate interest, it is thought
" good by this honorable assistance & by me, not to deliberate without publike con-
" sent in a matter that so vniuersally concerneth you al, & lesse seeming that a cause so
" graue & generall, should be referred to the councell of that ordinary number of Ci-
" tizens which are ordinarily called to the priuitie of common thinges, but to you in
" whose persons is resembled the soueraigne Maiestie and presence of this Citie, and
" by whose wisedomes are to passe deliberations of so great importance. I induce
" you, not to incline more to the one parte then to the other, I referre all to your
" counsell and iudgement: I bring hither no meaning to perswade you to parciali-
" tie, I sette not my selfe betweene your affections and the present cause: The same
" you shall resolue, the same shall be accepted by me, who do not onely laye at your

feete

feete the office which is your owne, but also my person and life which is to my selfe alone: A sacrifice which I would thinke happily dedicated, if it had any operation tending to your safetie: Examine of what importance the *Viceroys* demaunde may be for your libertie, wherein I beseeche God so to leade your mindes as you maye make election of the better waye. If the *Medicis* were disposed to liue in this Citie as priuate Citisens with conformitie to your lawes and rulers, it could not be but vertuous and commendable to suffer them to returne, and receiue them, to thende the members of our common countrey might at last be reincorporate into one cõmon body: but if they bring with them other intentions, and vnder shadowes of conformitie, shrowde minds of tyrannie, it were good you considered of your danger, not holding it greeuous to susteine all expenses and difficulties to preserue your libertie, A Iewell whose preciousnes you shall then beste discerne, when you shall suffer priuation of it. Be not perswaded that the gouernment of the *Medicis* will be the same it was affore they were expulsed, seing the forme and fundations of things are chaunged: for then as they had their trayning vp amongest vs almoste as Citisens priuate, wealthie in goods according to the degree they helde, and not offended of any, made their fundation of the good will of the Citisens, vsed to consulte with the principalls of publike affayres, and labored with the cloke of ciuilitie to couer rather then to discouer their greatnes: So nowe that they haue bene so many yeres separate from the lawes of *Florence*, infected with the fashions & customes of straungers, and by that reason lesse practised in ciuill causes, mindefull of their exile and seuerities done to them, poore in goods, iniuried of so many families, & according to their own testimonie knowing that the most part of this presence abhorreth tyrannie: They will reapose confidence in no citisen, nor haue no conformitie to your lawes & magistrates, but compelled by pouertie & suspicion, will bring backe to themselues the administration of all things: They will not reestablishe good will and loue, but recontinue force & armes: they will reduce this citie in short time to the image and state of *Bolognia*, and to *Sienna* & *Perousa* in the time of the *Bentiuoleis*. I speake this to such as kepe obseruation of the time and gouernment of *Lavvrence .Medicis*, which yet in cõparison of this would seeme a golden age, notwithstanding the conditions of that time were hard, and the gouernment was a kinde of tyrannie, albeit more easie then many others. Now it apperteineth to you to resolue wisely, and to me, either to giue vp constantly this office, or else resolutely to apply my selfe to the preseruation of your libertie: You are to determine, and I to be directed, you stande in the handes of your owne councell, and I subiected to your arbitration.

There was no dout what the councell would resolue, the whole multitude of the people bearing almost an vniuersall inclination to mainteine the popular gouernment: Therfore it was determined by a wõderful accord, to cõsent to the returning of the *Medicis* in the nature of persons priuate: and that in no wise the *Gonfalonnier* should be deposed frõ his place, against which if thenemies were obstinate, then the whole body of the city should be applied to the defence of their liberty & countrey, not sparing either goods or life in an action so honorable & necessary: so that disposing all their thoughts to the warre, they made prouisions of money, & sent men to the town of *Prato* ten miles frõ *Florence*, A place which they thought would be subiect to the first violence of the *Viceroy*: who after he had gathered together his army at *Barberina* together with thartillerie with was drawen with a wõderfull paine both for the yll way of *Appenin*, and also for that for want of money they lacked laborers & instruments necessary for the cariage, he tooke the way to *Prato* as had bin suppo-

sed: he arriued there about the breaking of the daye, and euen then beganne with two Falconettes to batter the gate *Mercatala* by the space of an howre, albeit little to his profite for that it was mightily rampiered within. The *Florentins* had bestowed within *Frato* about two thousande footemen, the moste parte of their pensioners, and the residue leauyed in haste of all sciences and base trades: In that number there were very fewe experienced and trayned to the warre: They hadde also sente thither with an hundred men at armes *Luke Sauello* an auncient capteine, but yet neyther for his age, nor for his experience come to anye degree of marciall knowledge: And the men at armes were the same bodyes who a little before had bene spoyled and stripped in *Lombardie:* To this was added what by the shortnesse of the tyme, and thignoraunce of suche as had the charge to make prouisions, bothe greate wante of artilleries, and not halfe the munitions and other thinges necessarie to defende the place. The *Viceroy* had in hys armie two hundred men at armes, fiue thousande footemen *Spaniardes*, and two Cannons onely: An armie very small in numbers and other prouisions, but greate as touching their vallour, for that the footemen were all of those bodies, who in so great reputation were retyred from the battell of *Rauenna*, and who reapposing muche in their vertue, despised greatly thignorance of their aduersaries: But being brought to marche and no order taken for their vittayles, and lesse releese through the whole countrey, for that as yet harueſt was fullye finished, and all gleaned and carryed into places of strength, they beganne immediatly to fall into necessityes of foode, whiche made the *Viceroy* to incline to accorde, and the same followed with continuall solicitation, that the *Florentins* suffring the *Medicis* to returne equall with the other Citisens, there was no more speache of the deposing of the *Gonfalonnier*, onely the Citie shoulde paye to the *Viceroy* (to thende to withdrawe his armie from their dominions) a certayne summe of money, whiche was supposed not to exceede thirtie thousande duckets: In respect of this he had graunted safeconduit to thembassadors elected for that expedition, and had absteined vntill their comming, from any further action agaynst *Prato*, if they within had furnished him with vittells. There is nothing that fleeth faster awaye then occasion: "Nothing more daungerous then to iudge of thintention and profession of an o-"ther: Nor nothing more hurtefull then an immoderate suspition. All the cheefe Citisens desired agreement, beeing accustomed by thexamples of their elders, to defende their libertie agaynst armes, with golde: And therefore they made requeſt that thembassadors elect shoulde departe incontinently, beeing charged amongest other things to see them of *Prato* furnishe the Spanish armie with vittells, to thend the *Viceroy* should expect with pacience if the composition that was now in action woulde bring foorth anye effect. But the *Gonfalonnier* perswading himselfe agaynst his naturall tymerousnes, that thenemies dispayring to be hable to do any more would depart of themselues, or fearing that the *Medicis* by one meanes or other would returne to *Florence*, or whether his destinie pushed him on to bee the cause of his owne ruine and the calamities of his countrey, he helde artificially in delay the dispatche of thembassadors, not suffring them to departe the daye that was appoynted according to the resolution which had bene made: In so much as the *Viceroy* both pressed with the want of vittells, and vncertayne whether thembassadors would come, dislodged by night from the gate *Mercatale*, and incamping before the gate called *Seraglio* from the which the way goeth to the mountayne, he began to batter the next wall with two Cannons, choosing that place for the commoditie

Prato taken by the Spaniards.

moditie of a high heape of earth ioyning to the wall, by the which he might easily go to the breache of the wall from aboue that was battred: whiche facilitie for the campe beeing turned into a difficultie for the towne, for that the breache that was made aboue the heape of earth, remayned within very high and thicke of earth, one of the Cannons was broken at the firste execution, and the other with the whiche the battrie was continued, had so loste his force with often shooting, that his boollets came slowely to the wall, and yet did no great harme: Lastely after they had executed many howres and made an opening in the wall of more then twelue fadomes, certayne of the Spanishe footemen got vp to the terrasse or heape of earth, and began to assayle the breache: from thence they got to the toppe of the wall where they slewe two of the footemen that garded it, whose death giuing feare to the residue and driuing them to retyre, the *Spaniards* forbare not to take thoportunitie of their tymerousnesse, and clymbe vp by the helpe of skaling ladders: And albeit there was within neare the wall a squadron of shotte and pykes, bestowed there both to suffer none of thennemies to staye vppon the wall, and also to make slaughter of the firste man that rashely should leape within or otherwise go downe, yet (suche is the feare of men vnexperienced in daungers) assone as they sawe thennemies vpon the wall, they brake their rancke, and of themselues abandoned the defense of the place: This cowardise depending somewhat vppon wante of experience in the seruice and perilles of warre, gaue courage to the *Spaniardes* to make their entrie in sundrie places without anye impediment: And crying Victorie, they followed their fortune with vallour, and beganne to runne thorow the towne, where was seene no other thing then flying, violence, spoyling, blood, murders, and crying, the footemen of the *Florentins* making no resistance, but casting away their weapons, they offred their bodies to the rigour of their enemies: from whose couetousnesse, luste, and crueltie, nothing had escaped if the Cardinall *Medicis* by bestowing gardes in the great Churche had not saued the honor of women whiche in their calamitie were fledde thither for safetie. There were more then two thousande men that dyed, not in fighting, for almost not one would ioyne him selfe to the fray, but in fleing, in hyding, and in crying mercy to thenemies, who disdayned to shewe compassion vpon men of so small merite: The residue were reserued prisoners together with the *Florentine* commissioners, none escaping the calamitie that so wretched a fortune did bring. By the losse of *Prato* they of *Pistoye*, not falling otherwise from the iurisdiction of the *Florentins*, agreed to releeue the *Viceroy* with vittayles, receyuing his promise not to be distressed by his armie. But at *Florence*, assone as the succesſe of *Prato* was knowen, and thembassadors that went to the *Viceroy* beeing on the halfe waye, were returned by the bruite of thaccident, there were discerned manifest alterations in the minds of euery one: some lamenting the losse that was happned, some fearing greater harmes, some suspecting by nature more then they ought to do by reason, some distrusting shadows whose bodies were farre of, all things in confusion, and euen those men the least assured, in whom was moste reason of confidence and resolution. The *Gonfalonnier* repenting now the vanitie of his counsell, was no lesse amased then the residue, and hauing almoste altogether loste both reputation and authoritie, he stoode so irresolute & vngouerned, that he gaue him selfe vp to the wills of others, without making prouision either for his own safety, or the cõmon tranquilitie: others, who desired thalteration of the gouernment, tooke audacitie by the state of their fortune, & blamed publikly the things present: but the multitude of citisens not accustomed to tumults & armes, & hauing

alwayes affore their eyes the miſerable example of *Prato*, notwithſtanding they affected much the gouernment popular, yet what through feare & cowardiſe, ſtoode as a miſerable pray to whoſoeuer would oppreſſe them. In this tumult and ſeperation of mindes *Paule Vettori* and *Antho. Fran. Albizi*, two yong gentlemen of the nobilitie, no leſſe ſedicious and deſirous of new things, then by theſe occaſions full of audacitie & boldnes, hauing many monthes affore conſpired ſecretly with others in fauor of the *Medicis*, and for the better forme & maner of their reſtoring, had ſecretly ſpoken with *Iulian de Medicis* in a village of the *Florentin* territory neare to *Siena*, determined to make experience to draw the *Gonfalonnier* out of the publike pallace by force: And drawing into this councell one *Barth. Valori* a young man of like qualitie, but entangled by his vnreaſonable prodigalities with ſundry debtes, as was alſo *Paule*, they went the ſeconde morning after the loſſe of *Prato*, beeing the laſte day of *Auguſt*, with a ſmal cõpany to the pallace, where finding no great gard or reſiſtance, for that the *Gonfalonnier* left all things to aduenture, they entred his chamber, and threatned him to take his life frõ him if he would not depart the pallace, but in caſe he would go out, they gaue him their faith to defend him from harme: his feare and the preſent extremitie made him obedient to the rage of the young men: Then the whole city was drawen into tumult, & many were diſcloſed againſt him, but not one appeared in his fauour: He by and by, by direction and commaundement of others, cauſed to aſſemble the Magiſtrates, whom, hauing by the lawes a full authority ouer the *Gonfalonniers*, they required to depriue him lawfully of his office, or otherwiſe they would kill him: In which feare they depoſed him contrary to their will, and led him in ſafetie into the houſe of *Paule*, from whence in the night beeing well accompanied, he was conueyed vpon the dominions of *Sienna*, and from thence making ſhowe to go to *Rome* with ſafeconduit obteined of the Pope, he tooke ſecretly the way of *Ancona*, and paſſed by ſea to *Raugia*, for that he was aduertiſed by the meane of his brother the Cardinall, that the Pope would breake his promiſe with him, and ſpoyle him of the money which he had, ſuppoſed to be in great quantitie: Aſſone as the *Gonfalonnier* was depoſed from his place, the citie diſpatched preſent Embaſſadors to the *Viceroy*, with whom they compounded eaſily by meane of the Cardinall *de Medicis*: for the Cardinall was contented as touching his particular, that there ſhould be no further commoning but for the reſtoring of him and his, and all ſuche as had followed him, as Citiſens priuate, with power to redeeme within a certayne time the goodes that had bene alyened by the fiske: That there ſhoulde be repayment of the moneys that had bene disburſed, and amendes made by ſuch to whom they had bene transferred: That touching the common affayres, the *Florentins* entred the league: They were bounde to paye to the kinge of *Romains* fourtie thouſande duckettes, according to the promiſe whiche the *Medicis* had made at *Mantua* to the Biſhoppe of *Gurce*, in recompence of their reſtoring: To the *Viceroy* twentie thouſande, and to tharmie foureſcore thouſande, the one halfe preſently, and the reſidue within two monethes: but vppon this condition that the firſt payment beeing receyued, the armie ſhoulde foorthwith departe the landes of the *Florentins*, leauing at libertie all that they had poſſeſſed: Beſides this, they contracted a league with the king of *Aragon*, with bondes reciprocall for certayne numbers of men at armes for the defence of their eſtates, and that the *Florentins* ſhoulde interteine in their paye two hundred men at armes of the ſubiectes of that king: wherein albeit it was not expreſſed vnder whom they ſhoulde be ledde, yet the charge was ment to the Marquis of *Paluda*, to whom the Cardinall had promiſed,

miſed, or at leaſt giuen him hope, to make him capteine generall of the *Florentin* men of warre. Thus the buſineſſe of the depoſing of the *Gonfalonnier* beeing paſte ouer, and the daungers of the warre remoued by the compoſition, the Citiſens beganne to fall to correct the gouernment in poyntes wherein the former forme was thought vnprofitable, but with an vniuerſall intention, excepte of a verye fewe which were young and almoſte not falling in conſideration, to preſerue the libertie, and ſupport the councell popular: Therfore they determined with newe lawes that the election of the *Gonfalonnier* ſhould not be eſtabliſhed perpetuall, but for one yere onely: That to the councell of the foureſcore, which chaunged from ſix monethes to ſix monethes, & by whoſe authoritie cauſes of greateſt gravitie were determined, to thend there might be a continuall communitie of the Citiſens of greateſt qualitie, ſhoulde bee alwayes added all thoſe that had adminiſtred eyther at home or abroade, the chiefe offices and places: At home, ſuche as had bene eyther *Gonfalonniers* of iuſtice, or of the tenne of the *Balia*, an office in that common weale of greate authoritie: Abroade, ſuche as beeing choſen by the councell of the foureſcore, had ſerued eyther as Embaſſadors to forreine Princes, or elſe as generall ſuperintendentes ouer the warre: All the other orders and ordinances of the gouernment remayned firme and ſtable without innouation.

After theſe things were reſolued, they elected *Gonfalonnier* for the firſt yere, *Iohn Babtiſta Rodolffe*, a Citiſen of noble diſcending, and no leſſe eſteemed for his diſcreſſion and gouernment: And as it happneth in all times troubled, ſo in this election the people not beholding ſo muche ſuche as by popular practiſes were moſte agreable to them, as one, who what with the great authoritie he had in the Citie, ſpecially with the nobilitie, and with his proper vertue whiche was peculiar to him, might reduce and make firme and ſtable the ſhaking eſtate of the common weale: But by the preſent tumult things were to much diſordred, the common libertie had to many mightie enemies, in the bowels of the contrey was an armie ſuſpected, and within the Citie an vnbridled boldneſſe of young men deſirous to oppreſſe it, and to their wills was conformable the will of the Cardinall *Medicis*, notwithſtanding in words he made demonſtration of the contrarie: for, as in the beginning he eſteemed not the reſtoring of him and his as Citiſens priuate, A recompence worthy of ſo many trauells and paynes, ſo alſo he conſidered for the preſent that that ſtate coulde not endure, for that together with his name, they ſhoulde bee greately hated of all ſortes, the Citiſens lyuing in continuall ſuſpicion that they woulde dreſſe ſome ambuſhe agaynſt their libertie: They woulde alwayes remayne diſcontented, for that they had broughte the Spaniſhe armie agaynſt their countrey, and were the cauſes of the wretched ſpoyle and ſacke of *Prato*: And laſtely that by compulſion of armes the Citie had bene conſtrayned to receyue conditions ſo vnworthy and vniuſte. To this he was vrged by ſuche as affore had conſpired with hym, and others who in a common weale well ordered, helde no honorable place: But the conſente of the *Viceroy* was neceſſarie, who exſpecting the firſte payment, whiche for the diuiſions in the Citie coulde not ſo ſoone be made, kepte as yet within *Prato*, and had no fancie (what ſoeuer was the cauſe) that any newe chaunge ſhoulde bee made in the Citie of *Florence*, notwithſtanding the Cardinall ioyning to hym the Marquis of *Paluda* and *Andrevv Caraffe* capteines in the armie, tolde him that the name of the *Spaniards* coulde not be but very odious to a Citie agaynſt whiche they had done ſo many harmes: That in all occaſions they woulde ſticke alwayes to thennemies of the king Catholike,

and that there was daunger, leaſt when the armie ſhould departe, they woulde reuoke the *Gonfalonnier* whom they had expulſed by conſtraint. By theſe perſwaſions he conſented to the Cardinall, who aſſone as he had made agreement & reſolution of affayres with him, came with diligence to *Florence* into his houſes, where many capteines and ſouldiors of thItalians entred, ſome with him, and ſome ſeperate, the Magiſtrates being affrayed to let their entry for feare of the *Spaniards* that were at hande: The next morning the councell of the multitude of Citizens beeing aſſembled at the publike pallace to conſult vpon thaffaires preſent, *Iulian de Medicis* being preſent and aſſiſting the action, the ſouldiours charged the gate of the pallace, and climbing vp by ladders, they made themſelues maiſters of the pallace, and made pillage of the ſiluer veſſell which laye there of ſtore for the vſe and ſeruice of the Citie: There the Citie together with the *Gonfalonnier* compelled to giue place to thinſolencies of ſuche as coulde do more with armes and weapons then the Magiſtrate with reuerence and authoritie, called together with the ringing of the great bell (by the direction of *Iulian de Medicis)* the people, to parliament vpon the pallace grene: where, ſuche as went thither being enuironed with armed ſouldiours, and the yong men of the Citie that had taken armes for the Citie, they conſented that to fiftie Citizens of the Cardinals naming, ſhoulde be giuen the ſame authoritie ouer publike buſineſſe which all the people had: A forme or ſtate of power which the *Florentins* call *Ampla balia:* By the decree of theſe men, the gouernment being reduced to that forme which it caryed before the yere a thouſand foure hundred nintie and foure, & a garriſon eſtabliſhed within the pallace, the *Medicis* reſumed vpon them the ſelfe ſame ſtate of greatnes which their father had, but their gouernment was more imperious and with a power more abſolute.

In this ſorte, and with armes, was oppreſſed the libertie of the *Florentins*, beeing brought to that degree of aduerſitie principally by the diſagreementes of the Citizens. It was thought it had not falne ſo farre, if they had not behaued them ſelues with great negligence in the defence of the common buſineſſe, ſpecially in the laſte times, not ſpeaking of the newtrality which they vſed very vndiſcretly: & the cowardiſe of the *Gonfalonnier* giuing too muche head to thennemies of the popular gouernment. The king of *Aragon* had not from the beginning ſo great a deſire to reuerſe the libertie, as to turne away that Citie from thalliance of the Frenche king, and to drawe ſome ſommes of money to paye his armie: In ſo muche that aſſone as the Frenche had abandoned the Duchie of *Millan*, he ſent to tell the *Viceroy*, that whether the affaires occurrant ſhoulde drawe him to an other enterpriſe, or for any other occaſion, he ſhould knowe that the reſtitution of the *Medicis* woulde be of harde action, that he ſhould take libertie to determine according to the condition of times, and agree or not agree with the Citie, according to the meane that brought the beſt oportunitie to his affayres. This was his commaundement in the beginning: but being afterwardes diſcontented with the Pope for the violence he would haue done at *Rome* to *Alfonſo d'Eſte*, and entring withall into ſuſpicion for the threates he gaue publikely agaynſt ſtraungers, he gaue playnely to vnderſtande to the ſame Embaſſador of *Florence* that came to him in the beginning of the warre, enioyning no leſſe to the *Viceroy*, that there ſhoulde be no ſtryuing to alter the gouernment. In whiche deuiſe theſe two reaſons were indifferent to him: he iudged that eyther it would be a thing of more ſuretie to him to preſerue the *Gonfalonnier*, who was enemie to the Pope, or elſe he feared that the Cardinall of *Medicis* being reſtored, would not more depende of the Pope then of him: But his laſt deliberation

came

came not to the knowledge of the *Viceroy*, vntill the daye after the common weale was reduced to the power of the Cardinall.

By this discourse it may be discerned that if the *Florentyns*, after the french were chassed, had looked to assure their affaytes by some agreement, or at least had made them selues strong with men and soldiours trayned, eyther the *Viceroy* had not marched against them, or at least finding resistance, he would easily haue bene brought to composicion for money: But their destinie was against their sauetie, beeing besides the coniectures and comprehension of mans wisedom, warned of the perills that were towards them, by certein signes in the ayre: for, not long affore, the lightning that fell vpon the gate that leades from *Florence* to *Prato*, caried away from an auncient shield of Marble, a golden flower *de Lys*, which is the enseigne or armes of the french kings: An other tyme a flashe of lightning discending from the toppe of the pallaice into the chamber of the *Gonfalonnier*, touched no other thinge then a great vessell of siluer wherein the lotts are wont to be put when they come to bee made equall for the creacion of the great Magistrat: And afterwards falling downe it stroke so violently a great stone which laye at the foote of the stayres and bare vp the burden of the building, that beeing remoued from his place without any other hurt, it seemed that the handes of men had taken him out with a wonderfull knowledge in Archytecture.

About these tymes, or a litle before, the *Genovvais* beating vpon the castell of *Genes* with thartilleries which the Pope had lent them, the castell keeper beeing corrupted with a bribe of ten thowsand duckatts, deliuered it vppe to the townes men: This treason of the keeper moued partely by feare, for that an armie by sea which was sent out of *Prouence* for the defence of the towne, hauing not courage to take land, were retyred, by whose cowardisse he had no hope to bee succoured: But the lanterne held out for the king, wherein the same day certeine french vessels had conueyed vittells and other necessary prouisions. *The castell of Genes taken by the Genowaies.*

Assoone as the matters of *Florence* were dispatched and the money receiued, The *Viceroy* remoued his armie to march to *Bressia*: About which citie the *Venetians*, hauing now appaised the wills of the *Svvyzzers*, were encamped and laye affore the gate of *S. Iohn*, battering at one tyme both the towne and the castell with artilleries planted vpon the mountaine opposit: They had a certeine light hope to be let in at the pile gate by meane of an intelligence which neuertheless proued vaine for that it was discloses: But when the *Spanish* armie ariued at the borow of *Gairo* which is neare to *Bressia*, *Monsr d'Aubigny* gouernor of the french that were within, had a mind to giue vp the towne together with the castell to the *Viceroy* with composicion that all the soldiours that were within should yssue out their goods and liues saued, but their enseignes folded and the pointes of their weapons downeward, and leauing behind them their artillerie: wherein it seemed *Monsr d'Aubigny* respected more the *Viceroy* then the *Venetians* by a commaundement which he had receiued affore from his king, to deliuer it to the *Spanyards* or to *Cæsar*, not that he hated more the *Venetians*, but rather to enterteine matter of contencion with *Cæsar* and with the king of *Aragon*: The french men that kept *Leguague* followed the same councell affore the *Spanyards* passed into *Lombardie*: for, litle esteeming of the many offers of the *Venetians*, they surrendred it vp to the Bishop of *Gurcy*, as also did *Pesquiero* at the same tyme that the *Viceroy* entred *Bressia*, the possession whereof the same Bishoppe desired to haue, but it pleased the *Viceroy* to reteyne it for the league, in whose name he had receiued it: it hapned otherwayes to the towne of *Crema*, about the which *Bressia rendred by the french to the Viceroy.*

lay incamped *Ranze de Cere* with a part of the *Venetian* ſoldiours: for, by that tyme the army of the foure thouſand *Svvyzzers* which *Octauian Sforce* Biſhop of *Lode* & gouernor of *Myllan* ſent to conquer it in the name of the exſpected Duke *Maxymylian Sforce*, were come neare the walls, *Benedict Cribario* what by corrupcion of money, and an ambicious deſire to be created a gentleman of *Venice*, gaue it vp to the *Venetians*: in which action was concurrant the conſent of *Monſr Duraz* that kept the caſtel, who reapoſed no confidence for his fauetie in the faith of the *Svvyzzers*.

Crema rendred to the Venetians.

The Biſhop of Gurcy at Rome.

Immediatly vpon theſe expedicions the Biſhop of *Gurcy* went to *Rome*, whome the Pope deſiring earneſtly to reconcile to him, gaue order to receiue him through all the dominions of the Church with all ſortes of honors: And not ſparing to enforce his nature to aduaunce his deſire, he defrayed his exſpenſes by the wayes, together with all ſuch as followed him, to whom were made many great feaſtes and liberalities: euery towne which he entred honored him with ſhowes and offices not accuſtomed, both for their varietie which was ſtraunge, and for their ſtate and maieſtie moſt rich and ſumptuous: The wayes which he paſſed were full of perſonages appoynted to meete him, and in many ſeuerall places he was viſited by ſundry new Embaſſadors of Prelats & perſonages of honor of the Popes ſending: yea he would that the Colleage of Cardinalls ſhould haue gonne to the gates of *Rome* to receiue him, but the whole Colleage refuſing, as a matter for the newnes, hurtfull in example, and for thindignitie, moſt preiudiciall to their reputacion, They appoynted only the Cardinalls *Agiuenſe* and *Strigonia* to goe out of the gates halfe a mile into the medowes, to receiue him in the name of the Pope, who with great reſpect and ceremonie led him to the Churche of *S. Maria de Popolo*, he beeing in the middeſt betweene them as Liefetenant to *Cæſar*: There the two Cardinalls left him, and from thence being honorably accompanied beſides the generall multitudes that followed, he went to the Pope, who ſitting in ſolemne habit vnder his eſtate pontificall exſpected his comming in the publike Conſiſtorie, where not many dayes before he had in great honor receiued the twelue Embaſſadors of the *Svvyzzers* whome all the Cantons had ſent to him, both to giue him publike obedience, and to make offer of their nation to be perpetuall defendors of the ſtate of the Church, and withall to thanke him, that with ſo great honor he had giuen them the ſworde, the hat, the helmet and the banner, together with the title to be the defendors of th Eccleſiaſtike libertie: When the Cardinall was ariued and had performed his preſence to the Pope, they began to debate of the eſtabliſhment of the common affayres, whereof the foundacion reſted in this, to remoue all quarrells and contencions particular, to thende that the regions of *Italy* reunited and confirmed, might with one ioynt reſolucion and councell, be able to make a full reſiſtance to the french king: The hardeſt matter in this action was the compoſicion ſo many tymes practiſed betweene *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*: for, the Biſhop of *Gurcy* could haue bene contented that *Padoa*, *Treuiſa*, *Breſsia*, *Bergama*, and *Crema* ſhould remeyne to the *Venetians*, ſo farre forth as they would render to *Cæſar Vincenſa*, renownce their claimes and rightes they pretended to the townes that *Cæſar* held, and pay to him preſently two hundred thowſand florins of *Rhein*, and thirty thowſand yearely for euer in forme of tribute: It troubled the *Venetians* to acknowledge them ſelues tributaries for thoſe townes which they had poſſeſſed for many yeares as proper owners: And no leſſe were they greeued to giue money, notwithſtanding the Pope offered to lend them part of the ſumme: But the thing that troubled them moſt, was the reſtoring of *Vincenſa*, In which action they alleaged they ſhould ſeperat the body of their eſtate, and ſtande

depriued

depriued of the commoditie to passe from the head and principall partes, to the other members, by which priuacion the possession of *Bressia, Bergama,* & *Crema* would stand ill assured: Besides, to refuse the restitucion vnder more honest coollers, they sayd, they had giuen their faith to the *Vincentyns* the last tyme they put them selues into their handes, neuer to seperat them from them: Other condicions were debated betweene the Pope and the king of *Aragons* Embassadors, proponed more for reuenge and recompense of the complaints of others, then that there was hope to obteyne them: for, the Pope demaunded that that king according to the contents of the confederacion, should ayde him to conquer *Ferrara:* he required him to leaue of the protection of *Fabricio* and *Mar. Anth. Colonno,* against whom he had begon to proceede with spirituall armes, for that they had forced the gate of *Latran,* and receiued the Duke of *Ferrara* (rebelled against him) into those townes whose iurisdiction apperteined directly to the Church: he required him to renownce the protections he had made in *Tuskane* of the *Florentyns,* of the *Sienoys,* of the *Lucquois,* and of *Plombyn,* matters done to the diminucion of the rightes of thEmpire, and generally suspected of all *Italy,* but particularly of the Church: for that as it was not profitable to the other Potentats that he should haue so many alyances in *Italy,* so it was most daungerous for the church, that a prouince belõging to the dominion of the same, should depend vpon his authoritie: To these the spanish Embassadors replied, that they refused not to ayde him against *Ferrara,* so farreforth as according to the bonds of the same confederacion, he made payment of the money due to tharmie both for that was past, and to make new prouision for hereafter: That it was an action neyther of praise nor merit to procede against *Fabricio* & *Mar. Anth. Colonno,* by whom, if they were pursued, what by reason of their great friends and dependances, and for that they were Capteines of authoritie, would bee renewed matter of a new warre: That the king Catholike could not leaue them abandoned, without speciall preiudice to his proper honor, neither did their seueral seruices in the ioynt warres of the Pope and him against the french king, deserue that propertie of recompense: Touching the complaint he made of the protections of *Tuskane,* they thought it proceeded not of any good or iust zeale, but to thend that *Syenna, Lucqua,* & *Plombyn,* should remeyne a pray to his couetousnes, condiscending notwithstanding to referre them selues in those actions, to the arbytrement of *Cæsar:* All the confederats agreed with full consent that *Maxymylian Sforce* should enter vppon the Duchie of *Myllan,* but *Cæsar* consented not to inuest him, nor to indue him with the name of Duke or any title iudiciall: But eftsoones did renewe the complaintes of the Bishop of *Gurcy* and the *Spanyards* touching thoccupacion of *Parma* and *Plaisance*: they brought great preiudice of the rightes of thEmpire, too much encrease of greatnes to the Popes, and an apparant weakening to the Duchie of *Myllan,* which had neede to be made more stronge and able, for that it lay alwayes open and subiect to the first inuasions of the french: That in the capitulacions of the league, the Pope had made mention of no other thinges then of *Bolognia* and *Ferrara:* That nowe he vsurped that which of long tyme since, had not bene possessed by the Church of *Rome,* yea there was no certeine knowledge that euer she could claime interest, not in the tymes most auncient: That this vsurpacion was vnder shadow of rightes and interests, whereof appeared no authentike memorie, he seeming to make the donations of Emperours none other thing then a simple writing which might be forged or feyned according to fancie: And yet the Pope, taking the occasion of the tumultes of *Lombardye,* did reason to him selfe, as in a matter manifest and notorious: These disputacions could

not be resolued easily: But the matter that troubled most the yssue of thinges, was the controuersie betweene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, by reason whereof the Pope did what he could, sometimes prouoking them, sometimes praying them, & sometimes threatning them, and all for a desire he still nourished to preserue the *Venetians*, both for the common benefit of *Italy*, and also for that he hoped, vnder the oportunitie of their succours, to be able to cary *Ferrara* without the forces of the *Spanyards*: In this action the *Aragon* Embassadors labored with great importunitie fearing, least to a common daunger, there were not cause added to the *Venetians* to turne their disposicions to the french and be eftsoones reunited to that nation: But they were driuen to proceede aduisedly and with temperance, both not to prouoke *Cæsar* to make aliance with the frenche men, from whome their kinge had seperat him with so great paine, and also for other reasons necessarily mouing him not to breake amitie with him: Lastly the *Svvyzzer* Embassadors omitted no trauell in this action, for that being bownd to defend the *Venetians*, who also in that regarde were bownd to paye them euery yeare xxv. thowsande duckatts, they wished not to be brought to this necessitie, eyther not to obserue their promise, or to be driuen to make head against *Cæsar* if he offered to vexe them: At last, neyther the Bishop of *Gurcy*, beeing not to be drawne from the demaund he made that the *Venetians* should render *Vincensa* to *Cæsar*, nor the *Venetians* disposed to giue it vppe, who stoode also yet disagreed touching the quantitie of money: The Pope, who aboue all thinges desired, the rather to reuerse the name and authoritie of the councell of *Pysa*, that *Cæsar* might approue the councell of *Latran*, protested to their Embassadors, that he shoulde bee constrayned to persecute that common weale with armes spirituall and temporall: which protestacion because it moued them not, he onely was brought to confederat with *Cæsar*, the spanish Embassador refusing to deale in the action, eyther for that he had no commission from his king, or els for that that king sought still to nourish the *Venetians* with some hope, notwithstanding he was resolued in minde to ayde *Cæsar*: It was expressed vppon the proëme of the confederacion which a litle after was solemnly published in the Church of *S. Maria de Popolo*: That for that the *Venetians* had obstinatly refused the peace, and the Pope by the necessitie of the Christian common weale, had protested to abandon them: *Cæsar* did nowe enter and accept the league made in the yeare a thowsand fiue hundred and eleuen, betweene the Pope, the king of *Aragon*, and the *Venetians*, according as the libertie and respit was reserued for him: That he promised to cleaue to the councell of *Latran*, disavowing and reuoking all commissions, procuracions, and actes done in the fauor of the councell of *Pysa*: he bownd him selfe not to ayde any one of the subiects or ennemies of the Church, but chiefly *Alfonso d'Este* and the *Bentyuoleis* occupyers of *Ferrara* and *Bolognia*: And lastly he promised to call home all the bandes of *Almain* footemen that were in the payes of *Alfonso*, together with *Federyk de Bossolo* that held on him: On the other side the Pope promised to ayde *Cæsar* against the *Venetians* with armes both spirituall and temporall, vntill he had recouered all that was conteyned in the league of *Cambray*: it was declared that the *Venetians* were altogether excluded out of the league and truce made with *Cæsar*, for that in many sortes they had impugned both the one and the other: That they were ennemies to the Pope, to *Cæsar* and to the king Catholike, to whom they reserued place and tyme to enter the confederacion, and vnder certeine condicions: That the Pope could make no couenant with them without the consent of *Cæsar*, or till *Cæsar* had recouered that which apperteined to him, as was sayd affore: That neyther the Pope nor *Cæsar*

sar, without reciprocall priuitie and consent, could contract or couenant with any Prince Christian: That during the warre against the *Venetians*, the Pope should doe no displeasure to *Fabricio* and *Mark.Anth.Colonno*, beeing notwithstanding left at libertie to proceede against *Pompey* and *Iulio* and others that had bene declared rebells: That notwithstanding he was suffered to possesse *Parma*, *Reggia* and *Plaisance*, yet by this capitulacion it was not ment to preiudice the rights of thempire: When this confederacion was published, the Bishoppe of *Gurcy* in the next session of the councell of *Latran*, approued the councell in the name of *Cæsar*, and as his Liefetenant generall in *Italy*: And cancelling all former commissions, actes, and procurations, he testified in the presence of the whole councell, that *Cæsar* neuer consented to the conuocacion of *Pysa*, disauowing all such as had vsed his name: Assoone as he had thus ratified the councell of *Latran*, he departed from *Rome* to be present when *Maxymylian Sforce* (being now come by commission of *Cæsar* to *Verona*,) should take possession of the Duchie of *Myllan*: the Cardinall of *Syon* disposed him selfe very hardly to expect and attend his comming, and also the Embassadors of the whole nation of *Svvyzzers* that were at *Myllan*, for that they would that in the demonstracions and solemnitie of thactions that was to be vsed, it might appeare that the *Svvyzzers* were the men that had chassed the french men out of that state, and by their vallour and courage *Maxymylian* receiued it: They would that the veritie and effect of that conquest might be transferred to them by such publike ceremonies as were to be vsed in the enstalling of him, whom their vertue onely made Lord of the Duchie: But such was the working of the *Viceroy*, that, more by practise then by his authoritie he obteyned so much that they taried for the comming of the Bishop of *Gurcy*: who, after he had ratified at *Florence* in the name of *Cæsar*, the confederacion made in *Prato*, and receiued certeine summes of money of the *Lucquoys* whome he tooke into protection, came at last to *Cremona*, where *Max. Sforce* and the *Viceroy* attended him: from thence they went al together to *Myllan* to make their entrie at the day appoynted, into that citie with solemnities and honors accustomed to newe Princes: In which action albeit it was long disputed betweene the Cardinall of *Syon* and the *Viceroy* which of them should giue him the keyes at the entry of the gate in signe of possession, yet, in the ende the *Viceroy* giuing place, the Cardinall put into his handes the keyes of the towne in the vniuersall name of the *Svvyzzers*, And that day, being one of the last dayes of December, he did all thinges both in showe and act, that were necessary to make knowen that *Maxymylian Sforce* receiued the possession of them: he was receiued with an incredible gladnes of all the people, both for the desire they had to haue a Prince proper and perticular, and also they hoped he would resemble his grandfather or his father, of whome the memorie of one remeyned very fresh in the mindes of the people of that state, and touching the other, the despites they had receiued by the gouernment of straungers, had turned their hatred, into good will: The working of tyme, with thexperience of the yoke of straungers had made in that people a wonderfull conuersion, and nature in those actions works not a litle, bringing that people to reioyce at the returne of him, whose father they abhorred with a iust and vniuersall hatred: But these gratulacions and ioyes were yet vnperfect vntill the castell of *Nouarro* were recouered: A matter not long deferred, for that they within, yeelded it vp, their fortune being farre inferior to their faith.

Maxymylian Sforce restored to Myllan

The confederacion made at *Rome*, had not altogether broken the hopes of agreement betweene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, for that the Pope had vppon the suddeine

sent to *Venice Iacques Staffilio* his *Nuncio*, with whom went accompanied three Embassadors of the *Svvyzzers* to perswade them to accord: And on the other side, the Senat, the better to enterteine the goodwil of the Pope, and not to giue cause to *Cæsar* to inuade them with armes, had sent to their Embassadors a newe direction to cleaue to the councell of *Latran*: They had commaunded also the men of warre, assoone as the confederacion was made, to retyre vpon the territories of *Padoa*: And for that cause the *Viceroy* not willing to trouble the hopes of the peace, had turned his armie towards *Myllan*: But all these thinges serued to no purpose, for that the same difficulties did yet continue touching the restitucion of *Vincensa* and the payments of money which *Cæsar* demaunded: That was the cause that the Pope assayled not the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom (agreement going betweene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*) he supposed he should be able to vanquish with the aydes of the *Venetians*, together with the brute that the *Spanyards* were to come on if neede should be: otherwayes he had resolued to deferre that expedicion till the springe tyme, for that he accounted it a matter of hard action to take in a season of winter, the towne of *Ferrara*, the situacion being strong in respect of the riuer, and greatly fortefied besides, by the continuall industrie of *Alfonso*.

It may happly seeme to some, if I intangle my historie with thaccidents of *Fraunce* in that yeare, that I wander or chaunge my course, which is not to speake of matters hapning out of the bondes of *Italy*: But becausse the affayres of that nation haue some affinitie and relacion with the busines of these partes, And that to the succesſe of the one, the councells and yssues of the other were oftentymes conioyned, I am constrayned not to passe them altogether vnder forgetfulnes and silence.

Th English men at Fontarabye against the french king.

About the beginning of Maye, an armie of six thowsand English footemen, sailed in vessells of *England* and *Spayne*, to *Fontarabye*, A frontyer towne belonging to the crowne of *Spayne* vpon the coast of *Fraunce*, and standing vpon the Occean sea: The seruice and purpose of this armie, according to the couenants made betweene the father in law and sonne in law, was, together with the forces of *Spaine*, to set vpon the Duchie of *Guyen*, which is a part of the prouince of *Aquitaine* according to the auncient names and diuisions of the same: Against this warre, the french king not yet assured on the coast of *Picardy*, prepared a new pencionary band of eight hundred launces which he had erected, & waged many bands of footemen of the lower parts of *Germany* not subiected to th Emprour: And knowing of what importance for the defence of the Duchie of *Guyen*, was the Realme of *Nauarre* which was both appropriat and dowrie to *Katherin de Foix*, and possessed ioyntly with *Iohn* the sonne of *Albert* who was her husband: he called to the Court the father of the sayd *Iohn*, and carefully considered how he might make him his friende and consociat: Wherein serued to good purpose, the death of *Gaston de Foix*, by the instigacion of whome pretending the same kingdom not to fall vpon the femall, and by consequent to apperteine to him as to the next heire male of the house of *Foix*, the french king had pursued the sayd *Iohn*. On the other side the king Catholike, who had sette his eyes vppon that Realme, required the king of *Nauarre* to stande Newter betweene the french king and him: And to suffer to passe thorow his Realme, his souldiours that were to enter *Fraunce*: And for the assurance of these things, he would put into his handes certeine places of strength vnder promise to render them assoone as the warre should ende: It hath bene a perpetuall desire in the auncient kings of *Spaine* to impatronise them selues vpon the Realme of *Nauarre*, In which respect the king of *Nauarre*, being also not ignorant whither those demaundes tended, chused rather

to

to offer him selfe to a perill that was vncerteine, then to accept a losse certeine, hoping he should not faile of the succors promised by the french king, for whose affayres it came well to passe that the warre begon in the Realme of *Nauarre*: And at the same tyme, eyther to giue more leasure to such as were appoynted to come to his succours, or to deliuer him selfe if he could from those demaundes, he treated with the king of *Aragon*, who according to his custom proceeded in those conferences with great cunning: But the industrie and warines of the king of *Aragon* hurt not more the king of *Nauarre*, then the negligence of the french king, who taking courage by the slownes of thEnglish armie that for many dayes since they were arriued at *Fontarabye*, had done nothing, And trusting withall, that the king of *Nauarre* was able with his owne forces to defende him selfe for a tyme, deferred very long to send him succours: By the commoditie of which delayes, the king of *Aragon*, who had cunningly nourished and enterteyned the hopes of the king of *Nauarre*, conuerted thether with great expedicion the bandes which he had prepared to ioyne with thEnglish: So that the king of *Nauarre* both vnprepared of him selfe, and by his priuacion of hope, dispayring to be able to make resistance, gaue place to his fortune and fled into *Bearu* beyond the *Pyreney* hils: By which accident, the Realme of *Nauarre* was left abandoned, except certeine stronge places which yet held out for the king who in his feare was fled, And so without any exspenses or difficultie, and more for feare and reputacion of thEnglish that were at hand, then by his owne forces that were farre of, the king of *Aragon* made him selfe Lorde of that kingdom: And becawse he could not affirme that he possessed it lawefully with any other title, he alleaged that he was rightfully and iudicially impatronised of it by thauthoritie of the sea Apostolike: for, the Pope not satisfied for the happy succesſe of *Italy*, had a litle before published a Bull against the french king, wherein, naming him no more *Christianissimo* but *illustrissimo*, he subiected aswell his person as whosoeuer were his adherents, to all the paynes of heretykes and schismatykes, giuing sufferance to euery one to occupy their substances, estates, and all that apperteyned vnto them: And in the same seueritie and rigour, ioyned to an indignacion that the Cardinalls and other Prelats who were fled to *Myllan*, had bene receiued into the towne of *Lyon*, he commaunded vnder greeuous penalties and taxacions, that the fayre or mart accustomed to be kept at *Lyon* foure tymes euery yeare, the traffike of Marchantes beeing no lesse plentifull, then the resort of straungers infinit, shoulde bee hereafter transferred to the citie of *Geneua*, from whence king *Lovvys* the eleuenth had taken it for the benefitte of his kingdome: And lastly he had brought the whole Realme of *Fraunce* vnder thinterdiction Ecclesiasticall: In his malice he omitted nothing that might apperteyne to seueritie or rigour: But after the king of *Aragon* had conquered the kingdom of *Nauarre*, which albeit is but of litle circuit and of lesse reuenue, yet for the situacion, it is very conuenient for the kingdom of *Spayne*, and greatly auaileable to the sewertie of it: he determined in him selfe to passe no further, esteeming it no lesse against his profit then inconuenient for his sauetie, to make warre against the french king beyond the Mountes: In this respect, as also euen from the beginning that thEnglishmen arriued, he had beene dilatorie in bringing forth his forces, rather temporising with euasions and deuises, then aduauncing according to the true meaning of his promisse: And after the conqueſt of *Nauarre*, as the English solicited him to ioyne his forces with them to thende to marche together and incampe affore *Bayon*, A citie neare to *Fontarabye* and almoste standing vppon the Occean sea: so he protracted thexpedicion they

The king of Aragon taketh the Realme of Nauarre.

required,and proponed other enterprises in places remoued from the sea,alleaging that *Bayonne* was so manned and fortefied that there was no hope or possibilitie to cary it: These reasons were aunswered and auoided by thenglishmen,who,without the towne of *Bayonne,* esteemed nothing of all the other conqueſt of the Duchie of *Guyhenno:* And therefore after thenglish armie had vainely spent much time to vrge the king,that was altogether vnwilling, they contemned his suttleties and delayes, & embarked to returne into *England* without commission or licēce of their Prince: By the retyring of which armie the french king remeyned assured on that side, And fearing no more thinuasions of thEnglish by sea,for that at last he was become so stronge by sea,that he commaunded all that part of the Occean from the coastes of *Spayne* to the shoares of *England:* he determined to make tryall if he could reconquer the Realme of *Nauarre:* To which expedicion he was encouraged besides the departing of thEnglish fleete, for that by reason of his aduersities in *Italy*, all his bandes of souldiours that remeyned,were returned into *Fraunce:* At the tyme that the king of *Aragon* gaue hope to thEnglishmen to enter into the warre,the better to bring vnder him the whole iurisdiction of the Realme of *Nauarre*, he had sent certeine regiments of men to *S.Ioh.Pie de Porto,*which is the last place of that kingdom standing at the foote of the *Pireney* hills on that side towards *Fraunce:* And afterwards as the french forces began to encrease thereabouts, he had sent thether with the maine armie,*Federyk* Duke of *Alba,*capteine general of the warre:But the french armie at laste beeing become farre more mightye,by the presence of the *Daulphin, Charles* Duke of *Burbon,* and *Monsr Longeville*, the very flowers of the Realme of *Fraunce*: The Duke of *Alba* lying encamped in a stronge place betweene the plaine and the Mountaine,held it an action very necessary to that seruice, to let the french men for entring into the Realme of *Nauarre:* The french men not able to force him out of that place for the strength of his situacion, determined that the king of *Nauarre* with seuen thowsand footemen of his contrey, and *Monsr Palissa* with his companie of three hundred launces remouing from *Sauueterra* neare to *S.Ioh.Pie de Porto,*where the whole armie lay,should passe the *Pireney* hils by the way of the vale of willowes: And drawing neare to *Pampelune* the Capitall towne of the kingdom, their deuise was to occupy the way of the willowes, by the which were brought to the spanish armie,vittells whereof the sterrilitie of the contrey had made them suffer great want:In *Pampeluna,*the peoples taking corage by the nearenes of the french men,beganne already to draw to mutinie, not otherwaies rebelling then to releeue their king, for whose restoring they thought it good deuocion to aduenture their liues: This was theffect of this deuise, After the king of *Nauarre* and *Monsr Palissa* had wonne the way that is vppon the toppe of the *Pireney* hills, they tooke by assalt the towne that standes at the foote of the hills, wherein was *Baldes* Capteine of the garde to the king of *Aragon* with many bandes of footemen: And if to wynne the way of the willowes they had vsed the celeritie that the consideracion of the seruice required, famine onely had beene sufficient to vanquishe the spanishe armye enuyroned on all sides with ennemies, with ill wayes, with ill fortune, and with wantes: But the diligence of the Duke of *Alba* preuented thennemye and preserued him selfe, for that leauing in *S. Ioh. Pie de Porto* a thowsande footemen with all thartillerie, he passed to *Pampelune* by the waye of the willowes affore they came thether. So that the King of *Nauarre* and *Palissa* beeing disapoynted of that hope, to whom also the *Daulphin* had sent a newe strength of foure hundred launces and seuen thowsande launceknightes, made their approches to *Pampeluna* with foure

peeces

peeces of artillerie which they had drawne with great difficultie by reason of the steepenes of the mountaines: They gaue the assalt, but with a fortune farre inferior to their forwardnes, for that being not able to cary by their vallour, that they were denied by the present season (being then December,) and by the want of vittells (being falne into a contrey barreine) they repassed the Mountes *Pireney*, vpon the which they were constrayned to leaue thartillerie, both for the difficultie of the passages, and for thimpediments of the paisants of those hills: And at the same tyme *Monsr de Lavvtrech* who was entred *Biskay* with three hundred launces and three thowsand footemen, making waste and pillage of the whole contrey, after he had in vaine assalted the towne of *Saint Sebastian*, he repassed the mountes and returned to the armie, which now brake vp, both hope and feare ceassing on all partes, and the whole Realme of *Nauarre* remeyning free and peasible to the king of *Aragon*. About this time, there was a detection of a conspiracie, that *Ferdinand* sonne to the late *Federyk* king of *Naples* who called him selfe Duke of *Calabria*, had secretly conspired with the french king and to steale to the french armie not farre from the towne of *Logrognia*, where at that time was the king of *Aragon*: who sent him to the castell of *Sciatyua* whither the kings of *Aragon* are wont to send prisoners, personages of name & merit either for their nobilitie or for their vertue: for this conspiracie was quartered *Philip Coppolo* a *Neapolytane*, who was the secret Messenger to the french king in these actions: Such is the alteracion of the state of worldly thinges, that he was executed in the seruice of him whose grandfather by the father side had cutte of the heade of *Counte de Sarny*, his father: The detection of this conspyracie was of some consequence for thaffayres of *Italy*: for, as it had his beginning of a certeyne gray Freare which the Duke of *Ferrara* had secretly sent to *Ferdinand*; so, the Kinge Catholike, hauing already an inclinacion to satisfie the Popes will, tooke this matter so to harte, that he commaunded the *Viceroy* and his Embassadors resident with the Pope, to conuert when they thought good, his armye agaynst *Ferrara*, seeking to exacte no further taxacions of money, then suche as shoulde bee necessary to enterteyne them: These were the accidents of that yeare both in *Italye*, in *Fraunce*, and in *Spayne*, their yssues beeing diuerse, as their causes were seuerall.

Nowe followeth the yeare a thowsand fiue hundred and thirteene, no lesse full of occurrants straunge & sundry, then the other: In the beginning of this yeare, armes ceassed on all partes, for that neither the *Venetians* molested others, nor any other moued against them: onely the *Viceroy* marched with three thowsand footemen to incampe affore the rocke of *Tressa*, which immediatly was giuen vntō him vnder condicion that the bodies that were within, should departe with goods and life saued. But euery one vniuersally was troubled with the consideracion of thinges to come: They sawe that the french king deliuered from forreine armes, and estsoones reincouraged both for the great leauy of launceknightes he had made, and for thencrease of his numbers of men at armes, had nothing in so great desire as to recouer the Duchy of *Myllan*: Which disposicion albeit was very violent in him, and no lesse desire to hasten the warre whilest the castells of *Myllan* & *Cremona* were yet kept by his soldiours: yet looking into the great impediments offered by thopposing of so many ennemyes, and beeing not yet assured that the king of *England* woulde not make stronge warre against him the next sommer: he determined to enter into no action onlesse he seperated some one of the confederats from the common allyance, or else to wynne to him the amitie of the *Venetians*: of these thinges, the

yeare paſt gaue him many hopes, that ſome one of them might happly ſucceede to him: for, at that tyme that the Biſhop of *Gurcy* went from *Rome* to *Myllan*, he heard graciouſly by the way one of the familiar friendes of the Cardinall *S. Seuerin* ſent to him from the french Queene, and afterwardes he had ſent into *Fraunce* one of his men to make theſe ouertures: that the king ſhould be bownd to ayde *Cæſar* againſt the *Venetians*: That the mariage ſhould goe forward betweene the ſecond Daughter of the king, and *Charles* Nephewe to *Cæſar*: That to the Daughter ſhould be giuen in dowrie the Duchie of *Myllan*: That the king beſides, ſhould giue vppe to his Daughter and his future ſonne in law, the rights he pretended to the Realme of *Naples*: And becauſe ſimple wordes and promiſſes ſhould not ſtand to *Cæſar* as a ſewertie, he required that the Daughter might be immediatly put into his handes: And that when the king ſhould haue recouered the Duchie of *Myllan*, *Cremona* and *Guiaradada* ſhoulde bee to *Cæſar*: The king hoped likewiſe that he might eaſily ioyne to him the *Venetians*, who were not a litle angrie at that time that the *Viceroy* occupied *Breſsia*, but much more for the matters which afterwards were accorded at *Rome* betweene *Cæſar* and the Pope: Therefore from that time, the king had cauſed to come ſecretly to his Court, *Andrevv Gritty*, who being taken within *Breſsia*, remeyned as yet priſoner in *Fraunce*: he wrought ſo alſo that *Ioh. Ia. Tryuulce*, in whom the *Venetians* reapoſed much, did ſend to *Venice* one of his Secretories vnder ſhadowe of other affayres: There offered him withall a certeine hope to be able to compownd with the king of *Aragon*, who, according to his cuſtom often times to debate in his affaires by the negociacion of men religious, had ſent ſecretly into *Fraunce* two gray Frears, to thende that expreſſing howe they were touched with a conſcience and zeale to the common benefitte, they might beginne to negociat with the Queene in ſome pointes either concerning the peace vniuerſall, or particular betwene the two kings: Wherein neuertheleſſe there was no great hope, the king knowing well enough that he would ſtill reteyne the Realme of *Nauarre*, and to him it was a matter of no leſſe indignitie to leaue abandoned that king, who to reenter into his amitie & vnder hope of his ſuccours, was falne into that calamitie: But nothing troubled ſo much the mind of the frēch king as the deſire he had to be reconciled to the *Svvyzzers*: he knewe that vppon their amitie depended his aſſured victorie, both for the great authoritie that that nation had then got, and their armes no leſſe feared; and for that they ſeemed to be nowe drawne into a forme of gouernment not as ſouldiours marcenary, nor men ſauage, but with a wonderfull warines and vigilancie, as men trayned vp in a common weale well inſtituted, and nouriſhed in thadminiſtracion of eſtates and managing of affayres, without ſuffering any ſtirre or leauyes to be made but by good councell and diſcreſſion: By this conformitie of theirs, there was in *Svvyzzerlande* a reſort and preſence of Embaſſadors from all Princes in Chriſtendom: The Pope with almoſt all Potentats, payed them yearly penſions, to bee receyued into their confederacion, and to haue ſufferance to leauye for their proper defence in times of neceſſitie, ſoldiours of that nation: The remembrance of theſe thinges made them ſo proude, that weighing withall how king *Charles* the eyght by their armes had firſt altered the quiet eſtate of *Italy*, and after king *Lovvys* his ſucceſſor by their vallour had conquered the Duchie of *Myllan*, recouered *Genes*, and ouerthrowne the *Venetians*, they vſed towards all men an imperious and

" inſolent behauiour: Amongeſt the harmes that proſperitie bringeth, this is not
" the leaſte, that it rayſeth men into opinion and weening, and lifteth vppe their
" thoughtes thorow vaine and light affections like as birdes vſe to doe, whoſe natural

lightnes

turn over

gayne for *Monſr de Aſperot* brother to *Monſr de Lautrech* already gone from the Court with his commiſſion to finde the Biſhoppe of *Gurce*: On the other ſide, the feare of the vnion betweene the king and the *Venetians* encreaſing dayly, the king of *Aragon* aduiſed *Cæſar* to render *Verona*, and to transferre the warre into *Burgondy*, by the helpe of the money which he ſhoulde receiue of the *Venetians*, and with the *Spanishe* armie: Of this aduiſe was the Biſhop of *Gurcy*, who hoping to be hable to moue *Cæſar* by his preſence nowe returned into *Germanie*, being followed not onely of *Dom Peter de Vree* which was come with him, but alſo of *Iohn Baptiſta Spinella Count* of *Carriato* Embaſſador to the ſayde king of *Aragon* reſident with the *Venetians*. And becauſe no newe difficulties ſhould breake of the matters that were nowe in action, he induced firſt the ſenate to make truce with *Cæſar* for the whole moneth of Marche: And thoſe Embaſſadors gaue them their fayth that *Cæſar* ſhoulde render *Verona*, if they would promiſe him within certayne times two hundred and fiftie thouſande duckets, and for yerely penſion fiftie thouſande.

In theſe alterations of affayres, and in theſe times ſo deuided and conſpiring, the Pope fell ſicke: And happly he was then more full of high conceites and trauelling thoughts then at any time before: for notwithſtāding he had brought his fortune to be equall to his deſires, & obteined the thing he aſpired vnto, yet his deuiſes & plots did nothing diminiſh, but grewe increaſing by the ſame meane which ſhould haue ſatisfied them: he had determined in the beginning of the ſpring and firſt opening of the yere, to ſende to thenterpriſe of *Ferrara* which he ſo muche deſired, and his opinion was that that ſtate was hable to make no reſiſtance, both for that it was naked of all ſuccours, & becauſe the *Spanish* armie was to ioyne with his companies: He had ſecretly bought of *Cæſar* for the price of xxx. thouſande duckets, the Citie of *Siena* for the behoofe of the Duke of *Vrbin*, to whom (except *Peſera*) he woulde neuer giue any thing of theſtate eccleſiaſtike, to thende to reſerue to him ſelfe the whole glorie to haue ſimply and onely ſtudyed for thexaltation of the Churche: he agreed to lende to *Cæſar* fortie thouſande duckettes receyuing *Modona* in gage: he threatned them of *Lucquoy*, who in the heate of thaffayres of the Duke of *Ferrara*, were become lordes of *Garſagnana*, making inſtance that they woulde deliuer it to him: He was out of conceite with the Cardinall of *Medicis*, for that he thought him to cleaue more to the king Catholike then to him: And becauſe he knewe he was not hable to diſpoſe of the Citie of *Florence* as he thought, he ſtudied already newe plottes and newe practiſes to alter that eſtate: He was yll contented with the Cardinall of *Sion*, from whom he tooke the name of Legate, and enioyned him to come to *Rome*, for that in the Duchie of *Myllan* he had appropriate to him ſelfe a yerely rent of more then thirtie thouſande duckets of the eſtates and goods of diuers perſons. The better to aſſure the Duke of *Vrbin* of *Sienna* by intelligences of his neighbours, he had of newe taken into his paye *Charles Baillon*, to chaſe out of *Perouſa Iohn Paule*, who by affinitie was very neare ioyned to the ſonnes of *Pandolffe Petruccio* ſucceſſors to the greatnes of their father. He would of newe create Duke of *Genes*, *Octauian Fregoſa*, depoſing *Ianus* from that dignitie: an action wherevnto did conſent the others of the houſe of *Fregoſa*, becauſe for the degree that his auncеſtors helde in that ſtate, it ſeemed beſt to apperteine to him. He ſtudied continually either howe he might worke out of *Italie* the *Spanish* armie, or cut it in peeces by the ayde of the *Svvizzers*, whom aboue all others he exalted and embraced: In this deuiſe he had this intention, that the kingdome of *Naples* beeing occupied by him, *Italie* ſhould remayne free from ſtraungers, A ſpeeche that often paſſed out of his mouth,

The purpoſes of Pope Iulio the ſecond & his death.

and to that ende he had hindred that the *Svvizzers* did not confederate with the king Catholike. And yet, as though it had bene in his power to batter all the world at one time, he continued his accuſtomed rigour agaynſt the French king, and notwithſtanding he had heard a meſſage from the Queene, yet he ſtyrred vp to make warre, the king of *Englande*, to whom he had transferred by publike decree of the councel of *Latran*, the name of *Chriſtianiſſimo*, whereof there was already a Bul written, and in it likewiſe was conteyned the priuation of the dignitie and name of the king of *Fraunce*, giuing his kingdome to who coulde occupie it. In theſe conceptions no leſſe ſtraunge for their varietie, then great for the importance they drewe, and perhaps in other thoughtes, more ſecret and ſinguler, (for in a minde ſo fierce and terrible, all ſortes of imaginations howe great and vayne ſo euer they be, are not incredible) after the continuation of his ſickneſſe for many dayes, he declined towardes death: And feeling the ende of his mortalitie to haſten on, and the ſame to preuent the execution of his high thoughts, he cauſed to cal together the conſiſtorie, which albeit he could not aſſiſt in perſon by reaſon of his diſeaſe, yet by the authoritie of it, he cauſed to be confirmed the Bull which he had publiſhed before againſt ſuche as by ſymonie would climbe to the Popedome: He declared that the election of his ſucceſſor apperteined to the colledge of Cardinalls, and not to the councell: And that the Cardinals ſchiſmatikes could haue no preſence or communitie there, to whom he proteſted there to pardon the iniuries they had done him, and prayed to God to forgiue them the wrongs they had done to his Churche. After this he beſought the Colledge of Cardinalls, that in his fauor and for his ſake, they woulde graunt to the Duke of *Vrbin* his Nephew, the Citie of *Pezera* in patronage or vicarage, alleaging the conſideration that by meane of the duke it had bene recouered to the Church after the death of *Iohn Sforce*: In no other matter he expreſſed no priuate or particular affection: In ſo muche as Madame *Felice* his daughter (ioyning with her the petitions of many others) beſeeching him with great importunitie, to create Cardinall *Guido de Montfalcon* being her brother by the mothers ſide, he aunſwered roundly that he was not worthy of that degree: He made not his affections conformable to their deſires: In that laſte action of lyfe he ſhowed no partialitie in worldly cauſes: his preſent debilitie coulde diminiſhe nothing of his auncient reſolution, but expreſſed in all things the ſame conſtancie and ſeueritie, together with that iudgement and force of minde whiche he had before his ſickneſſe: In whiche firme eſtate & diſpoſition of ſpirite, he receiued deuoutly the offices of the church, and the xxj. day of February he ended his courſe of theſe mortal and preſent paines: He was a prince of incredible conſtancie and courage, but ſo full of furie and vnruled conceptions, that the reuerence that was borne to the Churche, the diſcorde of princes, and the condition of times, did more to ſtaye him from his ruine, then eyther his moderation or his diſcreſſion: Worthy no doubt of great glory, if eyther he had bene a Prince ſecular, or if that care and intention which he had to rayſe the Churche into temporall greatneſſe by the meane of warre, had bene employed to exalte it by the mediation of peace, in matters ſpirituall: Neuertheleſſe he was lamented aboue all his predeceſſors, and no leſſe eſteemed of thoſe, who hauing eyther loſte the true conſideration of things, or at leaſt ignorant howe to diſtinguiſhe and peaze them rightly, iudged it an office more duely apperteining to Popes, to increaſe the iuriſdiction of the ſea Apoſtolike by armes and blood of Chriſtians, then by good example of life and due curing and correction of corrupt maners, to trauell for the ſauing of thoſe ſoules, for whom they glory ſo much that Ieſus Chriſt hath

named

lightnes conuey them to the ſtarres: They conſidered not that theſtate of humane felicitie is ſubiect to emulacion,& nothing of more difficultie to worldly men then to beare well the height & greatnes of fortune: And yet,the french king,notwithſtanding the perſwaſions of many particulars of that nation,together with his own opinion that they would ſtirre & draw into armes for the great offers of money that were made them,was not without hope to winne them: his reaſon was, that albeit ſuch as gouerned *Myllan* hauing agreed with thEmbaſſadors of the *Swyzzers* in the name of *Maxymylian Sforce* that he ſhould giue them an hundred and 50.thowſand duckats ſo ſoone as he had receiued the poſſeſſion of *Myllan* & the caſtells,and penſiõ of xl.thowſand duckats euery yeare for xxv.yeares,taking him into their protection with couenant to deliuer into his pay,bands of their footemen: yet the cantons would neuer ratifie thoſe couenants: In which hope, in the beginning of the yeare preſent, notwithſtanding affore he had in vaine proued to haue his Embaſſadors heard which he ment to ſend to ſolicit in thoſe affayres, yet to purchaſſe audience in their parliaments,he cõſented to giue vp to them frankly & freely the caſtels of the vale of *Lugan* & *Lugarna*: with ſo great indignitie great Princes ſought at that time the amitie of that nation:In the end *Monſr Trymouille* with cõmiſſion from the king came to *Lucerna*,a place appoynted to heare him in publike aſſembly, And albeit he was receiued with good ſhow & countenance, yet he ſaw he ſhould do litle good touching the action of the Duchie of *Myllan*:for that not many dayes before, 6.Cantons had ratified & ſubſigned the capitulacions made with *Maxymylian Sforce*,three had determined to confirme them,and touching the other three,they were not yet reſolued: by reaſon of which doubts, thEmbaſſador ſpeaking no further of *Myllan* nor thaffayres thereof, demaunded that at leaſt they would ayde the king to recouer *Genes* & *Aſt*,matters not comprehended in the capitulaciõ made with *Maxymylian Sforce*:And the better to aduaunce that demaunde, *Tryuulce* made requeſt that he might be at the parliament vnder cooller to treate vppon affaires particular, wherin ſaffeconduit was graunted to him, but with this cõdicion that he ſhould not ſolicit in any matter apperteining to the french king:And being come to *Lucerna*,he was enioyned not to haue conference with *Trymouille* neither in publike nor in priuat:At laſt by an vniuerſall conſent, the capitulacions made with the Duke of *Myllan* were ratified by all the Cantons,& all the demaundes of the french king denied, with this addicion, that they would not ſuffer any leauies of footemen of that nation to ſerue him either in *Italy* or out of *Italy*:A matter which made the king deſperat of all fauor,hope,or amitie with that people, & therefore being excluded quite out where he thought to finde ſome entrance,he ſaw by conſideracions of his affayres, that it was neceſſary for him to be reconciled either to *Cæſar* or the *Venetians*, who for their partes ſolicited at the ſame time with *Cæſar*, for that the ſuſpicion of their reconciliacion ceaſſing in the mindes of the confederats, the Biſhop of *Gurcy* conſented that they ſhould reteyne ſtill *Vincenſa*: But the ſame reaſons encouraging the Senat which gaue feare to thennemies: they ſtoode vppon this to make no more peace,if *Verona* were not rendred to them,giuing *Cæſar* a recõpenſe of a great quantitie of money: This demaund ſeemed to conteyne difficultie, which made the *Venetians* to incline ſo much the more to the french amitie, & in that diſpoſicion contracted with the Secretorie of *Tryuulce* to be confederat with the king according to the capitulacions made betwene them affore, by the which *Cremona* & *Guiaraddada* ſhould remeine to thẽ:But the Secretory ſet downe expreſſe mẽtion in the capitulaciõ,that that agreemẽt ſhould ſtand as void & of none effect,if within a certein time

it were not approued by the king: In whose councell the disputacions were greate, which was most to be desired, eyther a reconciliacion with *Cæsar*, or a confederacion with the *Venetians: Robert Est* a Secretorie of great authoritie, *Tryuulce*, & almost all the chiefest of the councel proued the necessitie of confederacion with the *Venetians*: They alleaged that which the present experience made them to know of thinconstancy of *Cæsar* bringing no small domage to the kings affaires: They ript vp the hatred he bare to the king, together with his dispositicion to reuenge: They related what they had heard of personages worthy of opinion & credit, who reaported how oftē they had heard him say in that time that he kept precisely in mind the remembrance of xvij iniuries receiued by the french, and that when soeuer the oportunitie serued him to be reuenged of all, he would not lose thoccasion nor forget the desire: They alleaged that these solicitacions were practised by him for none other effect, then by the meane of reconciliacion full of fraude and ill meaning, to haue a greater way to doe harme, or at least to breake of that which he knew was practised with the *Venetians*, or else in his spyte, to detract the preparacions of the warre: Lastly they gaue this as a warning and lesson, that that man was neither to be excused, nor esteemed worthy of compassion, who beeing once beguiled by an other, returneth eftsoones to reappose confidence in him: An enemie reconciled, charitie leades vs to loue him, but wisedome willeth vs not to trust him, and to a friend once disproued, there can be no greater daunger, then eftsoones to reenter into confidence with him: The Cardinall of *S. Seuerin* was of an other opinion, who, (as his aduersaries sayd crossing *Tryuulce* more through enuie then for other occasion for that with his brethren he had alwaies defended the *Gebelin* faction in *Myllan*,) replied in the contrary that nothing could be more profitable to the king and his seruices, then in ioyning with *Cæsar*, to breake the vnion of thennemies, specially the confederacion being made by such meane as they might hope it would last: That it was the propertie of Princes in their councells and deliberacions to preferre alwayes profitte affore good will, affore hatred, and affore other affections: And what greater benefit could be done to *Cæsar*, then to ayde him presently against the *Venetians*, with hope that his Nephew should come to succeede in the Duchie of *Myllan*: That *Cæsar* being seperat from the others, the king Catholike would not obiect against his authoritie, as well for thintersts of his Nephew, as for other regards: Moreouer that as nothing could more amaze the Pope then this confederacion, so, of the contrary to confederat with the *Venetians*, was full of indignitie, since there must be accorded to them *Cremona* & *Guiaradada*, members so conuenient to the Duchie of *Myllan*, that to recouer them, the king had stirred vppe all the worlde: And yet if the vnion of the others were not broken and deuided, the confederacion with the *Venetians* would not suffice to obteyne the victorie: At last this opinion caried the king, the rather for thauthoritie of the Queene, who desired greatly thaduauncement of her Daughter: onely her desire was accompanied with this condicion, so farre forth as it might bee obteyned, that till the consummacion of the mariage the younge Damesell might remeyne with her, And she to bind her faith and promisse to keepe her in the name of *Cæsar* as the spowse assigned for his Nephew, to whome she would redeliuer her assoone as her age and yeares made her able to the full office of mariage: But the Kinge beeing afterwardes certefied that *Cæsar* woulde not agree vnder this forme of lymitacion, but rather that he foysted in those offers for the tyme and by suttletie, to detract his diligence and giue him cause to proceede more slowely in his other plottes, he brake off from this practise, and sent backe a-

gaine

named them his Vicars in earth.

The *Viceroy* of *Naples* who was marched with his *Spanishe* armie towards *Plaiſanca*, conſtrayned that Citie to returne vnder the gouernment of the Dukes of *Millan*, on whom it depended by auncient tenure: They of *Parma* did the like, hauing the ſame feare of the *Spanishe* ſouldiours, beeing followed in all places with more terror then loue. On the other ſide the Duke of *Ferrara*, after he had in great ſpede recouered the townes of *Romagnia*, drewe neare to *Reggia*: but finding no ſtirre nor tumult within the towne, he durſt not abyde there for feare of the *Spanishe* armie, which laye diſpearſed betweene *Plaiſanca* and *Reggia*. Touching theſtate of the Churche, there appeared no other ſtirre nor mouing: and the Citie of *Rome* nor the Colledge of Cardinalls, felt none of thoſe difficulties which they had felte in the death of the two laſte Popes: So that the obſequies and funeralls beeing ended according to thaccuſtomed maner, xxiiij. Cardinalls entred peaſibly into the Conclaue, hauing graunted afore that the Marquis of *Mantuaes* ſonne whom Pope *Iulio* kept with him for oſtage, ſhoulde be made free and acquited of his fayth and promiſe, with libertie to returne to his father. The firſt matter that was debated in the Conclaue, was with ſtraite articles to moderate thauthoritie of the Pope to come, which they ſayde the laſte Pope had vſed too immoderately: And yet, as amongeſt men ſome haue not the heart to oppoſe agaynſt a prince and great Lorde, and ſome deſire to enter into his grace and lyking: ſo within ſmall time after, they diſſolued and cancelled of themſelues the articles which they had made with ſo great aduiſe, and to ſo good purpoſe: The ſeuenth day they chooſed Pope without any diſcorde of conſent, the Cardinal of *Medicis*, who tooke vpon him the name of *Leo* the tenth: He bare but xxxvij. yeres of age, which albeit was ſo muche the more marueilous and wonderfull, by howmuche the election was contrarie to cuſtome, yet the yong Cardinalls were the principall cauſers of it by their induſtrie, hauing long time afore ſecretly agreed amongeſt themſelues to create the firſt Pope of their number. The moſte partes and nations of Chriſtendome reioyced muche at this election, euery one enterteining an aſſured exſpectation of his vertues, aſwell by the preſent and greene memorie of the vallour of his late father, as for an vniuerſall reputation that went of his owne inclinations and liberalities: To this eſtimation alſo was ioyned a generall opinion of his continencie and life not attaynted, together with a gladſome hope that by theexample of his father, he would be a furtherer of learning, and beare fauor to wittes diſpoſed to ſtudie and knowledge: To theſe hopes was muche helping the maner of theelection, beeing made in his perſon ſincerely, and without ſymonie or ſuſpicion of other corruption. And it ſeemed that God began to approue and confirme his ſeate, for that the fourth day after his election, came into his power the Cardinalls of *S. Croſſe* and *S. Seuerin*, who aſſone as they heard of the death of Pope *Iulio*, went by ſea to *Rome* accompanied with thembaſſador of the French king: In their paſſage they ſtroke into the hauen of *Lyuorno*, where vnderſtanding that the Cardinall of *Medicis* was choſen Pope, they tooke lande, the one hauing confidence in the naturall inclination and clemencie of the Pope, and the other reappoſing muche in the auncient friendſhippe and ſtraite familiaritie had with him and with his brother: There they obteined ſafeconduit of the capteine of *Lyuorna*, whiche albeit ſtretched no further then the boundes of his iuriſdiction, yet without ſeeking other ſuretie, they went vp in that confidence to *Piſa*: In whiche Citie they were honorably receyued, and afterwards in no leſſe aſſurance conueied to *Florence*, where they were kept with that eaſie and fauourable garde, that they

Creation of Pope Leo the tenth.

had no disposition to departe: the same being the desire of the Pope, who sent to them the Bishop of *Oruietto* to exhorte them with words gracious and full of affection, that aswell for their proper surety, as for the present tranquilitie of the Church, they would abyde at *Florence* vntill the Court had determined in what manner they shoulde come to *Rome*: He willed them also, that whereas they had bene iudicially depriued, and their depriuation confirmed in the Councell of *Latran*, they shoulde forbeare to go in habites of Cardinalls, to thende that expressing signes of humiliation, he might take the better occasion to reduce and readresse their affayres accor-

Coronation of the Pope.

ding to their desire and his determination. The first act of this newe Pope was his Coronation, which was represented according to the vsage of his predecessors in the Church of *S. Iohn de Latran*: The pompe was so great both of his famulie & his Court, and also of the Prelates and multitudes that were there, together with the popular and vniuersall assemblies of peoples, that by the opinion and iudgement of men, the pride and maiestie of that action did farre surpasse all the celebrations that had bene done in *Rome* since the tyrannies of the *Goathes* and sauage nations: In this solemnitie the *Gonfalone* of the Churche was caryed by *Alfonso d'Este*, who hauing obteined a suspencion of his Censures and paynes, was come to *Rome*, wyth great hope that by the clemencie and facilitie of the Pope, he should be hable to compounde for his affayres: The *Gonfalone* of the religion of *Rhodes* was borne by *Iulio de Medicis* mounted vpon a stately Courser armed at all poyntes: by his nature he bare an inclination to the profession of armes, but by destinie he was drawen to the life ecclesiastike, in which estate he may serue as a wonderfull example of the variation of fortune. One matter that made the memorie of that daye wonderfull, was the consideration, that the person that then in so high and rare pompe was honored with the moste supreme and soueraigne dignitie of the worlde, was the yere before, and on the very same day, miserably made prisoner: The great magnificence that appeared vpon his person, and his expences, confirmed in the generalitie and multitude of men, thexpectation that was had of him, euery one promising that *Rome* shoulde be happie vnder a Pope so plentifully indued with the vertue of liberalitie, whereof that day he had giuen an honorable experience, his expenses beeing aboue an hundred thousande ducketts: But wyse men desired in him a greater grauitie and moderation: they iudged that neither suche a maiestie of pompe was conuenient for Popes, neyther did the condition of the present time require, that he should so vnprofitably disperse the treasors that had bene gathered by his predecessor to other vses.

Disposition of princes to the warre.

But suche was the disposition of Princes to warre, that neyther the chaunging of the Pope, nor the presence nor feare of other accidentes, were sufficient to establishe and assure the tranquillitie of *Italie*: euery one discerned that things of their proper inclination tended more to warre then to peace: for *Cæsar* woulde heare no more speaking of the rendring of *Verona*, fearing thereby to be depriued of all oportunitie and meane to haue any easie entry into *Italie*: And albeit the truce was prolonged for the full moneth of Aprill, yet he kept no rekoning of the condicions of accorde that had bene debated at *Millan*: And in that minde beeing discontented with thinstance and importunities of the king Catholikes Embassadors, he stucke not to tell the *Count* of *Carriato*, that for the inclination he expressed to the *Venetians* he deserued better to beare the name of an Embassador of *Venice* then of *Spayne*. But that whiche muche more augmented this disposition, was the truce that was made for a whole yere betwene the French king and the king Catholike tending onely to

thaffayres

thaffayres on the other ſide the Mountes: The oportunitie of which truce, gaue to the French king (being nowe deliuered of the ſuſpicions of *Spayne*) a great facilitie to renewe the warre in the duchie of *Millan*.

The king Catholike had neuer any diſpoſition to haue warre with the Frenche men beyonde the Mountes, for that beeing not mightie enough in money and treaſor, and therefore depending on the forces and aydes of the Barons and peoples of *Spayne*, eyther he had no readynes of ſuccours, or elſe by his neceſſities in tymes of warre, they would holde him with them as it were in ſubiection: But then principally he ſtoode confirmed in his auncient counſell, for that together with his owne tranquillitie and reſt, he was ſo muche the more aſſured of the Realme of *Nauarre* newly conquered by him: and withall for that ſince the death of queene *Iſabell*, his abſolute authoritie ouer *Caſtillo* beeing embaſed into a gouernment limited, he had not in troubled ſeaſons ſo great and firme authoritie: Of this he had ſeene a late experience in the action of the kingdome of *Nauarre*, wherein albeit he had an ende happie and honorable, yet it happned not by other meane then by the negligence and ſlowneſſe of ſuccours. And hauing no more deſire to returne to the daungers which he had ſuffred, and not knowing yet of the Popes death, he agreed to the truce, which neuertheleſſe was not publiſhed before he had receyued newes of the election of the new Pope. The better to iuſtifie him ſelfe of this vnlooked for deliberation, he alleaged that the Pope & the *Venetians* had behaued them ſelues towards him cleane contrarie to the league: for that ſince the battell of *Rauenna*, they neuer offred to pay to him the fortie thouſande duckets as they were bounde whileſt the French king poſſeſſed any thing in *Italie*: That onely he had had care of the common benefite of the confederates, and yet had not attributed to himſelf the rewards of the common victorie: That he did not poſſeſſe in *Italie* ſo much as a ſmall tower more then that he had before the warre. But the Pope had had regarde to his benefite particular, and made proper to him ſelfe the things that were common: That he occupied *Parma*, *Plaiſanca*, and *Reggia*, and nouriſhed a continuall ſtudie to poſſeſſe *Ferrara*: which couetouſneſſe of his had bene the onely impediment of the recouering of the Caſtells in the Duchie of *Millan* and the Lanterne of *Genes*: That touching his parte, he had interpoſed all his diligence and authoritie to worke thaccorde betweene *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, but the Pope for his proper intereſtes, labored to exclude them out of the league: wherein he ſayde his Embaſſadors had behaued themſelues vndiſcretly, who not conſenting (for that they knewe ſuche was his intention) that he was named in the head of the confederation, had ſuffred him to be expreſſed in that article wherein euery one named the confederates, of which the *Venetians* were not: Moreouer that in thoſe negociations and practiſes the *Venetians* had not aunſwered thopinion that men had of their wiſedome and diſcreſſion, holding ſuch an eſtimation and accompt of *Vincenſa*, that the feare to loaſe it, hath kept them from deliuering them ſelues from the trauells of the warre: That it was impoſſible to him to nouriſhe the armie he had in *Italie* without the payes and contributions that were promiſed, and muche leſſe reaſonable to ſuſteine the whole warre vpon the confines of his realmes, A matter which he knewe all the reſidue did deſire and procure: That the Pope coulde no more diſſemble his deſire and intention to take from him the kingdome of *Naples*: And yet notwithſtanding, neyther theſe preſent iniuries, nor the conſideration of other wrongs, could euer moue him to haue a thought to abandon the Churche and the other eſtates of *Italie*, ſo farre foorth as he might finde in them a reaſonable correſpondencie to contract and ca-

pitulate with him for their common defence: A matter which he hoped they would be moued vnto, the rather by thopportunitie and meane of this truce: He causèd to expresse in the instrument of the truce the names of *Cæsar* and the king of *Englande*, notwithstanding he had nothing cõmunicated with them: & therfore it was a thing very scornefull & ridiculous that at the same time that the truce was solemnly publisshed through all partes and regions of *Spayne*, A Heralt arriued euen in the action from the king of *Englande*, to signifie to him the strong preparations and furnitures of warre which he leauyed to inuade *Fraunce*, soliciting that he would likewise enter into the warre agaynst the king on the coasts of *Spayne*, according to the articles and promises reciprocally passed betweene them.

The truce made in this maner, amazed much in *Italie* the mindes of suche as had any discontentment with the rule or iurisdiction of the French men, euery one holding it almost for certaine, that the French king woulde not be long ere he sent an army on this side the Mountes: and also that by the obstinacie of *Cæsar* touching the conditions of the peace, the *Venetians* would ioyne with him, agaynst whom it seemed a very hard matter to be hable to resist, for that the *Spanish* army had nowe no more meane to be enterteined, notwithstãding they had at times drawẽ some sums of money out of thestate of *Millan* which stoode greatly impouerished with continuall expenses. Touching the new Pope, men could not discerne what was his intention: he seemed to wish secretly that the power of the French king should haue his ends & limites within the *Alpes:* and yet being newly ascended to the Popedom, and no lesse confused then the others for the truce that was made by the king Catholike in a time when men had greatest exspectation that he woulde applye his thoughts to the warre, he was in great doubt and variation of mind: Besides, he was angry, for that demaunding with great instance the restitution of *Parma* & *Placentia* to the church, he found a readynes of hope & promise, but very slow dispositions to execute & performe, all the others desiring to preserue them to the duchy of *Millan*, & happly hoping that his desire to recouer them, would induce him to the defence of that state: The *Svvizzers* seemed to be a more certayne and a more mightie defence & succour, but becausè the summes of money which according to the couenantes were necessary to wage & leauie them, could not be aduaunced neither by *Maximilian Sforce* nor the residue, there was great feare that in greatest necessitie that nation would not refuse to discende to the reskew of *Millan*.

On the other side the French king, after he had finished the truce, determined to sende an army into *Italie*, the reasons affore recited giuing him great hope of the victorie: To those reasons also he added the propertie of his owne iudgement vpon the people of *Millan*, who, vexed with so many taxes and impostes of the *Svvizzers*, and no lesse troubled with the harboring & payes made to the *Spaniards*, he knew had an vniuersall desire to returne eftsones vnder his obedience: he gathered by generall argument, that hauing nowe compared the heauy yoke of others with the easie impery of the French, the seueritie of the one woulde make the other lesse contemnible: And particularly he vnderstoode by many gentlemen, some relating to him selfe, and some enterteyning intelligence with *Triuulce*, whome the king had sent to *Lyon* the better to debate with them of *Millan*, that he was not to deferre to sende an armie, hauing their promise to take armes and be his, assoone as his armie were passed the Mountes. To these furtherances the king wanted no sort of continuall perswasions, aswell of *Triuulce*, as of others that were banished, who according to such as be depriued of the liberty of their naturall contrey, omitted no

reasons

reasons which might make thenterprise seeme easy, specially the *Venetians* beeing brought to ioyne with him in the action. But the matter that enforced the king to make haste, was the confidence he had to preuent with the ende of that expedition, the beginning of a warre which the king of *England* ment to make vpon him, which yet he could not begin till after certayne monethes: both for that that kingdome hauing liued many yeres in peace, was vpon the sodein disfurnished of armes and armor, of artilleries, & almost of all other necessary hablementes of warre: and also in great want of horses of seruice, for that to the inhabitantes of those regions, the seruice on foote is more familiar, then to make warre on horsbacke: and also the footemen lacking training & experience, the king of *England* was constrained for the better strength & habilitie of his army, to leauye a great number of *Almain* footemen: Matters which could not be dispatched without great tract of time. The french king in like sort made more hast to haue his army to march, for that he feared the castles & peces that held for him would be lost for want of vittels, but specially the lanterne of *Genes*, whiche not many dayes before had missed to releeue with vittells, a shippe sent for that effect: which from *Arbinga* being thither accompanied with three ships & one galeon, being entred the mayne sea with a good wind, had by a strainable gale passed thorow the middest of the *Genouvaies* flete, & cõming neare the castell of the Lanterne she cast anker, and throwing yet with good succesſe her cables to those of the castell, she began to vnlade her vittels and munitions whiche she had brought: But euen in the action and before the desolate soules of the Castels coulde take the frute of the benefite which their fortune seemed to offer, *Andrea Doria*, he who afterwards was so notable in marine seruice, thrust in with a great ship wherof he was owner, betwene the castel of the Lantern & the french ship, and cutting a sunder the cable that was caste to them of the castell and the cables that helde the ankers, he set vpon the ship with no lesse felicitie then peril, & albeit in the fight he was wounded in the face, yet by his vallour he wanne and caryed away the shippe. The king therefore beeing determined not to deferre the beginning of the warre, in which respect, and to be ready in al occasions, he had already sent many launces into *Burgondie & Dauphine*, he thought good now to harken with diligence after the matter debated vpon so many monthes with the *Venetians*: They had bene somewhat deferred and protracted aswell by the one as by the other party, both for that sometimes the hope to haue peace with *Cæsar*, & sometimes the great instance made by the *Venetians*, for *Cremona* & *Guiaradada*, had holden the king in suspence: And also in the senat the opinions of Councellors were diuerse, for that many of great authoritie in that cõmon weale, preferred thaccord with *Cæsar*: wherin they shewed that it would be more profitable to discharge them selues for the present of so huge expences, with freedome from daungers, thereby to be the more ready to embrase thoccasions that would offer, then their common weale being so ouerweried and trauelled, and the wealth of priuat men abated, to entangle theselues with new warres in companie of the Frenche king, whose amitie howe faythfull and assured it was, they were not without a late and greene experience. Neuertheleſſe the greater parte seeming that rarelye an occasion woulde ryse to make them recouer their auncient estate, and that thagrement with *Cæsar* (he reteyning *Verona*) would not deliuer them from troubles and daungers: they reiected all thoughtes and deuises for *Cremona* and *Guiaradada*, & resolued to make confederation with the french king, in whose Court it was concluded by *Andrea Gritti* representing already, more the person and place of an Embassador then of a prisoner. By this confederation, after it was graunted

that *Bart. Aluiano* & *Andrea Gritti* ſhould be ſet at liberty, the *Venetians* were bound to aide the king with eight hũdred men at armes, a thouſand fiue hũdred light horſmen, & ten thouſand footmen, & that againſt all ſuch as would riſe vp to let him for recouering of *Aſt*, of *Genes*, & the duchy of *Millan*: The king for his part was bound to ioyne with thẽ vntill they had recouered all that they poſſeſſed in *Lombardy* & the Marquiſdome of *Treuiſana*, afore the league of *Cambray*. Vpon the reſolution of this contract, *Iohn Iacques Triuulce* and *Bart. Aluiano* went to *Suſo*: the one to go from thence to *Venice* by the more ſure way, and the other to aſſemble there the army appoynted for the warre: It conteined vpon the full muſter xv. hundred launces, eight hundred light horſmen, and xv. thouſande footemen, whereof eight thouſande were Launceknights, and the reſidue of the French nation. This army was committed to the authoritie and guyding of *Monſr Trimouille*, whom the king appoynted his lieſe-tenaunt, to thend the action might proceede with moré reputation.

In this time the french king made great requeſt to the Pope not to hinder him in recouering his duchy of *Millan*: And the better to conteine the Pope, he offred that he would not only not paſſe further after the victory, but alſo would alwayes referre himſelfe to him to make peace vnder what conditions it ſhould pleaſe him beſt. To which motions albeit the Pope gaue gracious & willing eare, and that to drawe better faith to his words, he vſed to ſolicite with the king by the meane and labour of *Iulian* his brother, yet many things made him ſuſpected with the king: firſt the memory of things done afore the time of his Papacie: then ſince he was Pope, how he had ſent to him *Cinthio* his familiar & fauorit with letters & very frendly cõmiſſions, but ſo generall as they well declared the litle inclination of minde he bare to him or his affaires: alſo for that he had cõſented that *Proſp. Colõno* ſhould be elected captein generall ouer the duchy of *Millan*, A matter which his predeceſſor had alwaies hindred for the hatred he bare to the famuly of *Colonno*: he entred alſo into greater dout by a ſignification which the Pope addreſſed to the king of *England* to cõtinue ſtill in the cõfederation made with *Cæſar*, with the king catholike, & him: Laſtly he wrote to the cõmunalties of the *Svvizzers*, exhorting thẽ almoſt to the defẽce of *Italie*, wherin he could not diſſimule that he would continue with thẽ the cõfederation made by his predeceſſor, by the which they were boũd to the defence of the ſtate eccleſiaſtik, receiuing of him a yerely penſion of xx. thouſand duckets: It was alſo a ſigne of his wil & intẽtion, that he had not receiued into grace the duke of *Ferrara*, but by many excuſes deferred to render to him *Reggia* vntil his brother the cardinal came to *Rome*, who to auoide the perſecutions of Pope *Iulio*, was withdrawen into the countrey of *Hungaria*, & liued vpon his biſhoprike of *Agria*: But the matter that aboue all other things made the king enter into ſuſpicion againſt the Pope was, that he had in great ſecrecy counſelled the ſtate of *Venice* to come to accord with *Cæſar*: A matter cleane contrary to thintẽtion of the king: who alſo had interpreted in ill part, that the Pope declaring that he moued not for other reſpect thẽ to ſatisfie his ſoueraine duty, had writtẽ vnto him in a kind exhorting, not to take armes, but rather to expres a diſpoſitiõ to finiſh the warwith ſome honorable cõpoſition: a matter which the king would not haue blamed, if for the ſame deſire to peace he had alſo declared to the king of *England* that he ought not to make war vpõ the frẽch king. Sure this ſuſpiciõ of the king was not without cauſe, for that the Pope deſired that the French might be cut off from all ſeate & habitation in *Italy*, either for that he thought it more profitable for the cõmon ſurety, or for the greatnes & aduauncement of the church: or at leaſt that he kept ſtil fixed in his mind the remẽbrãce of harmes receiued by the crown of

Deſire of pope Leo to chaſe the Frenche out of Italy.

Fraunce, whervnto albeit his father & other his predeceſſors had borne no litle affection, & in ſundry accidents had reaped many honors & profites: yet it was an iniury freſhe in memorie that his brethren & he had bene expulſed *Florence* by the comming of king *Charles:* and that the king raigning bearing fauour to the popular gouernment, had eyther alwayes reiected them, or if at any time he ſhowed inclination to them, it was to vſe them as inſtrumentes to drawe the *Florentins* by that ſuſpicion to couenantes of more aduauntage for himſelfe, without bearing reſpect or care to them. To this perhaps was muche helping, a diſdayne that he was ledde priſoner to *Millan* after the battell of *Rauenna*, and by the kings commaundement ſhoulde haue bene caried in that calamitie into *Fraunce:* But what ſo euer was the diſpoſition of the Pope, or howe ſo euer his coniecture was caried for theſe or other cauſes, he proceeded aduiſedly, and diſſembled as muche as he could his intention, for that both he ſawe he had not ſo ſtrong fundations to reſiſt, as he wiſhed, and alſo he gaue eare dayly with great affection to the demaundes and complaintes made agaynſt the king: for the *Svvizzers* bearing an vniuerſall inclination, to ſtirre and ryſe for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, offred to enter into thaction with a farre greater number then before, ſo farrefoorth as they were furniſhed in preſte with a certayne ſumme of money, which for the pouertie and weaknes of others, could not be hoped for otherwiſe then of the Pope. Touching the *Viceroy*, his counſells were vncertayne, and his ſpeeches ſeuerall and ſuttle, for that ſometimes he offred the Pope to oppoſe agaynſt the Frenchmen, not ſparing to enter openly into the cauſe, by ſending his bands of ſouldiors to ioyne with him, and waging for three monethes a great number of footemen, and the rather to accompany his doings with fayth & credit, he cauſed to be retyred his ſouldiors from the townes of *Parma* and *Reggia*, and lay incamped with his army vpon the ryuer of *Trebia*, leauing notwithſtanding certayne bands of his ſouldiours for the garde of *Torrona* and *Alexandria*, ſuche as had not ſtirred from thence: Sometimes alſo he did aſſure that he had receiued commaundement from his king, and that at the ſame time that he wrote to him of the truce, to leade backe the armie to the kingdome of *Naples:* But *Ierome Vich* Embaſſador reſident with the Pope, vſed other ſpeeches, and yet he agreed with him in this, that his king promiſed, ſo farreforth as the Pope would take vpon him the defence of *Millan*, to beginne the warre in *Fraunce*, without bearing reſpect to the truce that had bene made: A libertie whiche he ſayd he might lawfully take without making violation of his fayth promiſed. Therefore it was beleeued of many that the king Catholike, fearing that by the truce that had bene made not one woulde appeare to oppoſe agaynſt the Frenche king, had commaunded the *Viceroy*, that if he ſawe none woulde proceede roundly to the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, that he ſhoulde not ſeeke to prouoke the Frenche king by newe iniuries, but ſhoulde retyre his armie to *Naples:* for whiche cauſe alſo he ſhewed to the king, a contentment to harken to the peace, offring withall to bring in *Cæſar* and the king of *Englande:* And to make him the more tractable if he ſhould recouer the Duchie of *Millan*, he made almoſte an aſſured promiſe that his armie ſhould be no impediment to him: So that the *Viceroy* who was determined to go his way, reuoked the ſouldiors that were vnder the Marquis of *Peſquiero* in *Alexãdria* and *Torrona*, and at the ſame time, as was ſayd, did communicate his reſolution to *Triuulce*, to thend his departing might be more acceptable to the French king: Neuertheleſſe he did not execute ſo ſpeedily his deuiſe, for that the *Svvizzers* very deſyrous to defende the Duchie of *Millan*, had ſente thither by common conſent

fiue thousande footemen, and giuen hope to supplye the seruice with a greater number: But making demonstration of the contrary, he sent *Prosper Colonno* to debate with the *Svvizzers* of the place where they should assemble against the frēch, either that he had receiued aduertisement that the truce was discontenting to *Cæsar*, or els that he was enioyned by new cōmissions from his king to folow the will of the Pope, who perseuered still in the same perplexities, suffring a conflict betweene his small hope & his proper inclination: And yet notwithstanding the *Svvizzers* being come vpon the territories of *Tortona*, where *Prosper* had signified to them that the *Viceroy* would come & ioyne with them, interposing many excuses, he labored thē to come vpon the lands of *Trebia* to ioyne with him: By which maner of solicitation they finding a diuersitie betwene his will and his words, made this braue aunswere, that the *Viceroy* made no such demaund to thend to go looke thenemies in the face, but to turne their backs with greater surety: They saide they cared not whether he feared to fight with the frenchmē or not, neither did it import thē, whether he went away, or whether he taried stil, whether he folowed, or whether he fled, for that their vallour onely did suffice to defende the duchie of *Millan* agaynst all enemies.

The Fr. men in the duchie of Millan.

But now was all the contrey in a mutinie, & the *Count Mussocke* sonne to *Iohn Iacques* was got into *Ast* without any impediment, & after into *Alexandria*, al those bāds of frenchmen which were parted frō *Susa*, marching with great diligence. The duke of *Millan* who was come somewhat to late to enter *Alexandria*, ioyned himself to the *Svvizzers* neare *Tortona*, and they being made to vnderstande by the *Viceroy* that he
" was determined to go his way, retired to *Nouarro*. Of all voluble things there is no-
" thing more light then reaport, & in times of mutation nothing lesse assured then the
" minds of people popular or cōmons, whom euery new occasion can cary and leade
" contrarie to all reason and confidence (that feare and fickleneſſe which they haue by nature beeing not hable to be assured by any order or discression:) for thinhabitantes of *Millan* at the first brute of the departing of the *Viceroy*, sent Embassadors to their Duke at *Nouarro* to excuse them, if hauing no habilitie nor meane of defence, they compounded with the French men, to thende to auoyde the extreame calamitie: He was tractable according to the condition of his present fortune, and with a minde humbled with the consideration of his miseries that were towards, he accepted willingly their excuse, recommending to them with words of great affection and zeale, to haue a charitable care ouer the safetie of the common countrey. Vpon this occasion *Sacromoro Viscounto* to whom was appoynted the besieging of the Castell of *Millan*, turned to the French, and reuittled the Castell which he was sente to batter and beate. The *Viceroy* brake vp from *Trebia* with all his armie, whiche was twelue hundred men at armes and eyght thousande footemen, to returne to the kingdome of *Naples*, as though the affayres of *Lombardie* had bene desperate: A reason onely wherein he soughte to saue his armie: But receyuing the same day in the way betweene *Plaisanca* and *Florenzola* letters from *Rome*, he caused immediatly the ensignes to marche backe agayne, returning to the same lodging from whence he was departed: The cause was, that the Pope, to whome almoste at the same tyme were rendred *Plaisanca* and *Parma*, determining to proue if the Duchie of *Millan* might be defended by the force of the *Svvizzers*, gaue very secretely to *Ierome Moron* the Dukes Embassador remayning in his Court, fortie two thousande duckettes to sende to the *Svvizzers*: but with this charge, that if the matter came to the knowledge of others, he should giue out, that twentie thousande of them were vppon the accompt of their pensions, and the other twentie

The Pope sendeth money to the Svvizzers.

two

two thousande to satisfie a pretended due to the three Cantons by his predecessor, but alwayes refused to be payed by him: This returning of the *Viceroy* with his armie, together with a brute of the descending of newe companies of the *Svvizzers*, made the *Millanois* eftsoones sorie for their sodaine reuolting and in that confusion betwene a newe hope and their olde feare, they gaue tokens to *Maximilian Sforce* their Duke, that they woulde bee readie to returne to his obedience, whensoeuer they saw the *Svvizzers* and the spanishe armie ioyne together in the field: And the more to nourrish them in these hopes, the *Viceroy*, with whom was *Prosper Colonno*, prepared to plant a bridge vppon *Pavv*, promising from time to time to passe ouer, but neuer did put it in effect, for that hauing a speciall care to saue his armie, he determined to proceede according as thinges fell out: He helde it very daungerous to haue the Frenchemen in his face, and the *Venetian* armie at his backe, who hauing alreadie taken the Citie of *Cremona*, and cast downe the bridge into the bottome of *Pavv*, were not farre from him: By this was *Bartl. Aluiano* gone from *Susa* to *Venice*: Where after he had in open councell without any contradiction, cast vppon the Count *Petillano* the fault of the ouerthrowe of *Guiaradada*, he spake very prowdlie of the present warre, and by the Senate was chosen Capteine generall of their armie with the same condicions vnder the which the Counte *Petillano* had bene preferred to the same degree: This estate and election happened to him much about the same time that foure yeares before he fell into the power of thenemies: so often doth fortune laugh at thignorance of mortall men deuising in their vaine fancies what shall happen vnto them: Assoone as he was chosen Generall, he went to tharmie that was mustering at *S. Boniface* vppon the demaines of *Verona*: *Theodar Triuulce* was with him as Liefetenaunt to the Frenche king, with whome he drewe neere in great diligence to the gates of *Verona* the selfe same day that the French armie parted from *Susa*: the reason of this expedicion was, that in that Citie certaine factions had conspired to receiue him in: But the day after, a strength of fiue hundred launceknightes entred the towne by the riuer of *Adice*, by which impediment together with the detection of the conspiracie *Aluiano* loasing all hope to preuaile determined, contrarie to thauthoritie of the *Venetian* assistant, to drawe towardes the riuer of *Pavv*, either to stoppe the *Spanyards*, or else according to the state and behauiour of thinges, to ioyne with the French armie: A resolution which he did not imparte to the Senate vntill he was gone from *Verona* one bayte, for that notwithstanding he alleaged that the whole depended vppon that which shoulde succeede in the Duchie of *Millan*, and that there the affaires of the Frenchemen being in ill condicion, whatsoeuer should be attempted or obteined in any other place woulde be but vaine and not durable, and therefore it was necessarie by all possible meanes, to helpe to make the Frenche king victorious: yet he feared (and not without cause) that the Senate woulde be against it, not so muche for the desire he had that there shoulde be first a care to recouer *Verona* and *Bressia*, as for that certeine other of the Capteines allowed not that they shoulde passe the riuer of *Mincia*, onlesse they had first a more particular knowledge of the proceedinges of the Frenche: wherein they shewed, in case of any inconuenience, howe hard it woulde be to retyre in safetie hauinge to passe by the confines of *Verona* and *Mantua*, contreys either subiected, or at the deuocion of *Cæsar*: *Valeggia* and the towne of *Pesquiero* fearinge the threates of *Aluiano*, yeelded them selues to him, by whose example also the castellkeeper gaue vp the rocke, his feare beeing greater then that any hope could assure him: onely he receiued by composition a

Bartl. Aluiano Captaine generall of the Venetians.

Aluiano taketh Pesquiero and other places.

ſmall ſumme of money aſwell for him ſelfe, as alſo to be ſhared amongeſt certayne launceknightes that were within it. About the ſame time certayne of the chieftains of the Mountayne, entred into *Breſſia* in fauor of the *Venetians* with a great ſtrength of peiſantes: And yet *Aluiano*, neither for the requeſtes of the *Breſſian* Embaſſadors which came to him to *Gambaro*, nor at the deſire of the *Venetian* Aſſiſtante, coulde not be brought to conſent to go thither and remayne there onely one day, to recouer the Caſtell that was kepte in the name of the *Viceroy*, ſo great was his deſire to followe without intermiſſion his firſte deliberation: With whiche celeritie beeing come to the gates of *Cremona*, he founde that at the ſame time *Galeas Paluoiſin* (called by certayne of *Cremona*) was entred in fauor of the Frenche king: But hauing in him no leſſe ambition then vallor, and not liking that any other ſhoulde participate with him in the glory of that action, he brake and put to pray his bandes of ſouldiors, and entring the towne he ſtripped *Cæſar Fieramoſqua* that was left there in garriſon with three hundred horſe and fiue hundred footemen of the Duke of *Millans*. He had not to loaſe time to recouer the Caſtell, for that it had bene alwayes holden by the French king, and newly reuitled a litle before by *Ranſe de Cere*: who as he returned to *Crema* where he was appoynted gouernour, he brake a trowpe of two hundred horſmen of *Alexander Sforce*, which he encoūtred at *Serzana*. From thence *Aluiano* encamping at the channell vpon *Pavv* with the bridge made to paſſe ouer, he could not let his ſouldiors to do inſolencies ſometimes vpon the landes of the Pope, his diſcipline not being hable to conteine the men who had as great cuſtome in ſpoyling as in well ſeruing. Afterwards he marched to *Piſqueton*, hauing already for the mutation of *Cremona*, *Soncino*, *Lody*, and other places thereaboutes, aduaunced the French enſignes: But affore, aſſone as he had recouered *Cremona*, he had ſent to *Breſſia*, *Ranſe de Cero* with one parte of the men of warre, both to aſſure that Citie, and to recouer the Caſtell, but muche more to hinder the good ſucceſſe of *th Almains*: for that almoſte aſſone as he was broken vp from before *Cremona*, *Rocand* capteine of the Launceknightes and *Feder Gonſago de Boſſolo* iſſuing out of *Verona* with ſix hundred horſe and two thouſande footemen, were gone to *S. Boniface*, where *Aluiano* had lefte vnder *Sigiſmond Cauallo* and *Iohn Fortin*, three hundred light horſemen and ſixe hundred footemen: and they beeing ſcattered in the countrey without all diſcipline and order, hearing of the comming of thenemies, were fledde to *Colorguo*, where the Launceknightes following them in chaſe, entred the towne by force, and committing all the ſouldiours to the calamitie of priſoners, they ſackte and burnte the towne. Afterwardes their furie redoubling with their fortune, they executed the lyke crueltie vppon *Saouo*, and brake downe the bridge whiche the *Venetians* had made ouer *Adice*: yea they had with the ſame rigour occupied *Vincenſa*, if a great ſtrength of peiſantes had not ſodaynely entred: Whiche maner of actions in that kynde of crueltie were ſo much the more feared, by howmuche the brute ranne, that there came to *Verona* newe ſupplies of footemen out of *Tyroll*.

Genes at the deuotion of the French.

About this time the Frenche Nauie conteining nyne light gallies and certayne other veſſels, drewe neare to *Genes* by ſea: And *Antho.* and *Ierome* brethren of the houſe of *Adorna*, approched by lande with the fauor of thoſe of the ryuers that helde their faction, with other bandes of ſouldiours that had bene leauyed with the kings money: This action was aduaunced with the benefite of a great occaſion, by reaſon of a diſcorde hapned a litle before betweene the *Fieſquois* and the duke of *Genes*, with whom they were at firſt confederate agaynſt the famulie of the *Adornei*: This

was

was the manner of the accident: either for some quarrell that hapned by chaunce, or for some suspicion that could not be tempered, *Ierom* the sonne of *Iohn Lovvys fiesquo*, comming out of the common pallaice, was slaine by *Lodovvyk* and *Fregosin*, the Dukes brothers: for which iniurie, the violence being greater then their abilitie to reuenge, *Othobon* and *Sinybald* his brethren, retyring to their castells, and a litle after contracting with the french king and conspyring with the *Adornes*, approched neare to *Genes* by an other way with foure thowsand footemen. The Duke was not mighty enough of him selfe to make resistance against both the famulies of *Fiesqua* and *Adorna* ioyned together, and by the celeritie and diligence of his aduersaries, the succors which he had demaunded of the *Viceroy*, could not ariue in time: And as one aduersitie draweth on an other, and no euill comes vnaccompanied, so the thing that in this condicion of fortune, did wholly embase him, was, that a thowsand of his footemen who were possessed of the Mounteines neare the towne, were ouerthrowen, their weakenes beeing not able to resist the calamitie that his destinie did hasten on: In which aduersitie or persecution of fortune, the Duke together with *Fregosin*, hauing skarce leasure to saue his owne life, fled away by sea, leauing *Lodovvyk* his other brother to gard the castell: In which oportunitie the Victors entred *Genes*, where the brethren of the famulie of *Fiesqua* caried with furious desires of reuenge, murdred and cruelly caused to be drawne at a horse tayle *Zachary* the Dukes brother, who had bene taken in the encownter vpon the Mountaines, & was present with the others at the slaughter of their brother: And so *Genes* beeing reduced to the deuocion of the french king, *Anth. Adorna* was created gouernor in the name of the king, and as the french nauie by sea, reuittled the lanterne and afterwards sacked *Spetia*, and then roade at *Portouenere*: so there now remeyned no more but *Nouaro* and *Como*, to make perfect the kings conqueſt, & recouering of all those estates which he had lost the yeare before: only those two cities through the whole Duchie of *Myllan*, held out yet for *Maxymylian Sforce*.

But the glory of this warre was reserued to the great infamie of all others, not to the french men, not to *th Almain* footemen, not to the spanish regiments, nor to the *Venetian* bands: But it was an honor, a reputacion, a renowme, and perpetual praise prepared by destinie for the *Svvyzzers* onely, against whom the french armie, hauing first left sufficient garrison within *Alexandria* the better to assure those peeces that were beyond *Pavv*, drewe neare to *Nauarro* brauing in great arrogancie of so many happy successes, boasting of thennemies whom they had inclosed within the walls, and contemning the manifest feare of the *Spanyards*: Besides, there seemed to present to the memorie of men, as it were an image and representacion of thinges that had bene passed: That that was the same *Nouarro* wherein *Lodovvyk Sforce* father to the Duke raigning, was made prisoner: That in the french campe were the same leaders, *Trymouille*, and *Tryuulco*: yea certeine of the same enseignes and Capteines of those Cantons which in an other warre had solde the father, did nowe accompany the sonne in this warre: This made *Monsr Trymouille* write proudly to the king that he would sende to him prisoner, the sonne from the same place where he had deliuered into captiuitie the father: The french men did violent execucions vpon the walls of *Nauarro* with their artillerie, but in a place of no lesse difficultie then daunger to discend into the towne, And for the *Svvyzzers*, they contemned them so much and showed to haue so litle feare of their vallours, that they would neuer suffer to be shut that gate of the towne that was towardes the campe: After thartillerie had beaten downe to the earth, a sufficient space of the wall, the armie

Nouaro beseged by the french.

without prepared furiously to thassalt, but finding so valiant resistance within, and vnderstanding they did presently exspect *Altosaszo* a Capteine of greate renowme with a farre greater supply, they doubted of the successe of thenterprise, which made them the day following to retyre from the wals of *Nouarro* two myles, hoping afterwards to cary the victorie more by the disorders and wants of thennemies, then by the fortune or furie of their armes: They hoped to doe more by temporising then by present action, and looked that other accidents would make easie the enterprise which was almost desperat to their vallour: But these hopes were made vaine by the resolute minde of *Motyn* one of the *Svvyzzer* Capteines, who calling together all the bands of souldiours vppon the market place of *Nouarro*, encouraged them with wordes full of resolucion, and assurance, that without tarying for the succours of *Altosaszo* who was to arriue the day following, they should yssue out and set vppon their enemies in their campe: he told them howe farre it was contrary to their honor, and reputacion of their vallour to suffer the glory and victory which they might appropriat to them selues, to become common, or rather wholly transferred to an other: seeing (sayth he) that as things that follow drawe with them such as goe afore, and thencreasing of any thing couetreth the part that is augmented, so the merit and praise of this warre would not be cast vppon vs, but vppon the supplies that came after: By how much the enterprise may seeme hard and perillous by so much the yssue is to be considered more easie and sure, for that the more suddeine and vnexspected are accidents, the more doe they terrifie and amaze the men that suffer them: The french men will rather doubt all other thinges at this hower then to be charged by vs, and yet where they lye incamped, they can not but suffer disorder, the place being neither intrenched nor fortefied: The french men were neuer wont to haue the courage to goe to battell if their armies were not full of our men, And though of late they haue aduentured to fight without vs, yet they were neuer so hardy once to lift vp their weapons against vs: So that it can not but bringe to them great astonishment when they see them charged vppon the suddeine, aboue exspectacion, in a time of their feare, and by those bodies whose vertue and resolucion were wont to encourage and assure them: Stand not amazed with the multitude of their horsemen, nor the furie of their artillerie, since we haue had many experiences, what confidence they reappose in those thinges against vs: it is but two yeares sithens *Gaston de Foix* so braue a Capteine, notwithstanding he was stronge in multitudes of launces and cannons, gaue place to our armes and suffered vs to passe by him along the plaines euen to the gates of *Myllan*, and yet we were not otherwayes armed then with pykes: They haue nowe with them many bandes and companies of launceknightes, A matter that doth so much the more encourage me to thenterprise, by how much fortune doth offer vs at one time an occasion both to showe to him who with so great couetousnes and with so great ingratitude hath contemned our trauells and our blud, that he neuer made a worse resolucion either for the honor of him selfe, or profit of his Realme: And also to declare to those that thinke that themployment & seruice of their persons, is sufficient to make vs perish of hunger, that the launceknightes are not equall to the *Svvyzzers*, and albeit they beare with vs one language and forme of discipline, yet they haue neither the same vallour nor the same resolucion: The prayse they beare for seruice is lesse by their proper merit, then for their naturall vertue, more by the name of their nation and Auncestors, then by any experience of their owne bodies, not so much in deede and substance, as in reapport and opinion, not equall to the show they make, and farre inferior

The wordes of Capteine Motyn to the Swyzzers.

riour to the vniuerſall coniecture, yea they are but ſhadowes whoſe bodies be farre of: all their perill is to winne their artillerie, and yet in the action you haue theſe comfortes, that it is not planted in a place fortified, that our inuaſion is ſodayne, and to thenterpriſe beareth a ſpeciall fauor the darkneſſe of the night: And whyleſt we are at the feight there can domage vs but a very ſmall ſpace of time, which yet can not but be cut off with the tumult, with their diſorders, with their feares, and with the ſodayne confuſion of things. Touching the reſidue, this brings facilitie to the action, that neither their horſemen dare venture vpon our pykes, nor their vyle trowpes of French footemen and *Gaſcons*, will enter the skirmiſhe with vs. This is the counſell, this is the plot, and this is the enterpriſe, wherein we ſhall make no leſſe proofe of our wiſedomes and gouernment, then of our vallour and reſolution. Our nation beareth that reputation and fame, that the glory of our name can not be preſerued, but by attempting ſome matter beyonde the exſpectation and common vſage of all men: And ſince we are vpon the territories of *Nouarro*, the place it ſelfe ſpeakes to vs, that in other ſorte we can not quenche the auncient infamie we gotte here in the paye and ſeruice of *Lodovvike Sforce*: It is a double honor to be reuenged of infamie. It is a vyle infirmitie in a man of warre, to ſuffer the reparation of honor to be more ſlowe then the infamie, and to refuſe to recouer the reputation loſt, is to be guyltie of the ſlaunder and to confirme it: A diſpoſition moſte baſe in the minde of a ſouldiour, who of all other ſortes of men ought to be moſt ielouſe of his honour. Let vs go on then in the name of the great God, the perſecuter of ſchiſmatikes, excommunicantes, and all enemies to his name: Let vs marche on to a victorie no leſſe eaſie then aſſured, if we haue not mindes to feare the thing we haue not proued: And by howe muche the daunger ſeemeth great, by ſo muche ſhall our name be made glorious, and the greater our enemies be in number, the more ſhall we be enriched by their ſpoyles: Things got with moſte difficultie are of moſte merite, and where is hope of honor, pray, and perpetuall prayſe, what can be wanting to prouoke ſuche as you are to the feight.

At theſe ſpeches of *Motin* all the bands of ſouldiours began to reioyce, euery one approuing his deuiſe by holding vp his hande: he commaunded them to go to reſt, and to cheriſhe ſomewhat their perſons, the better to fall into araye when the drum ſhould ſtrike. The nation of *Svvizzers* neuer made a more braue, nor more reſolute counſell, beeing but a fewe in number, without horſemen, and without artilleries, agaynſt an armie moſte mightie in men, munitions, horſes, and all other things meete for defence: Beſides, they ſtoode not deſperate for anye neceſſitie, for that both *Nouarro* was deliuered from daunger, and they exſpected the daye after a great ſtrength of ſouldiors: They made rather a choyſe of this waye wherein the ſurety was leſſe, and the hope of glory greater, then any other, that for a greater ſafetie there might happen to them a leſſe glory. The ſixte day of Iune about midnight they iſſued out of *Nouarro*, bearing mindes leſſe affected to ſafetie then to glorie: their whole ſtrength was about ten thouſande men, who were ſo diſtributed and diſpoſed, that ſeuen thouſand were appoynted to charge thartillerie which was garded by the Launceknightes, the reſidue were to be beſtowed with their pikes an end vpright oueragaynſt the men at armes. The Frenchmen, what for the ſhortneſſe of the tyme, or that they doubted no ſuche accident, or at leaſt looked not for it ſo ſoone, had made no fortification of their campe: And albeit at the firſt tumult and alarme that their ſentinell made of the comming of thenemies, the ſodenneſſe of the aduenture, and the darkneſſe of the night, brought vpon them a great feare and

confusion: yet both the men at armes drewe forthwith into strength, and presented them selues in battelray, and also the Launceknightes who were followed with the other bands of footemen, fell presently into order: The artillerie shotte off with great noyse agaynst those squadrons of *Svvizzers* that came to assayle it, making lamentable slaughters, and deuiding their places and rankes, which was rather discerned by the cryings of men, then by the benefite of the eyes, the vse whereof was taken away by the darkenesse of the night: Neuertheleſſe, suche was their desperate resolution, that neither respecting their death present, nor discouraged with the slaughter of their felowes slayne at their feete, and for all these daungers not once breaking their order, they ranne as faste as they coulde vpon thartillerie: and being come to it, the launceknightes and they had together a bloudy medley, the one fighting agaynst the other with an vnappeasable furie, which in them both was so muche the more redoubled, by howmuche in the one was infinite the humor of hate, and in the other no lesse resolute the desire of glory. There might haue bene seene (for nowe the sunne began to showe) the estate and diuersitie of the feight, sometimes one side to yeelde, sometimes the other: oftentimes that part to seeme to preuayle which earst was thought to haue the worst: on one side, and in one time the one battell to swaigh, and the other to aduaunce, some to exspect aduauntage, some to lose no oportunitie, one parte to inuade furiously, and an other parte to resiste hardly: all things on all partes full of dead bodies, wounded men, and of blood: sometimes the capteines would valiauntly enter into thoffice of souldiours, bothe striking their enemies and defending them selues, and sometimes they woulde discretly manage the place of capteines, encouraging, prouiding, succoring, releuing, and commaunding: there was nothing lesse feared then death, nor any thing more abhorred then feare: the greatnes of the perill made both sides more resolute then any other thing: On the other side the trowpes of men at armes stoode firme without doing any seruice, for neither the authoritie, the perswasions, the commaundementes, thexclamations, the threatnings, nor the example of *Triuulco* and *Trimouillo*, could do any thing to moue the horsemen, whose mindes were already made tymerous: Neither the consideration of their owne perill, (whiche their cowardise made the greater) nor the calamities of their fellowes (which were redoubled by the feare they showed) could once drawe them to the charge: They seemed to stande and abide the daunger which by fighting they might haue auoyded: It sufficed the *Svvizzers* to keepe them impaled in their rankes, and to let them from ministring succours to the footemen: Suche was the calamitie of that feight, that those found moste certentie of perill who ventured furtheſt for their safetie, and on such whose feare was greater then their vallour, fortune threwe moste fauour and securitie: At laste in so great a hardinesse and vallour of such as fought, the vertue of the *Svvizzers* caryed the battell, who hauing wonne thartilleries, turned them vppon their enemies, whom they put to flight aswell by that meane as by their incredible vertue: To the flying of the footemen was ioyned the breaking and running away of the men at armes, who in that seruice shewed no vertue, nor did any thing worthy of merite or prayse: onely the lorde *Robert la Marche* caryed with a vehement affection of a father, entred the battell of the *Svvizzers* with a squadron of horsemen, to reskew *Florango* and *Iames* his sonnes, capteines of *Almain* footemen, who lying sore wounded on the earth, his vallour to the great wonder of the *Svvizzers*, drewe them on liue out of that daunger: The battell continued about two howres, bothe parties receiuing no small discomfiture. There was slayne of the *Svvizzers* about fifteene

The Frenchemen defeated by the Svvizzers.

fiueteene hundred bodies, of which number was that Capteine *Motyn* that was the first mouer of that glorious councell: his deathes wounde was by a thrust of a pyke thorow the throate: But farre greater was the slaughter of thennemies, of whome some say were left dead ten thowsand carkasses: The most part of the launceknights died in fighting, and the greatest execucion and slaughter on the french and *Gascon* footemen, was in fleeing: Almost all the horsemen went away in sauetie, the chasse being so swift that the *Svvyzzers* were not able to followe them: if the *Svvyzzers* had had horsemen, they had made their calamitie equall with the footemen; their feare beeing greater and their disorder nothing inferior: All the baggage and stuffe became a pray to the Victors, with xxij peeces of great artillerie and all the horses assigned for the seruice of the same: The same day the *Svvyzzers* returned into *Nauarro* almost triumphantly, but with such reputacion and renowme thorow out the world, that what with the consideracion of the magnanimitie of their enterprise, the euident reiecting and despising of death, the resolucion they showed in the fight, & the happy and honorable victorie of the same, there were some that durst preferre this action, almost affore all the enterprises worthy of memorie which we read set downe vpon the *Greekes* and *Romains*: The french men fled into *Pyedomont*, from whence *Tryuulco* lost time to cry after them, their feare being swifter in fleeing then his force able to follow them.

Vpon the reaport of this victorie *Myllan* with all the other places that were declared for the french, humbled them selues and sent to demaund pardon, which accordingly was graunted to them vppon bondes and condicions to disburse a great porcion of money: Thinhabitants of *Myllan* were taxed at two hundred thousand duckats, and euery particular of the others rated according to his behauior: The whole taxacion was giuen to the *Svvyzzers*, to whom ought iustly to be transferred aswell the gaine as the glorie of the victorie gotte with their vallour and with their blud: And as men whose felicitie made them to accompt it to good equitie to draw all the frute they could, they entred afterwards into the Marquisdom of *Montferrat* and *Pyedmont*, contreyes which they charged to haue receiued the french armie: There, partly by pillage, and partly by raunsoming the poore peoples, they raysed a great gaine, forbearing notwithstanding to touche either the life or honor of persons: The *Spanyards* also were not altogether depriued of the profits of the victorie for that *Ianus* lastly chassed out of *Genes*, and *Octauian Fregoso* (both which aspyred to be Duke) being retyred to the *Viceroy* after the battell, the *Viceroy* preferring *Octauian*, for whom the Pope did what he could in regard of their auncient amity, and withall receiuing his promise to paye him l. thowsand duckatts when he should be possessed of *Genes*, he deliuered him three thowsand footemen vnder the Marquis of *Pisquiero*, and for his owne part, went with the residue of tharmie to *Chiesteggio*, making semblance to passe further if neede required: As the Marquis and *Octauian* drewe neare to *Genes*, the brethren of the famulie of *Adorno*, knowing their owne weakenes abandoned the towne without any triall of resistance: And immediatly entred *Octauian* and was created duke of that citie which in the course of a yere had for gouernors the french men, *Ianus Fregoso*, the *Adorney*, and *Octauian*. *Bartlemevv Aluiano* hearing of the ouerthrowe giuen to the french armie, and fearing least he should be also put to the chasse by the *Spanyards*, retyred with speede to *Pontvvicquo* leauing in the way (for losing of time) certeine peeces of artillerie whose inconueniencie and slownes of cariage might haue bene an impediment to the expedicion of his marching: from thence he sent *Ranso de Cere* vnto *Crema*, And after he had a-

bandoned *Breſsia* he wente to *Tomba* neare to *Adice*, neuer reaposing in any place longer then the neceſſitie to refreſhe his men and horſes, did conſtraine him: The reaſon of his abandoning *Breſsia* & diſpoſing *Ranſa de Cere* in *Crema*, was, for that he held it a matter very vnprofitable to diminiſhe tharmie wherein were remeining ſix hundred men at armes, a thowſand light horſemen, and fiue thowſande footemen: he marched with the ſame celeritie that he retyred to *Pontvvicqua*, and had ſo great feare and disfauor of the contrey, that the leaſt companies that had followed them might haue ſufficed to haue diſordered and broken them: When he ſaw that both feare and perill ceaſſed, ſince no man followed him, he ſtayed at *Tomba*, where he gaue order to be conueyed to *Padoa* and to *Treuiſa*, the greateſt prouiſion of vittells that he could draw from the territories of *Verona*: And at the ſame time he ſent to *Leguague* with lx. men at armes and twelue hundred footemen, *Iohn Pavvle Baillon*, who, being immediatly receiued by thinhabitantes of the towne where was no garriſon, gaue aſſault to the rocke which was garded by a hundred & fifty footmen, parte Spaniſh and parte launceknightes: he firſt did execution vpon it with thartillerie battering that place that had his proſpect towardes the greene: In this aſſault it may be a queſtion which had more force, vallour or fortune, for that during the feight, the fire by aduenture faſtning vppon the munitions by meane of certeine inſtrumentes of artificiall fiers throwen by thoſe that were without, part of the rocke was burned: In which tumult the footmen that gaue thaſſault being entred ſome at the breach, & ſome by ladders, killed & tooke priſoners ſo many as they found within, their Capteine that was a Spaniard falling with much a doe into the fortune of a priſoner: After thenterpriſe of *Leguague*, *Aluiano* cauſed to builde a bridge vppon *Adice*, and afterwardes certeine inhabitantes of *Verona* giuing him hope that they woulde mutine againſt *th Almaines*, he went to incampe at the village of *S. Iohn* a quarter of a mile from *Verona*: And from thence the morning following drawing neare to the gate called *S. Maximo*, he planted his artilleries with great furie againſt the tower of the gate and the wall ioyning to it, exſpecting in the meane while if there would riſe any tumult in the towne: And after he had brought downe to the earth about fortie faddom of the wall, beſides the tower, whoſe fall was ſuch that the ruines ſerued for a very ſtrong rampier to the gate, he gaue a very hotte and furious aſſault: But there were within *Verona* three hundred horſemen & three thowſande launceknightes vnder *Rocandolphe* a Capteine much eſteemed, by whom was made a valliant defenſe: beſides, the breach was verie high on the townes ſide which made the diſcending vneaſie, and laſtly they of *Verona* ſtirred not according to the hopes that were giuen: So that *Aluiano* ſeeing what difficulties reſiſted his victorie, retyred his footemen: from before the walls, and beganne alſo to withdraw thartillerie: When chaunging councell in a moment, and, as was ſuppoſed, by a certeine meſſage which he receiued from the towne, he returned immediatly his footemen to the walls, & recontinued thaſſault with a greater furie then before: But he found the former difficulties redoubled, & the faction that had called him, ſo terrified and wearied, that hauing loſt at thaſſault more then two hundred of his people of whom *Tho. Fabro* of *Rauenna* Mariſhal of his footemen was one, he began to diſpaire wholly of the victorie, and retyring with great diligence his artillerie, he returned the ſame day to the lodging from whence he was departed the morning: That day he was nothing eſteemed either for his councel or for the iſſue of the ſame, only his celeritie was renowmed thorow out *Italie*, for that in one day he had done that, which hardly other Capteines are wont to doe in three or foure: After all this he gaue the

ſpoyle

ſpoyle to the countrey, prouing by that feare to conſtrayne thinhabitantes of *Verona* to come to ſome accorde. But by this did the Spaniſhe armie marche and come on, for that the *Viceroy* after he heard of the loſſe of *Leguague*, fearing leaſt by the yll diſpoſition of the towneſmen, *Verona* would ſet open her gates to the *Venetians*, determined to giue preſent ſuccours to the actions of Cæſar: wherein he had nowe no impediment, nor was not reteyned ſince the affayres of *Genes* had happily ſucceded. Therefore after he had paſſed without difficultie the ryuer of *Pavo* at *Stradella*, and that the cities of *Bergama* and *Breſcia* were rendred to him without reſiſtance together with the towne of *Peſquiera*, he encamped before the caſtell that was manned with two hundred & fifty footmen: This peece, notwithſtanding by cõmon opinion might haue holden out yet certaine daies, came by force into his power, the *Venetiã* ruler being made priſoner and all the reſidue of the footemen that were not ſlaine at the aſſault: for that the Spaniards approched, *Aluiano* retyred to *Albero* to the other ſide of *Adice*, and called to refurniſhe his army, ſuche numbers as he could, not onely certaine bands of footmen which were at *Poliſena Rouigna*, but alſo euen thoſe regiments whom he had left within *Leguaguo*. A litle after the launceknightes ioyned at *S. Martin* with the *Viceroy*, who alſo after the recouery of *Leguagua* went to *Montagnana*: And the *Venetians* who held no more in that quarter but *Padoa* and *Treuiſa*, caring for no other thing then the preſeruation of thoſe cities, ordeined that the army ſhould be diſtributed in them, & that *Io. P. Baillon*, with whõ were *Malateſta Sogliano* and the knight *la Volpe*, ſhould be beſtowed in *Treuiſa* with two hundred mẽ at armes three hundred light horſmen, & two thouſand footmen, *Aluiano* remaining in *Padoa* with the reſidue of the army. There, in conſidering the fortifications and ſtate of the baſtillions, & giuing perfectiõ to many things that were vnperfect, he cauſed to diſmantell & raze vp all the houſes and cut downe all the trees that were within three miles about *Padoa*, to make more hard & daungerous thapproch of thenemies, and to giue to their ſeruice neceſſitie of multitudes of laborers and poyners.

But whileſt the matters of warre proceeded in this ſorte, the Pope trauelled with great induſtry to weede out of the Church the diuiſion brought in by the coũcell of *Piſa*: A matter as it wholly depended vpon the will of the French king, ſo he labored to appaiſe him by manỹ meanes: He aſſured the king that touching the rumor that ranne that he had ſent money to the *Svvizzers*, it was a falſe brute ſuborned by men of litle fidelity, ſince he referred him ſelfe to all his actions, wherin he had expreſſed to deſire nothing more then an vniuerſal peace, & to be the cõmon father of al princes chriſtned: And he alleaged how greeuous it was to him that his diſſention with the church, depriued him of al meanes to know how naturally he was inclined to his amity, ſeing that for the honor of the ſea apoſtolike, & the dignitie of his perſon, he was cõſtrained to procede with him ſeuerally, vntill by his returning to the obediẽce of the church of *Rome*, it were lawful for him to receiue him as king *moſt chriſtian*, & embraſe him as the eldeſt ſonne of the church. The king alſo for the regard of his affaires, deſired the vniõ of his kingdom with the church, the ſame being alſo demaũded by al his peoples, & the queene no leſſe concurrant then the reſidue: it was well diſcerned by the king & his coũcell that there could be no hope of alliance with the Pope in matters tẽporal, if firſt they fell not to agreement for controuerſies ſpiritual: for which cauſe either truſting in dede, or at leaſt diſſẽbling vnder ſhowes & ſeming to giue faith to his words, he ſent to him as embaſſador to negociate in theſe cauſes the Biſhop of *Marſeilles*: at whoſe cõming the Pope by decree of the councell reinueſted the Biſhops and Prelates of *Fraunce* with power to purge thẽſelues of their

The Pope ſeekes to appeaſe the king.

contumacie during the whole moneth of Nouember. Agaynſt theſe Cleargie men his predeceſſor had proceeded rigorouſly by waye of threatning as agaynſt perſons guyltie of ſchiſme: And the ſame moarning wherein this decree was determined, there was read in the councell a writing ſubſcribed by *Bernar.Caruiagall* and *Feder.S. Seuerin*, wherin forbearing to name themſelues Cardinals, they approued al the acts of the councel of *Latran*, & promiſed to cleaue to the ſame & obey the Pope. In this action conſequently they confeſſed themſelues to be lawfully depriued of the eſtate of Cardinals, which priuation being done by Pope *Iulio*, had bin in his life time confirmed by the ſame councell. It had bene debated afore in the conſiſtorie to haue them reſtored, but the reſolution was afterwards deferred for thimpedimēt of thembaſſadors of *Cæſar* and the king of *Aragon*, together with the Cardinalls of *Sion* and *Yorke*, who alleaged that it was a matter vnworthy the maieſtie of the ſea Apoſtolike and of very ill example to pardon the authors of ſo great wickedneſſe accompanied with manifeſt abhomination & impietie: A matter which the laſte Pope had conſtantly mainteined againſt them euen to the laſt moment of his life, and that for no other cauſe then for the publike benefite. But the Pope raigning inclined to that ſide that was leaſt rigorous, iudging it more eaſy and worthy to quenche altogether the name of the councell of *Piſa*, rather with clemencie then with ſeueritie: Beſides, he would not ſtirre vp the minde of the French king, who was a diligent interceſſor for them: neither was he caryed agaynſt them by any particuler hatred, for that neither was the iniurie done to him, neither before his pontificacie he nor his brethren had bene great friendes to *Federike*: for which reaſons, of his owne motion he cauſed to be read before the fathers of the councell the writing of their humiliation, and aſſigned a day for their reſtoring, which was done in this maner: *Bernar.* and *Feder.* entred ſecretly into *Rome* by night without eyther habite or ceremonies of Cardinalls, and the moarning folowing being to preſent themſelues before the Pope ſitting in full conſiſtory with the preſence of all the Cardinals, except the *Svvizzer* and the *Engliſh*, who refuſed to aſſiſt the action: They firſt paſſed apparelled as ſimple prieſtes, with blacke bonnets on their heades through all the publike places of the pallace of *Vatican*, where they had lodged: A wonderfull concourſe & preſſe of people flocked to ſee them, euery one iudging that a puniſhment ſo honorable did ſerue as a cruell torment for the vnruled pride of *Bernardin*, and no leſſe for the vnſtayed arrogancie of *Federike*. Aſſone as they were admitted into the preſence of the conſiſtorie, they fell downe of their knees, and with many ſignes of great humilitie they demaunded pardon of the Pope and the Cardinalls: They approued all thinges that had bene done by Pope *Iulio*, and namely their priuation and thelection of the newe Pope, as an act cannonical: And they publikely reproued the councel of *Piſa* to be an aſſembly ſchiſmatike & deteſtable. When this confeſſion was ſubſigned with their hands & ſolemnly enregiſtred, they roſe vp & ſtoode on their fete, & after reuerence done, they embraſed all the cardinalls who ſtirred not out of their ſeates: then they were reinueſted & apparelled in the habite of Cardinalls, & receiued by the reſidue to ſit in the ſame order wherin they were wont to ſit before their priuation: They recouered only by this act the dignitie of Cardinalls, and not their benefices and other reuenues which they had poſſeſſed, for that long time before they had bin diſtributed to others by the liberty of vacation. In this act the Pope ſatisfied the French king, if not ſo muche as he deſired, at leaſt in parte of that he exſpected: But he ſatisfied him nothing in other matters, for that he ſought by all the wayes he could to accord *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, A matter which ſeemed to him of eaſie action for the acci-

Humilitie of two Cardinals.

dents

dents that were hapned: for it was beleeued that *Cæſar* ſtirred vp by thoccaſions beyonde the Mountes, would be brought to be contented to be diſcharged of ſuche a burden, to haue the more oportunitie to harkē to the recouering of *Burgondy* for his nephew. And touching the *Venetians*, it was hoped that they would much more deſire it, aſwel for that they ſtood amaſed with the ouerthrow of the frenchmen, as alſo that they knew that the french king for the many dangers hanging ouer his realme, was not hable for that yere to do any more to thaffaires of *Italie*: Beſides, they ſawe faſt vpon them the Spaniſh armie, wherevnto were to be vnited the companies that were within *Verona*: They were made drye of money and treaſor, yll furniſhed of ſouldiors and namely of footemen: and (which was not leaſt in their conſideration) they were to reſiſt all alone of themſelues without any hope or ſhowe of other ſuccors: And yet the Senate anſwered very conſtantly, that they would not harken to any accorde, vnleſſe they were repoſſeſſed of *Vincenſa* ane *Verona*.

Cæſar at that time demaunded of the Pope two hundred men at armes againſt the *Venetians*: A demaund which albeit was greeuous to the Pope, both for feare leaſt the french king ſhould be diſcontented, and alſo he ſawe how inconuenient it would be for *Cæſar* & him to become ſuſpected to the *Venetians* for a matter of ſo ſmall importance: yet by the obſtinate importunitie of *Cæſar*, he ſent him vnder *Troyllo Sanello*, *Achilles Torello*, and *Mutio Colonno*, the numbers he required, bothe for that by refuſing he would not ſhow any token not to perſeuer in the confederation contracted with the laſte Pope, and alſo he conſidered he was not holden by any bonde or obligation that he had with the *Venetians*: who beſides that their armie did almoſte expreſſe behauiours of hoſtilitie vpon the landes of *Parma* & *Plaiſantin*, at ſuch time as *Aluiano* laye neare to *Cremona*, yet they had not elected Embaſſadors to proteſt their obedience to him according to their cuſtome, vntill the Frenche men beeing ouerthrowen, were returned beyonde the Mountes. This deliberation brought no litle amaſe to the *Venetians*, not ſo much for thimportance of ſuch a ſuccour, as for feare leaſt by this beginning the Pope woulde paſſe further, taking it for a manifeſt ſigne that he would neuer be ſeperate from their enemies. Neuertheleſſe all theſe daungers & ſhowes of calamities could not make them chaunge their firſt counſels, but ſtanding reſolute to make as good head as they could againſt fortune, they ſent to their Admirall that was at *Corfu* to aſſemble his nauie, & aſſayle the marine places of *Pouuilla*. And yet conſidering a litle after, of what importance it would be to prouoke ſo much the king of *Aragon*, they reuoked that councel being more coragious then diſcrete, no leſſe for the might and power of the ſame king, then for that he had alwayes ſhowed that he perſwaded *Cæſar* to peace.

The *Viceroy* remained at *Mōtagnano*, hauing as yet determined vpō nothing of that he had to do, both for that the conceptions of the launceknights were diuerſe, and very hard the enterpriſes that remained to be attēpted eyther of *Padoa* or of *Treuiſa*, and the forces farre inferior to the difficulties: for in the armie there was litle more then a thouſande men at armes, not many light horſemen, and onely ten thouſande footemen aſwell Spaniſh as launceknights: And laſtly there was exſpectation of the comming of the Biſhop of *Gurce*, vpon whoſe will & direction depended reſolutely all things. About this time a Spaniſh magiſtrate being in *Bergamo* to gather the impoſt of xxv. thouſand duckets taxed vpon that citie at ſuch time as it was rendred to the *Viceroy*, *Ranſo de Cero* ſent thither from *Cremo* one part of the ſouldiors, who entring by night by the helpe of certayne conſpirators of the towne, tooke the Spaniard with all the money he had leauyed, and returned afterwarde to *Crema*.

There was discerned about this tyme a preparation to newe troubles in the state of *Genes*, beeing conformable in that plot the wills of the Duke of *Millan* and the *Svvizzers*, to whom *Antho.* and *Ierome Adorno* had recourse: They declared to the Duke the affinitie and dependencie which their fathers had had with *Lodovvike* his father: That by the ayde of their famuly he had recouered and many yeres holden in peace the principalitie of *Genes*, from the whiche he had bene fraudulently deuested by the Dukes *Fregoso:* That the famulie of the *Adornei* had participated with the aduersities and fortunes of the *Sforceis*, for that at the same time that *Lodovvike* loste the duchie of *Millan* the *Adornei* were chased out of *Genes:* And therfore they perswaded that it was conuenient that they should likewise communicate in the returne of good hap & fortune, seeing the same affection & the same faith continued: That they ought not to be charged by imputation, if being not so muche as harde in any one place, but abandoned of all hope, their necessitie & their goodwill had dryuen them to haue recourse to that king, by whom they had bene chased & expulsed before: That on the other side he was to remember the auncient hatred of the *Fregosei*, and howe many iniuries and practises had bene wrought agaynst his father by *Baptista* and the Cardinall *Fregosa*, dukes of *Genes* successiuely: and lastly he was to consider how farre he was to trust *Octauian Fregosa*, who, besides the auncient hatred he bare, refused to haue a superiour in that gouernment. To the *Svvizzers* they recommended the profite, the surety, & the honor that they might reape by thenterprise: that if by their meane they were eftsones restored to their countrey, they would pay a summe of money equall to that which *Octaui. Fregosa* payed to the *Spaniards:* that as by their vertue the duchy of *Millan* had bin preserued, so to them apperteined in honor the protection & defence of the thing they had gotten by their vallor: wherin they were to cõsider what a matter it would be contrary to the surety of that state, that *Genes* a citie of so neare neighborhood & importance, should obey a duke that depended wholly vpon the king of *Aragon:* That it were an action vnworthy their name & their glory, to suffer *Genes* (the frute of the victory of *Nouarro*) to fall to the share and profite of the *Spaniards*, who whylest the *Svvizzers* with so great vallour ranne their bodies vpon the thundring shot of the Frenche, were with more ease then daunger vpon *Trebia*, watching as it were the issue of the battell to robbe & vsurpe by suttletie the rewards of the victorie gotten with the blood of others. Vpon these complaints accõpanied with other reasons of cõpassion, the duke caused his cõpanies to march, & the *Svvizzers* aduanced foure thousand footmen: but what with the threates of the *Viceroy* against the Duke, and the authority of the Pope with the *Svvizzers*, the enterprise ceassed euẽ assone as it was begõ, thaffectiõ that the Pope bare to thaffaires of *Octauian*, doing more to dashe the expedition then any other thing. In this meane while the *Viceroy* went vp to *Battell*, a place about seuẽ miles frõ *Padoa*, where *Caruigial* riding vndiscretly with a small strength of horsmen to view the seate of the contrey, was taken by *Mercario* capteine of the *Venetian* light horsmẽ. About which time the bishop of *Gurcy* arriuing in the army, they drew to cõsultation what was to be done: The Bishop gaue coũsel to besiege *Padoa*, saying he hoped so much in the vertue of the *Spaniards* & launceknights against the *Italiãs*, that in the end they should be able to ouercome al difficulties: he said it was a matter of lesse labor to take *Treuisa*, but the honor & rewards of the victory were far differẽt, for that to win only *Treuisa* was not of much importãce for the substance of the war, but by the taking of *Padoa*, both the townes & peces of *Cæsars* obediẽce should stand assured frõ troubles & perils of the warre, & the *Venetians* should be lefte depriued

of all hope to bee hable to reconquer the places they had loſte. The *Viceroye* and almoſt all the other capteines were of a contrary opinion: they iudged it rather impoſſible then hard to force *Padoa* for the incredible fortifications: it was throwly furniſhed with artilleries & all things neceſſary for defence: it was double manned with ſouldiors, beſides many yongmen of the nobilitie of *Venice* that were come thither as they had wõt to do at other times: they alleaged that the circuit of *Padoa* was large, in which regard, as alſo for the multitude of the defendãts & other difficulties, it required to be enuironed with a ſiege of two armies: a computation ſo farre from them, that they were not hable to make one ſufficient, the number of their ſouldiors being not great, and yet no ſigne of readynes in the Launceknightes, for that they murmured already for want of pay: Laſtly, they had not ſufficient munitions, & no leſſe want of poyeners, a prouiſion very neceſſary for an enterpriſe of that difficulty. But in the ende the reaſons of the *Viceroy* and the other capteines gaue place to the authoritie and will of the Biſhop of *Gurce*, according to whoſe direction the armie drawing neare to *Padoa*, encamped at *Baſſanella* vpon the right ſhoare of the channell: But beeing ſubiect there to the affliction of certayne double cannons that laye planted vpon the baſtillion of the towne, they paſſed the channell and lodged a little further from the towne, from whence ſending certayne bands of footmen to *S. Anthonies* Church within halfe a myle of *Padoa*, they began to approch with leſſe daunger, and to caſt trenches neare to *S. Anthonies* gate: but for that the worke was great, and the wante of pyoners no leſſe, and in a countrey abandoned of all inhabitantes, the trenches aduaunced little, and not without daunger, for that the ſouldiors making many ſodain ſallies aſwell by day as by night, gaue great domage and impediment to thoſe that trauelled: They ſuffred beſides great want of vittells, both for that only a ſmal part of the towne was inuironed by thenemies, & alſo the eſtradiots that had libertie to iſſue out of the other quarters of the towne, ouerronning freely the whole contrey, gaue impedimẽt to al that was brought to the camp: The traffike of vittels was alſo hindred by certaine armed barkes which the *Venetians* had ſet for that purpoſe vpon the ryuer of *Adice*, for that the men that they caryed ceaſſed not to make incurſions into the vplande and playne countrey, skouring all places and reſpected nothing in the furie of their ſpoyle: In regard of theſe difficulties, theſtate of things beeing eftſones brought into the counſell by the *Viceroy*, euery one gaue this free iudgement, that it would be a leſſe infamie to correct the deliberation vndiſcretly made in leauying the campe, then by iuſtifying the error to breede & bring vpon them ſome greater domage, & that not without the ſocietie of a farre greater ſhame. This opinion beeing related to the Biſhop of *Gurce* by the *Viceroy* in the preſence of many capteines, for that he had refuſed to be at that councell: he made aunſwere, that for that the diſcipline and practiſe of warre was not his profeſſion, it was no ſhame to him to confeſſe his ignoraunce in the ſeruice & guyding of warre: only touching the coũſell he had giuen to pitch the camp afore *Padoa*, it moued not by any ſingularitie of credit in his owne wiſdom, but in the action he was caryed by the opinion & authoritie of the *Viceroy*, who both by letters & expreſſe meſſengers had counſelled themperour, and giuen him great hope to cary it. At laſte the difficulties not ceaſſing neither for their complaintes, nor for their debating, no rather the diſpayre of thenterpriſe daily increaſing, the camp brake vp after it had lien xviij. dayes afore the walles of *Padoa*: And hauing both at their breaking vp, and vpon the way, the light horſemen at their backes, they withdrew to *Vincenſa*, which then was voyde of inhabitantes, and lay as a pray to who was maſter of the fielde.

Padoa beſieged by the Viceroy.

In this meane while the ſouldiors of the duke of *Millan*, to whoſe ayde the *Viceroy* had ſent *Antho. de Leue* with a thouſande footmen, tooke *Pantovviquo*, wherin were two hundred footemen in garriſon for the *Venetians*, who neither amaſed with the thunder of thartilleries, nor diſcoraged with the mynes that were made, were conſtrayned at the ende of a moneth to yelde for want of vittels, after they had valiauntly ſuſteined thaſſault. About the ſame time *Ranſo de Cero* iſſuing out of *Cremo* ouerthrewe *Siluio Sauello* marching with his bandes and foure hundred Spaniſhe footemen to *Bergamo*, whither the Duke of *Millan* ſent him. And a little after a Spaniſhe officer being returned to *Bergamo* to gather money, *Ranſo* ſent thither a ſtrength of three hundred horſemen and fiue hundred footemen, who tooke together with the officer the rocke wherevnto he was fledde for his ſafety with the money he had leauied: In this rocke were very fewe men of warre, for that lx. men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, and ſeuen hundred footemen, with two thouſand paiſants of the Mount of *Brianſo* were gone from *Millan* vnder the leading of *Siluio Sauello* & *Cæſar Fieromoſquo*, to reconquer *Bergamo*: and they encountring vpon the way fiue hundred light horſemen and three hundred footemen ſent by *Ranſo* to *Bergamo*, were eaſily put to flight, by whoſe example the reſidue that affore had occupied *Bergamo*, abandoned it, leauing onely a garriſon in the Rocke which ſtandeth out of the Citie vpon a mountayne called the Chappell.

The *Viceroy* and Biſhop of *Gurce* remayned certayne dayes at *Vincenſa*, and ſente one parte of the *Spaniards* vnder *Proſper Colonno* to ſacke *Baſciano* & *Maroſtiquo*: not that they had offended, but that the ſubſtances of that wretched people ſhould miniſter norriture to tharmy, wherein the payes did fayle, *Cæſar* ſtanding alwayes oppreſſed with his accuſtomed difficulties, the king of *Aragon* not hable of himſelfe to beare out ſo great a burden, and the duchie of *Millan* being exceſſiuely taxed by the *Svvizzers*, was no more hable to contribute to the releefe of the reſidue. The army aboade at *Vincenſa*, not without great diſcommodities by the continuall vexations of the light horſemen, who ouerrunning day and night the whole contrey, ſtopped all traffike and paſſage of vittels, vnleſſe they were garded with a great ſtrength, and that of neceſſitie muſt be of men at armes, for that they were very fewe light horſemen: Therefore to be out of theſe torments, the Biſhop of *Gurce* went to *Verona* very muche diſcontented with the *Viceroy*, who following him by ſmall iourneys, got into *Albero* vpon the ryuer of *Adice*, where he remained certaine dayes to giue oportunitie to them of *Verona* to make their harueſt, thincurſions of the light horſemen not ceaſſing for all that, who tooke from the *Almains* euen neare the gates of *Verona*, the oxen that drewe thartilleries. The *Viceroy* had layde a former plot to beſtow the armie in garriſon in the countreys of *Breſſia* and *Bergamaſqua*, and at the ſame time to moleſt *Crema*, which was all that the *Venetians* helde on the other ſide the riuer of *Mincia*: which deuiſe being publiſhed, had ſo aſſured the countreys thereaboutes that the territories of *Padoa* were full of inhabitantes and goods, the ſame beeing the cauſe that the *Viceroy*, who had no other meane to feede his armie then by prayes and pillage, altered his plot, and calling backe the *Almains*, went to *Montagnana* and to *Eſte*, and from thence to the village of *Bouolento*, where after he had driuen away great flockes of cattell, the ſouldiours conſumed with fyre many fayre houſes that ſtoode thereabout: Still the deſyre of pillage caryed them on, and being the rather encouraged that the bandes of the *Venetian* footemen were diſtributed to the garde of *Padoa* and *Treuiſa*, the *Viceroy* marching in pillage from *Bouolento*, determined to approche *Venice*, but agaynſt thopinion of *Proſpero Colonno*, who tolde

him

him that no leſſe was the daunger of thenterpriſe then the councell rash: So that after they had paſſed the riuer of *Bacquillon* and ſacked *Pieue de ſacco* which is a borow both great in ſituacion, populous, and full of all thinges, they went to *Meſtro* and ſo to *Marguera* which ſtandeth vpon the ſalt waters: from that place, to leaue a more honorable memorie of this expedicion, they diſcharged towards *Venice* ten peeces of great artillerie whoſe boollets pearced the Monaſterie of *S. Secondo*: And as in warre where diſcipline is at libertie, there inſolencies be infinit, ſo they proceeded ſtill in pilling & waſting the whole contrey whoſe inhabitants being fled, they made with great iniquitie warres againſt the walls: for, not content with the rich prayes of cattell and other wealth, in their crueltie they burned *Meſtra*, *Marguera*, and *Liſſafuſnia* together with all the other villages and townes of the contry, not ſparing any houſe or pallace which had any extraordinary repreſentacion or apparance: In theſe inſolencies, thimpietie of the Popes ſouldiours and the other *Italians*, was not the leaſt, but ſo much the greater by howe much it was more infamous in them then in the forreiners to vſe crueltie againſt the magnificence & ornaments of their proper contrey: But they of *Venice* diſcerning within their towne the ſmoke by day, & by night the fire thorow the whole contrey, And hearing within their owne houſes the noyſe of thartillerie of thennemies which was planted for no other purpoſe then to encreaſe their ignominie: were touched in their mindes with right great indignacion and ſorow: It ſeemed to euery one a hard and greeuous chaunce of fortune, that in place of ſo great glorie and ſo many victories obteyned in *Italy* affore tyme both by ſea and land, their eyes ſhould beholde at that inſtant a ſmall armie in compariſon of their auncient force and power, to offer to the maieſtie of their common weale, ſo great a brauery to their perpetual reproch & ignominie: In regard of which indignities, the deliberacions of that Senat being enforced, who till that day ſtoode reſolute, what hopes ſoeuer were offered, to eſchew to make any experience of fortune: They now conſented by the hawtie perſwaſions of *Bart. Aluiano*, that reaſſembling all the ſouldiours and ſtirring vp all the villages aſwell of the plaines as of the mounteines, they ſhould aſſay to ſtoppe the returne of thennemies: A matter which *Aluiano* proued to be of very eaſie action, for that their raſhnes hauing brought them in the middeſt of *Venice*, *Treuiſa*, and *Padoa*, and being laden with burdens of pray and ſpoyle, they could not retyre without great daunger, aſwell for thincommoditie of vittells, as for thimpediment of riuers and hard paſſages: And now the *Spanyards* vnderſtanding of the mooſters and preparacions that were in hand, marching a good paſſe, were by this time comen to *Citadella*, which when they ſaw they could not get for a ſuccour of ſouldiours newly entred, they lodged a litle beneath neare to *Brenta* to paſſe to the village of *Contycella*, A place where the riuer of *Brenta* was paſſible by foarde: But they durſt not venture to paſſe ouer for feare of *Aluiano*, who ſtoode on the other ſide with his companies ranged in battell and his artillerie planted along the ſhoare of the riuer, carefully prouiding for the ſauetie not onely of that place, but alſo of many others: Whereunto, if reſiſtance had not bene made, thennemie had had eaſie paſſage: It hapned (ſuch be the ſtratagemes of ſouldiours) that as the *Viceroy* continued his ſhewes and demonſtracions to paſſe ouer at the place below, to the which *Aluiano* had turned all his forces, he paſſed the night after without any impediment at the paſſage called the new croſſe three miles aboue *Citadella*: from thence with great diligence he tooke his way to *Vincenſa*, but *Aluiano* ſeeking to ſtop his paſſage ouer the riuer of *Bacquillon*, preuented him. *Ioh. P. Baillon* and *Andr. Gritty* with a ſtrength of two hundred men at armes, and two thowſand footemen of the

forces of *Treuiſa*, came and ioyned with *Aluiano* neare to *Vincenſa*: They with the other *Venetian* Capteines were of councell not to fight with thenemies with banner diſplayed and in an open place, but garding well the paſſages of ſtrength and places moſt conuenient, they ſhould labor to ſtoppe their way on what place ſo euer they came, drawing now towards *Vincenſa*: To this end they had ſent *Ioh. P. Manfrono* to *Montechio* with foure thowſand men trained: And to *Barberano* to hinder their paſſage in the mounteines, were ſent v. hundred light horſemen with many other bands of the paiſantes: They had alſo ſtopped in the villages all the paſſages that led into *Germanie*, & fortified them with trenches, with ſtones, and with trees cut downe and layed a thwart the wayes: *Aluiano* left *Theodore Triuulco* to gard *Vincenſa* with a garriſon ſufficient, and him ſelfe with the reſidue of tharmie encamped at *Olmo* a place within two myles of *Vincenſa* vpon the way that leades to *Verona*: This paſſage with an other faſt by, was ſo choaked with trenches, ditches and artilleries planted vppon the places comming to it, that it was almoſt impoſſible to paſſe: As the way towards *Verona* was full of theſe impedimentes, ſo it was likewiſe hard for the *Spanyards* that marched along the mountaines, to goe larger thorow the contreys that were full of marriſhe and waters, and no leſſe hard to take the way of the mountaine which was narrow and garded by many armed men: Inſomuch as being enuirronned almoſt on all partes with enemies, their perill all one both before, behinde, and in flancke, and continually chaſſed by great troupes of light horſemen, they could make no deliberacion wherein the difficultie was not greater then the daunger: After they had ſpent certeine time in skirmiſhing, they incamped towards the entrie of the night, within halfe a mile of the place where the *Venetians* lay, and there the Captaines drawing to councell what was beſt to doe amidde ſo many aduerſities and perills, they chooſed as leaſt daungerous to turne their enſeignes towards *Germanie*: They iudged that the beſt way to returne to *Verona* by *Trenta*, notwithſtanding what for the longnes of the way, and the ſmall garriſon they had left there, they had almoſt an aſſured opinion that the celeritie of the *Venetians* woulde preuent their purpoſe: In this ſorte then did they marche at the dawning of the day towards *Baſſan* turning their backes to thenemies, a matter then the which there is nothing more timerous nor pernicious to armies: And albeit they marched in order, yet their fortune had left them ſo ſmall hope of ſauetie, that they thought the loſſe of their baggage and horſes of cariage, would be the leaſt harme that could happen to them: What by their ſecret diſcamping without ſound of trompet or dromme, and the commodity of a thicke miſt falling that morning which tooke away the benefit of his eyes, *Aluiano* was not ſo ſpeedily aware of their breaking vp: But he was no ſooner aduertiſed of their departing, then he ſet to follow them with all the army, wherin was thought to be a thowſand men at armes, a thowſand ſtradiots, and ſix thowſande footemen: The ſtradiots vexed them continually on all ſides, and infinit troupes of paiſants deſcending from the mountaines, were no little trouble to them with their ſmall ſhot: So that with their daunger, the difficultie of the wayes encreaſed continually both for the multitude of their cariages, and the great quantitie of their pray, and alſo for that they were driuen to paſſe thorowe wayes ſtraite and full of ditches, which they had had no oportunitie to enlarge or make plaine with mattockes and ſpades: And yet notwithſtanding by howe much their aduerſities were great and apparant by ſo much greater was their neceſſitie of ſpeede and haſt, their extremities coulde not make them forget to march in order, the ſame proceding as wel of the vertue of the ſouldiours as the care and good office of the Capteines: Neuertheleſſe after they had

had marched two miles with so many perplexities of wayes and trauell, they iudged it would be harde to holde out long in that sort, their greefe beeing greater by the wearinsse of their bodies, then by any feare of the perills they saw at hande. But the enemies by their rashnes had not patience to expect till so fayre an occasion mighte be rypened which already was come to his perfection: for *Aluiano* according to his custome being not hable to conteine himselfe, charged vpon the rearegard of thennemies guyded by *Prospero Colonno*: he went to the charge not in disorder, but with tharmie araunged in battell, and his artilleries planted ready for thexecution: and it was sayde for certayne, that beeing long in preparing to the charge, *Loredano* a ruler amongest the *Venetians* rebuked him with very sharpe wordes that he went not to the charge, whose slowneſse, sayd he, gaue oportunitie to thenemies being alreadie broken, to saue themselues. By these prouocations so valiaunt a Capteine was compelled to runne headlong to the feight, and in great furie gaue the signe of the battell. Some other affirme that *Prospero Colonno* was the cause of all the actions of armes that day, by whose counsell the *Viceroy* had rather proue the vncertayne chaunce and fortune of the feight, then otherwise to followe so small a hope of safetie: And it is sayde, that hauing made a showe that he would returne towards *Vincensa*, *Aluiano* had caused to be bestowed in the suburbes of *Vincensa*, *Iohn P. Baillon* with those bandes that were come from *Treuisa*, and him selfe with the residue of tharmie was incamped at *Creatia* within two miles of *Vincensa*: In this place is a litle hill that gaue a conuenient commoditie for the vse and seruice of thartillerie against thenemies, and at the foote of it is a valley capable of a mayne armie raunged in battell, but it hath no way of accesse but onely by one straite way that runneth vp along the hilles, and is almoste encompased with marishes: It is sayde that *Prospero* knowing what incommodities this place gaue to thenemies, perswaded to set vppon them in that quarter, hauing there thoportunitie and seate of the place to set foorth their vallour: But what so euer it was, *Prospero* began to go to the charge with a resolution worthy of the reputation he bare, and hauing sent to call the *Viceroy* which brought on the battell, and on the one side, and at one tyme the Spanishe footemen aduauncing by the direction of the Marquis of *Pisquairo*, and on the other hande the squadrons of the launceknightes, they brought vpon the *Venetians* so hotte and furious a charge, that their feares beeing redoubled by the terror and vallour of their enemies, the first assault almost suffised to put them all to flight: The footmen threw downe their pikes and fledde with more shame then hope of safetie, their ignorance or want of courage making them vnhable to susteine the furie of the charge: The footemen of *Romagnia*, whose Coronell was *Ra. de Naldo Brisiquello*, were the first that serued to the others as an example of cowardise and infamie: the residue of tharmy tooke the same course, no man almost being seene to fight or once looke his enemy in the face, yea the vertue of *Aluiano* was so abated and confused by this sodayne fleeing away, that without stroke striking he left the victorie to thenemies, to whom thartilleries with all the baggage remayned a pray: The footemen were skattered into diuerse places, and for the men at armes, some fledde to hyde their shame in the mountaynes, and some sought their safetie in *Padoa* and in *Treuisa*, whither fled in like sorte *Aluiano* and *Gritti*. In this encounter were slaine *Antho. Pio* an auncient capteine with *Constance* his sonne, *Meleager Furly*, and *Lodo. Parma*, and the fortune of *P. S. Ange* was litle better, who though his lyfe was reserued, yet he escaped not without many miserable and mortall wounds: The prisoners were *Iohn P. Baillon*, *Iulio* the sonne of *Iohn P. Manfron*, *Malatesto Soligiano*, with many other Capteines

Ouerthrowe of the Venetians armie.

and persons of name and marke: *Loredano* the *Venetian* ruler fell into this calamitie, but with a worse fortune: for that two souldiours striuing whose prisoner he should be, the one of them killed him against all humanitie: Touching the generall slaughter of this conflict both of dead bodies and prisoners, there remeyned about foure hundred men at armes and foure thowsand footemen, the slaughter being so much the greater by howe much there could be no expedicion of fleing by reason of the marrais: This also brought great domage to such as trusted in the chasse, that *Theo. Tryuulco* shut the gates of *Vincensa* and would receiue in no kind of person for feare least the Victor and the vanquished should enter pellmell together: By which impediment many striuing to passe further drowned them selues in the next riuer, amongest whom were *Hermio Bentyuiolo* and *Sacramoro Visconte*.

This was the ouerthrow that fell vpon the *Venetians* the seuenth day of October neare to *Vincensa*: worthy to be remẽbred both for the example it gaue to capteines not to haue confidence touching matters of armes, in *th Italian* footemen not experienced in battells pitched and raunged, and also that almost in the turning of a hand the victorie was transferred to those in whom was least hope of sauetie. This ouerthrow had put in daunger eyther *Treuisa* or *Padoa* notwithstanding with the residue of tharmie *Aluiano* was retyred to the one and *Gritty* to the other, if both the season of the yeare when raynes began to fall, had not bene contrary, and the townes bearing good fortificacions, and the Capteines much troubled to dispose to new enterprises the souldiours that were not yet payd: Neuertheles, albeit the *Venetians* stood afflicted with so many aduersities, & no lesse confused with an accident so farre contrary to their hopes, yet they forbare not according to the time and their abilitie, to refurnish those cities, to the which, besides other prouisions they sent many younge gentlemen of the nobilitie as they had wont to doe in times of greatest perill.

After this battell, things began to draw from armes to cogitacions and deuises of peace, which was negociated with the Pope: towards whom was gon the Bishop of *Gurcy* principally to protest obedience to him in the name of *Cæsar* and tharch Duke: In which action he was followed by *Frauncis Sforce* Duke of *Bary* to performe the like for his brother *Maxymylian Sforce*: And albeit the Bishop of *Gurcy* represented in *Italy* the ful person of *Cæsar* as he did at other times, yet laying now aside his pomp and accustomed magnificence, he entred more modestly into *Rome*, and forbare by the way to weare the cappe of Cardinall which the Pope had sent to him at *Poggibonso*: At his comming was compownded a compromisse by him and the *Venetian* Embassadors in the person of the Pope, of all the controuersies that were betweene *Cæsar* and their common weale: But it was a compromisse more in name and apparance, then in effect and substance, for that neither of the parties for thimportance of the cause would be referred to an arbytrement suspected, vntill they had seuerally and secretly receiued promisse of him, that he would not giue vppe his arbytracion without their consent and priuitie: The Pope by this authority of Compromitting, declared in writing that there should be a surceassing of armes betweene the two parties, which albeit was ioyfully accepted by them both, was yet ill obserued by the *Viceroy*: for that being come betweene *Montagnana* and *Este*, besides that he had done no other thing since the victorie then made pillage and ouerronne the whole contry, hauing withall sent part of his souldiours to *Policena*, he committed in sondry places many insolencies and harmes: sometymes he excused his doings, in that they were vpon the landes of *Cæsar*, & sometimes he alleaged that he exspected new intelligence from the Cardinall of *Gurcy*: lastly the ende of the compromisse was no

more

more happie then had bene the middeſt and the beginning, by reaſon of difficulties that fell out in the negociacion of affaires: for, *Cæſar* would out conſent to thaccord, but with condicion to reteine parte of the townes, & for the other to receiue a great proporcion of money: and of the contrary, the *Venetians* demaunded all the townes and offered a very ſmall ſumme of money: it was beleued alſo that the king Catholike did ſecretly diſſwade the accorde, notwithſtanding openly he made demonſtration to deſire it: yea it was ſaid, that to make it more hard, he had at the ſame time put *Breſſa* into the hands of *Cæſar*, a place which the *Viceroy* neuer til that day would giue vp, alleaging that he kept it to make him more inclined to the peace: But the cauſes were coniectured diuerſly, either he had ſo farre offended the *Venetians* that he iudged he would no more enterteine with them a true and aſſured amitie, or elſe he knew that his reputacion and greatnes in *Italie* depended vppon continuing and keeping on foote the armie, which for want of money he was not able to feede and nourriſh but by racking & raunſoming the peoples that were his frendes, and in making praye and pillage of the countreys that were enemies: Theſe difficulties together with the vntowardneſſe of the parties, made the Pope leaue the matter vnperfect, when a litle after, the *Almains*, by the helpe of the exiles and baniſhed men, tooke *Marano* vpon the ſuddeine, a ſeafaring towne in the countrey of *Friull*, and ſo diſcended to the like action vpon *Montfalcon*: and albeit the *Venetians* both for their honor & profit, deſired to reconquer *Marano* being threeſcore miles from *Venice*, & in that diſpoſition did aſſaile it both by ſea and land, yet their fortune being all one in all places, they receiued loſſe & vexacion on all ſides: only *Ranſo de Cero* in that time ſuſteyned the name and credit of their armes, to his great praiſe and merit: for, albeit there was a great rage of plague and hunger in *Crema* where he lay in garriſon, and that the bands of *Spanyards* and *Millanois* being diſperſed into the townes thereabout by reaſon of the ſeaſon, he was as it were beſieged: yet he gaue a ſuddeine charge vppon *Calcinaia* a towne of the countrey of *Bergamo*, and ſtripped *Cæſar Fieramoſquo* with forty men at armes and two hundred light horſemen of the regiment of *Proſpero Colonno*: And not many dayes after, he entred by night into *Quinſano*, and tooke the Lieutenaunt of the Count *S. Seuerin*, and ſpoyled fifty men at armes, and within *Treuy*, ſtripped ten men at armes of the company of *Proſpero*.

About this time thinges were quiet enough in other places of *Italie*, ſauing that the *Adorneis* and the *Fieſqueis* with three thowſand men of the countrey, accompanied perhappes with the ſecret fauor of the Duke of *Millan*, drew neare the walls of *Genes*, after they had taken *Spetia* and other places of the riuer of *Leuant*: But their fortune being farre inferior to their valour, they went away almoſt ouerthrowen, hauing loſte parte of the men they brought to thenterpriſe, and certaine peeces of artillerie: There appeared alſo in *Tuskane* certeine beginninges of new iniuries: for, the *Florentins* beganne to moleſt them of *Lucquay*, truſting that thorow feare of the Pope, they ſhould redeeme peace in reſtoring to them *Pietraſanta* & *Mutrona*: They alleaged beſides, that it was not conuenient that they ſhould enioy the benefitte of that confederacion, which they had broken in minſtring ſecret ſuccours to the *Piſans*: Againſt theſe ſuggeſtions they of *Lucquay* complained to the Pope and to the king Catholike in whoſe protection they were, but ſeeing there grew no remedy to them, they were at laſt contented (to auoyde greater miſchiefes) to referre a compromiſſe to the perſon of the Pope: Who hauing like authoritie for the *Florentins*, pronounced that they of *Lucquay* who had affore rendered to the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Garſagnana*, ſhoulde leaue to the *Florentins* the places of *Pietraſanta* and *Mutrona*,

and that there ſhould remayne betwene them a perpetuall peace & confederation.

About the ende of this yere, the Caſtles of *Millan* and *Cremona*, who for the neceſſitie of vittells had agreed to yeelde if they were not ſuccored in a certayne time, were deliuered into the power of the Duke of *Millan*: So that there remayned no more that the French king helde in *Italie*, but the lanterne of *Genes*, which in the end of the ſame yere the *Genovvaies* aſſayed to caſte downe by mynes: They approched to it vnder the benefite of a Caske or veſſell of wood conteining thirtie fadomes in length and twentie in breadth: within which was ſtowage for three hundred men, and ſet rounde about with packes of wooll the better to defende the ſhotte: At the firſt ſhowe it caryed great arte and deepe inuention, but being brought to tryall, it ſerued to litle vſe, as moſt often is ſeene by thoſe newe and ſtraunge workes.

The ende of the eleuenth Booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE TWELFTH BOOKE.

THe king of Englande makes vvarre vpon the French king. The Venetians recouer Friull. The Pope as arbitrator pronounceth peace betvvene them and the king of Romains. King Lovvis the xij. dyeth. Frauncis the firſte commeth to the Crovvne, and diſcendeth into Italie to reconquer Millan.

THE TVVELFTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

THERE happned the ſame yere in the regions beyonde the Mountes, moſt dangerous warres, wherof I wil make preſent diſcourſe, both for the ſame reaſõs, & with the ſame ſhortnes that I haue touched thẽ in the narration of the yere before.

The beginning of theſe preparations and ſtirres grew vpon a reſolution which the king of *Englande* made to inuade that ſommer the Realme of *Fraunce* with a mayne army both by ſea and lande: And to make the victorie of this enterpriſe more eaſie, he had agreed with *Cæſar* to furniſhe him of an hundred and twentie thouſande duckets, to make an entrie at the ſame tyme into *Burgondy* with an army of three thouſande horſemen, and eight thouſande footmen, parte *Svvizzers* and parte *Almains*. He promiſed alſo to the *Svvizzers* a certayne proportion of money, the rather to induce them to ioyne in the action with *Cæſar*, who was contented to put into their hands in pawne one parte of *Burgondy* vntill he had fully ſatisfied them of their payes: Laſtely alſo the king of *Englande* occupied this perſwaſion, that his father in lawe the king Catholike, cleauing to the confederation of *Cæſar* and him (which he had alwayes proteſted and aſſured) would open the

the warre on his side at the same instante: By reason whereof the reapporte of the truce made by thenglishe with the Frenche king (and yet for all that the desire to make warre was nothing diminished) was so yll brooked not onely by him, but by all sortes of states and peoples in *Englande*, that the Commons had done violent execution vpon the Spanishe Embassador, if the kings authoritie had not resisted their furie. To these things were added thoportunitie of the state of tharchduke, not so muche that he letted not his subiectes to take paye agaynst the Frenchemen, as for that he promised to giue sufferaunce and passage of vittayles out of his countreys into thenglishe armie.

Prouisions of the Frenche agaynst the king of Englande.

It behoued the French king to omit no sortes of prouisions agaynst so great preparations and daungerous threatning: By sea he furnished a strong nauy to encounter thadmirall of *Englande*, and by lande he leauyed men from all partes, laboring specially to haue as great a strength of launceknightes as he coulde: He had also afore made great instance to the *Swvizzers*, that since they refused to ayde him in the warres of *Italie*, at leaste, that they woulde so farre fauour him as to delyuer him a proportion of footemen to helpe to defende the Crowne of *Fraunce*. But they beeing wholly resoluted to protect and assure the Duchie of *Millan*, refused in any wyse to minister to him, vnlesse he woulde eftsoones returne to the vnitie of the Churche: and giue vp the Castell of *Millan* which was not yet rendred: and also cancelling his rights & interests to that estate, he would promise no more to molest neither *Millan* nor *Genes*, Limitations no lesse vnprofitable to the French king, then contrary to his honour, and preiudiciall to the soueraigne dignitie of the crowne of *Fraunce*. Likewise the French king, the more to terrifie thenglish & make them more intangled with their owne affayres, had called into *Fraunce* the duke of *Suffolke* as Competitor and aspirant to the Crowne of *Englande*: A deuise little helping the purposes of *Fraunce*, and of great daunger to the race and progenie of the Duke, for that in reuenge of their dealing, the king of *Englande* by ordinarie course of the iustice of his Realme, cutte off the head of his brother, who tyll then had bene holden prisoner in *Englande*, since the tyme that *Phillip* king of *Castillo* sayling into *Spayne*, delinered him into the handes of the king his father. The French king also was not without hope to haue peace with the king Catholike: for that when the king Catholike vnderstoode of the league made betwene the French and the *Venetians*, he began to distrust muche of the defence of the duchie of *Millan*, and sent into *Fraunce* one of his secretaries, to practise newe offers: And it was beleued, that considering howmuch the greatnes of Cæsar and the archduke might alter his gouernment of *Castillo*, he could not in good pollicy stand well contented with thembasing of the realme of *Fraunce*: Besides all these, omitting no oportunities wherein occasion might be taken, the french king forgat not in these actiõs to stirre vp *Iames* the king of *Skottes* his auncient confederate, to thende that he opening the warre vpon the frontiers of *Englande*, he might with more facilitie make defence against so many & mightie inuasions. The Skottish king was moued to this warre by the consideration of his proper interests, for that the aduersities of *Fraunce* could not but be daungerous to the crowne of *Skotland*, in which regard ioyned to the respect of confederation, he prepared him selfe to the action with all diligence, demaunding of the Frenche king no other ayde then fiftie thousande frankes to leauye munitions and vittels. Neuertheless the Frenche king was very slowe in gathering together his forces and prouisions, bothe for that he had turned all his thoughtes to thenterprise of *Millan*, and reaposed not a litle in the truce made with the king

Catholike: Laſtly his accuſtomed negligence was no litle impediment to thexpedi-
" tion of his buſines, A vice moſt hurtfull to thaffayres of Princes, to whom is ſeldome
" ſeene to returne theffect or fruite of their exſpectation, when they ſtande to tempo-
" riſe vpon euery new occaſion after the reſolution is ſet downe and things referred to
" action. And touching the king of *England*, he cõſumed many monthes in meaſuring his proportions, in leauying his prouiſions, in rating the ſtate & maner of his payes, and in diſtinguiſhing the ſortes of his ſouldiors and their faſhions of armor & weapons, for that his ſubiectes hauing bene many yeeres without warres, and no leſſe chaunged the maner of warfaring, both their bowes and their other vſual natures of armes being become vnprofitable, he was conſtrayned to make great prouiſion of forreine armors, artilleries, and munitions, and by the ſame neceſſitie to leauye as ſouldiors trayned many bands of launceknights & horſmen, the ancient cuſtome of the Engliſh being to fight on foote: for theſe impedimentes thengliſh army paſſed not the ſeas ſoner then the moneth of *Iuly*. And after they had for many dayes runne vp into the champayne countrey neare vnto *Bolleine*, they went to incampe affore *Torvvaine*, A towne ſtanding vpon the marches of *Pikardy*, & in the region of thoſe peoples whõ the Latins call *Morini*: The perſon of the king of *Englande* paſſed the ſea a litle after, who had in his maine army fiue thouſand horſes of ſeruice, and more then forty thouſand footmen: An army not more notable by the multitudes of ſoul-
" diors & conſideration of their vallor, then moſt glorious by the preſence & maieſtie
" of their king, in whoſe perſon appeared at that inſtant being in an age diſpoſed and
" actiue, al thoſe tokens of honor & magnanimitie, which riſing afterwards to their ful
" ripenes & perfection by degrees of time, ſtudy, and experience, made him the moſt
" renowmed and mightie prince that lyued in his age in all this part or circuite of the
" earth which we call Chriſtendome. After the Engliſhe were drawne into campe, which according to their cuſtome they enuironed with trenches & with cartes, and ſo rampired it with wood and other firme matter, and then planted it rounde about with artillerie, that they ſeemed to be in a walled towne: They began to batter the town of *Torvvaine* in many places, & to make many mines, but they forbare to giue thaſſalt, perhaps their prouiſions beeing leſſe then their vertue, though their vallour was nothing inferior to the reaport that went of thẽ: The towne of *Torvvain* within was very wel furniſhed with artilleries, & manned with a ſtrength of two hundred & fifty launces & two thouſand footmen: which though it was a garriſon very ſmal in regard of thimportaunce of the place, yet their daunger was no greater then their hope of ſuccors: for that the french king was come to *Amiens*, to thende that by his nerenes he might giue courage & cõfort to thoſe that were beſieged, making great the difficultie to reskew them: he was very carefull to aſſemble his armie, which by true muſtering was ſuppoſed to conteine two thouſande fiue hundred launces, ten thouſand launceknights guided by the duke of *Gueldres*, and ten thouſand footemen leauied in the partes of his realme: The greateſt affliction within the town was feare to want vittels, for that (except of bread) they had not ſufficient prouſion of any one nature, A want which perhaps made them more bold & buſie then otherwiſe they would, & leaſt the ſame neceſſitie might grow to a deſperat extremitie, though they durſt not come to trial of their generall forces, yet they forbare not to make practiſe of ſeruice, & vexed continually the Engliſh camp with their artillerie, in which execution the great Chãberlaine of *England* was ſlayne, & one legge taken away from *Talbot* then capteine of *Callice*. The daunger of *Torvvaine* troubled much the king, but for that by cõmon negligence of *Fraunce*, & the difficulty to leauy laũceknights,

Torvvaine beſieged by the English.

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he was long ere he began to put order to his affayres, his whole army was not yet assembled: neither was he of mind (what aduersities soeuer fortune brought vpon him) to hazard the feight with thenemies, for that in loasing the battell, the whole realme and state of *Fraunce* had stand in manifest perill: he hoped also that the winter comming on which in those cold clymats beginneth betimes, thenemies would be driuē to dissolue, the ill oportunitie and season of the yere driuing them from thenterprise which the feare of thenemies could not make them to leaue: and yet his army being assembled & his owne person remaining still at *Amyens*, he sent it forth to *Aire* nere to *Torvvaine* vnder the gouernment of *Monsr Longeuille*, otherwise called the Marquis of *Rottelyn* Prince of the blood, and capteine of an hundred gentlemen of ordinaunce, ioyning with him in the charge of *Monsr Palissa*: their commission was, that eschuing all occasions to attempt the battell, they should see to the well reuittelling of the townes thereabouts, which till that time had bene ill furnished, being subiect to the same negligence that the whole seruice was, & withall to do what they could to put into *Torvvaine* a succour of men and releefe: A matter of it selfe very vneasie, and yet made more hard by the small agrement that was betwene the Generals, either of thē attributing seuerally to him self, the whole direction and gouernment, the one for his nobleneſſe and discending, and the other for his long experience in warre: Notwithstanding, what by the necessity of the time brooking no long delay, & what by thimportunity of thē within the towne, crying out for a succour of men, there was a strength of a thowsand fiue hūdred launces that aduētured to approach the towne on that side that was furtheſt remoued frō the Englisſh: And albeit there was a regiment of three thowsande Englisſhe bestowed at certaine passages to stoppe them, yet thartilleries of the towne executed so furiously vpon them, and the residue of tharmy being vnprofitable to their reskewing by reason of certeine ouerthwart trenches and ditches cast by the towne, that Capteine *Frontaillas* ouercomming the perill by his vertue, got to the gate, & put into the towne a supply of lxxx. men at armes without horses as they had required: And afterwards with the same felicity he retired with the residue of his companies, finding easie by experience the enterprise that was made hard by reaport, & ouercomming by his vertue the daunger that without practise was holden desperat: he might vnder the same aduenture, haue put vittells into the towne, if he had caried any with him, his fortune and the state of the perill being all one.

By this experience the french capteines were incoraged to make their approches an other day with a great quantity of vittells, hoping in the same felicity: But thEngliſh that tooke warning by the last example, had raised newe fortificacions on that side, to stoppe them, and on thother side, had sent out their horsemen and xv. thowsand *Almain* footemen to cut of their way: Insomuch that as they were vppon their returne, the fortune of the first aduenture taking from them all suspicion, and being remounted vppon their litle nagges of iorney that were led spare, as men beguiled with opinion of security, they were sodainly set vpon euen in the greatest coniecture of their assurance & sauetie, and as men being passed from a perill they feared most into a daunger they douted least, they suffred the terrour of thaccident to take from them al resolucion, & put themselues to flight without any resistance, loasing in that disorder three hūdred men at armes, with whom were taken prisoners the Marquis of *Rottelyn*, Capteines *Bayard* & *Faiette* with many others of marke & name: *Monsr Palissa* was also taken prisoner but escaped away by aduenture, his pollicie no lesse fauoring his sauetie, then his fortune: it was thought that if thEngliſhe had taken

The ouerthrow of the French neare Torvvaine.

the oportunity & offer of that days fortune, they had in that action opened to them ſelues a way to be maſters of the whole realme of *Fraunce*: For that behinde, ſtoode a great battell of launceknightes which had followed the men at armes, who if they had bene ſhocked and ouerthrowen, it had bene with ſo great domage to the french army, that it is certeine that the french king vpon the firſt newes beleuing that they had bene broken in dede, would haue geuen ſo deſperat a ſentence of his owne ſafetie, that he would looke howe he might flee into *Britaine*: But there was difference betwene thintencion of thEngliſh and offer of their fortune, for, after they had giuen the chaſſe to the horſemen hauing nothing of more ſtudy & care in their mind then the conqueſt of the towne of *Torvvaine*, they preſented the frenche enſeignes and priſoners before the walls: a ſpectacle which moued not a litle the towne to diſpaire of ſuccour, and ioyning to it the viewe and conſideracion of their other calamities, and the launceknightes withall murmuring to endure without hope the laſt extremitie of vittells, they agreed to leaue the towne, the horſes and liues of the ſouldiours ſaued, if they were not reskewed within two dayes: And it is not to bee douted that their holding out by the ſpace of fiftie dayes, was not a thing that greatlie profited the realme of *Fraunce*, who by the benefite of the long ſuffering of *Torvvaine*, had reſpit to temporiſe and prepare againſt many other greater afflictions which otherwiſe ſo mightie an armie of enemies would haue brought vppon them euen to the ſhaking of the Crowne of *Fraunce*: A litle before, *Maximilian Cæſar* was come in perſone into the Engliſhe armie, reuiewinge and layinge out thoſe places wherein in his youth, he had with ſo great glorie ouerthrowne the armie of the French king *Lovvys* the eleuenth: Who whileſt he remayned in the campe, the affayres of the warre tooke their chiefeſt direction and gouernment from him.

Riſing of the Swizzers againſt the French king.

The Frenche king was not onely trauelled with thEngliſhe armies, but alſo with greater daunger, he had his vexacions by the *Svvizzers*: for the commonalties of thoſe regions deſiring with an vniuerſall minde that the king ſhould diſclaime from all titles and rights which he pretended to the Duchie of *Millan*, wherin for that he did nothing, their hatred redoubled towardes him, they had entred againſt him many actions of hoſtilitie, and ſette on fire many houſes of priuate perſons of *Lucerna* whome they ſuſpected to beare fauor to thaffaires of the Crowne of *Fraunce*: And proceeding continuallie againſt all men noted of like ſuſpicion, they had brought all the chiefetaines and principalls of them, to ſweare to ſuffer all the penſions to go in common, & ſo falling into armes by publike order, they entred almoſt by heapes into *Burgondy*, their numbers being xx. thowſand footmen, & a thowſand horſemen: In which action they had certeine proporcions of artillerie from *Cæſar*, who, either according to his inconſtancy, or for ielouſie he had of them, refuſed to go thither in perſon notwithſtanding he had promiſed both to the king of *England*, & to thē: Being drawne into this ſtrength & power of warre, they went & incamped affore *Dyon* the chiefe towne of *Burgondy*, wherin was *Monſr Trimouille* with a thowſand laūces & ſix thowſand footmē: Theſe natures of cōmons & popular peoples, hauing ſome dout of their Capteines who began already to communicate with the french, tooke vpon them the managing of thartilleries and fell to batter the towne, of whoſe defenſe *Trimouille* douting much, he had recourſe to the laſt remedies, & made with thē a ſodain accord without exſpecting any commiſſion from the king, on whoſe behalfe he made this contract to renounce all the rights & claimes he pretended to the Duchy of *Millan*, & to pay them ſix hundred thowſand crownes within a certeine tearme:

for

for thobseruation of which couenant he gaue him foure ostages, persons very honorable and of great condicion: And for the *Svvyzzers* they were bownd to no other promise then to returne to their houses, A matter which tyed them not to remeine for afterwards friendes to the french king, but left them at libertie to returne when they list to thinuasions of his kingdom: Assoone as they were possessed of thostages they brake vp and dissolued their army immediatly, alleaging for their excuse with the king of *England* for entring into this couenant without his consent, that they receyued not in tyme conuenient, the money he had promised them: It was thought that this capitulacion was the cause of the sauing of the whole Realme of *Fraunce*, for that the taking of *Dyon*, had put into the hands of the *Svvyzzers* a free power to ronne vp without resistance cuē to the wals of *Paris*: And it was not vnlikely that the king of *England* passing the riuer of *Somme*, would not haue taken the field to ioyne with thē: A matter which the french could not let for that neither the duke of *Gueldres* being thē come, nor in the armie aboue six thowsand launceknights, they were constrayned to keepe them selues inclosed within townes: But the king was not a litle discontented with the resolucion, complayning not a litle against *Monsr Trymouille*, both for the summe of money he had promised, and much more that he had bound him to the resignation of his titles & interests as an action of too great preiudice, & farre vnworthy his greatnes & the glory of the crowne of *Fraunce*: for which cause albeit the daūger had bene great if the *Svvyzzers* in their wrath had eftsoones returned to assaile him, yet reapposing much in the approch of the winter, and in the difficultie that they could not reassemble so soone, & being withall resolute to ronne all fortunes rather then to depriue him selfe of his rightes in that Duchie (which he loued dearely) he determined not to ratifie thaggreement: yea rather he beganne to propownd to them newe offers, which much lesse that they did harken vnto, seeing they did cōstantly reiect them, with these bluddy threats, that if the ratification came not within a certeine tyme, they would cut of the heades of thostages.

Torvvaine being taken, whereunto th Archduke aspyred by pretence of his auncient right, and the king of *England* chalenged it to be his by the iust prerogatiue of conquest and warre: *Cæsar* and he fell to this point for thauoiding of discord, to cast downe the wals to the ground, notwithstanding such violence was forbidden by the capitulacions made with them of *Torvvaine*: immediatly after, *Cæsar* went from tharmy, giuing this iudgement vpon thexperience & trial he had seene, that in matters of warre thenglish were more resolute then wel aduised, & lesse suttle & politike then wel disciplined & trained. From *Torvvain* the king of *England* went to incamp before *Tornay*, A towne very stronge and riche and of great deuocion of long tyme to the crowne of *Fraunce*, but so inuironed with the contreyes of th Archduke, that it was impossible to the french to reskewe it so long as they were not maisters of the fielde: The french king was not a litle glad of this enterprise, fearing least the ennemie caried with victorie and wealth, would not transferre his forces into the body and partes of his Realme of more importance: A feare which put him into no small perplexities: for, notwithstanding he had now areared a mighty armie, wherein (besides the fiue hundred launces which he had bestowed in garrison in *S. Quyntyn*) were two thowsand launces, eight thowsand light horsemen *Albanois*, ten thowsand laūceknights, a thowsand *Svvyzzers*, & eight thowsand footemen of his owne nation: yet it was farre inferior to the power and multitudes of thenglish armie, which, by the continuall flocking of souldiours, was (as the reaport went) resupplyed to the number of foure skore thowsande fighting men: By the consideracion of which ine-

Thenglish ar mie affore Tournay.

qualitie of forces, the french king who had no great hope to be able to defende *Bolleyne* and those partes of the contrey that are beyonde the riuer of *Somme* which he feared thEnglish would oppresse, looked how to defend *Abeuille* and *Amyens*, & the other townes that are vppon the riuer of *Somme*: his deuise was also to let them for passing the riuer, and so to temporise either vntill the cold season came, or els that the *Skottish* king in whom he hoped much, were ready to aduaunce and draw them from that warre: his armie marched all the meane while along the riuer of *Somme*, to let thennemies from winning passage: It was beleeued that the perswasions of *Cæsar* were the cause of this enterprise of thEnglish, for hope that if the towne of *Tornay* were taken, it might either then or at some other tyme diuolue into the power of his Nephew to whome it was thought it did apperteyne: perhappes it moued vpon a feare the armie had to be afflicted with want of vittels if they had bene in an other place, or happly other places whereunto they might haue gonne, had borne a more facilitie to be succored by thennemies: But the towne of *Tornay* which was not manned but with bandes of straungers and forreyners, and therefore of lesse expectacion to bee succored, was so battred with artilleries in many seuerall places; that after it had made a small resistance, it yelded, vnder lauetie of goods and lines: & to aduaunce an hundred thowsand duckats towards the defrayment of the warre and to defend them from pillage.

Tornay taken by thEnglish.

The fortune of the frenchmen was no more gracious in other places, for that the *Skottish* king comming to battell with the English armie vpon the riuer of *Twede*, where the Lady *Katthren* then Queene of *England* was in person, was ouerthrowen with a very great slaughter, the kings person being then slaine with one of his owne sonnes who was Archbishop of *S. Andrew* with many other Prelats and Nobles of that Realme, and of the common soldiours more then twelue thowsand bodies. After these victories about the ende of October, the king of *England* leauing a stronge garrison within *Tornay*, dismissed his horsemen and footemen of *th Almains*, and so disposed him selfe to returne into *England*, reaping the great towne of *Tornay* as a frute of his warres and great exspenses: for, touching *Torvvaine* whose wals he had thrown downe to the earthe, the naked seate and resemblance remeyned in the power of the french king. One cause that made the king of *England* repasse the seas, was, that the season of the yeare taking away all oportunities to continue the warre in those cold regions, he held it a matter vnprofitable to nourish an armie there with so great charges: And an other was that he thought to take order for the institucion and gouernment of the young king of *Skots* who was in minoritie and the sonne of his owne sister, the Duke of *Albanie* being gonne thether who was also of the blood of the same king.

By the returne of the king of *England*, the feare of the french men beeing taken away, their king dismissed all his armie except the regiments of launceknights: he saw him selfe deliuered of the care of daungers present, but not of feare to fall into them againe the next yeare with farre greater difficulties: he gathered this iudgement by the behauiors of the king of *England* at his going away, who vsed many high threatnings against the crowne of *Fraunce*, promising that he would giue it a greater shake the next sommer: Wherein, he began already to make new preparacions to auoid the discommodities of his former delayes, & with more readines to open the warre assoone as the season of the yeare would suffer: Besides, the french king knewe that *Cæsar* had the same intencion to annoy him, and feared withall least the king Catholike, who with sundrye suttleties had excused him selfe of the truce made least he

should

shoulde wholly alien them from him, woulde not also take armes with them: of this suspicion he had great tokens by the discourse of a letter intercepted, wherein the king Catholike writing to his Embassador resident with Cæsar, and expressing an intention quite contrarie to his manyfest speeches, which testified an earnest desire to make warre agaynst the infidels and to go in person to recouer *Ierusalem*, he perswaded him to deuise diligently by what meanes the duchie of *Millan* mighte be brought to *Ferdinand* their common Nephew, younger brother to tharchduke. In this perswasion he occupied this maner of encouragement, that that estate beeing raunged it would not be hard to reduce the residue of the regions of *Italie* to their deuotion, and with the same facilitie ioyned with his succours, Cæsar might make himselfe Pope, wherevnto he had alwayes aspired since the death of his wife, and being once possessed of that soueraigntie, he should resigne, to the vse and profite of tharchduke, the Crowne imperiall: Neuertheless he concluded that matters of so highe nature and weight could not be ledde to perfection but with tyme and with occasions. Besides all these, the Frenche king doubted nothing of the will of the *Swizzers*, whose obstinacies he coulde in no wise moderate, notwithstanding he made them offers aboue their merite: And they were of newe incensed more then before by the euasion of the ostages deliuered by *Monsr Trimouille*, who fearing the daunger of their lyues for want of obseruation in the king, were secretly stolne away and fledde into *Germanie*: So that it was not without cause that he feared leaste by thoccasion of so many other his aduersities, they would ryse to assayle presently, or at leaste the yere after, the countrey of *Burgondy* or *Dauphine*. These difficulties were partely thoccasion that made him fall to agreement with the Pope for causes spirituall: of which agreement the principal article conteined thabsolute rooting out of the councell of *Pisa*, which poynt was debated many monthes with very great difficulties, specially for the regarde of things done eyther with the authoritie of the same councell, or agaynst the maiestie of the Pope: suche as it seemed very vnworthy for the sea Apostolike to approue, and to cut them off there could not but happen right great confusion: So that there was a delegation of three Cardinalls to deuise of some meanes by the which suche a disorder might be met withall. This bred also one difficultie, that it seemed not conuenient to graunt to the king thabsolution of penalties vnlesse he sued for it: wherevnto the king woulde not consent, leaste by imputation his person and Crowne of *Fraunce* were noted of schisme: But at laste the king was made wearye with these perplexities, and no lesse ouerlabored with the importunities and willes of the people of his Realme, desiring with vniuersall affection to be reunited to the Church of *Rome*: but most of all he was stirred & moued by the deuotion of the Queene, to whō those controuersies were grieuous. In which respectes he determined to yelde to the will of the Pope, and not without some hope, that vpon the reappayesement of these quarrels the Pope woulde some way ioyne to his ayde, wherevnto with great arte he seemed to expresse to haue a good intention: And yet a newe complaint was added to the auncient iniuries, for that the Pope by a speciall writ, had commaunded the *Scottish* king to attempt no domage or greeuance to the crowne of *Englande*: Neuertheless in the viij. session of the councell of *Latran*, which fell in the latter end of the yere, the French Agents in the name of their king and protesting his commission, disclaymed from the councell of *Pisa*, and stucke to the councell of *Latran*: They promised besides, that six of those prelates that did assiste the councell of *Pisa*, should go to *Rome* to do the lyke in the name of the whole French Churche, and that others of the Cleargie should

come to dispute vpon the pragmatike, with intention to referre themselues to the declaration of the councell, of which in the same session they obteined full absolution of all things committed agaynst the Church of *Rome*. These were the accidents and actions done in *Italie*, *Fraunce*, and *Englande*, in the yere a thousande fiue hundred and thirteene.

In the beginning of the yere following, *Anne* the French queene passed from this life to a better, hauing scarcely tasted the sweete fruite of the vnion with the church which she had so muche desired: She was a verye vertuous and catholike Queene, and for those partes her death was greatly sorowed of all the realme and of her naturall peoples of *Brittaine*. When the realme of *Fraunce* was thus reduced to thobedience of the Churche, and by that meane bothe the name and authoritie of the councell of *Pisa* vtterly remoued: some of those that had feare of the greatnesse of the French king, began to stirre and feare least his power were too much embased; But specially the Pope, who notwithstanding he continued in the same desire that the duchie of *Millan* shoulde not be recouered by him: yet fearing least the king, made amased with so great daungers, and remembring eftsoones the matters of the yere paste, would not giue him selfe sodenly to accorde with Cæsar (with whose wil was alwayes concurrant the minde of the king Catholike) & contract his daughter with one of the Nephewes of those two kings, induing her for a dowry with the duchie of *Millan*: He began to perswade with the *Svvizzers*, that for too great hatred agaynst the French king, they woulde not put him into necessitie to do a matter which should be no lesse preiudiciall to them then to him; He tolde them they were not ignoraunt of the yll minde that Cæsar and the king Catholike bare to them, who if they obteined the duchie of *Millan* by vertue of accorde with the Frenche king, it woulde be a matter no lesse to the daunger of their libertie and authoritie, then hurtefull to the prerogatiue of the Churche, and perill to the whole state of *Italie*: That they ought to perseuer in their resolution not to suffer the French king to recouer the duchie of *Millan*, yea they ought also to take heede, least (as it often hapneth in the doings of men) to auoyde too muche one extremitie, they fell not into an other extremitie more hurtefull and daungerous: That to assure themselues more then neede was, that that estate should not reuert to the French, they were not the cause to make it fall into the handes of others, with so muche the more perill & ruine to all, by howe muche lesse they should be founde hable to make resistance to a farre stronger power then the greatnesse of the Frenche king: That the common weale of *Svvizzers* hauing made notable their name and reputation in the actions of warre with so many glorious and worthy victories, was to make them selues no lesse famous and renowmed by the practises of peace: That they were to foresee presently the daungers that were to come, and to remedie them with wisedome and counsell, without suffring things to slyde and fall into places from whence they can not be drawen out and readressed but by armes and vallour of the hande: That according to the testimonie of dayly experience, it happned often in warre that the vallour of men was smothered by the too great power of fortune: That it was a better counsell for them, to moderate in some part thaccord of *Dion*, specially the king offring them greater paymentes, and promise to make truce for three yeeres with the state of *Millan*, so farrefoorth as they would not constrayne him to resigne his interestes: which resignation beeing of greater consequence in apparance then in effect (for when oportunitie shall returne to the king to reconquer it, the action of resignement shall be no other impediment to him then he liste) things for that difficultie

cultie ought not to be reduced to so great a daunger. On the other side he aduysed the french king with many working reasons to make election of the lesser yll, and rather to dispose him selfe to ratifie thaccorde of *Dyon*, then to returne to the daunger of oppression by so many enemies in his realme the next sommer: That it was thoffice of a wise Prince, to auoyde the greater yll, and to embrace for good and profitable thelection of the lesser: That it was contrarie to the wise gouernment of a king, to take himselfe out of one daunger and disorder, to runne into an other of greater importance and greater infamie: That it could be no honor to him to graunte the duchie of *Millan* with so manyfest a note of cowardise to his naturall enemies, who had pursued him with so many deceites and suttleties: That it was neither reste nor securitie to him, by diminishing so much his owne reputation, to enlarge the power of suche as conspired altogether to pull downe the Crowne of *Fraunce*: That himselfe was a good witnesse that he could not be assured of any promise, of any fayth or othe that they make, A matter which he had well knowen by thexperience of other tymes to his great harmes: That truely it was a harde matter to resigne hys rightes, but thinfamie was so muche the lesse, by howemuch a little billet or writing made not his enemies more mightie: That since it had bene promised without his priuitie or consent, it might be sayde that it was not his deuise from the beginning, but in the execution he would be so muche the more excused, being as it were constrayned for the promise made by his people, to keepe somewhat his fayth: Besides, the world doth knowe from how great and desperate a state of daunger, that accord at that time had deliuered the realme of *Fraunce:* That he allowed well that by other meanes and offers he labored to induce the *Svvizzers* to his intention: And that touching his parte, as he desired for the suretie of his kingdome, that in some sorte there were made an agreement betweene them and him, so in that action he would omitte no good office of amitie and trauell to drawe the *Svvizzers* conformable to his will: But if they woulde be obstinate, he exhorted him in grauitie and fatherly deuotion to obey time and necessitie, though not for other regardes, yet not to take from him thexcuse to departe from thalliance he had with his enemies. The king knewe that those reasons were full of fidelitie and trueth, and yet he coulde not digest them without murmure, for that the Pope had cunningly mingled threats with perswasions: And albeit be confessed that his necessitie constrayned him to make some resolution that might diminishe the number of his enemies, yet he was at a poynt rather to giue him selfe vp to all daungers, then to resigne his rightes to the duchie of *Millan:* Wherevnto besides his owne inclination, he was incouraged by thimportunities and counsels of those of his Court, to whom albeit it was grieuous to followe the warres any more in *Italie*, yet respecting the dignitie of the Crowne of *Fraunce*, it was farre more intollerable to see their king so infamously constrayned to disclayme his properties in the duchie. There was discerned the same obstinacie in the Parliamentes and assemblies of the *Svvizzers:* To whome notwithstanding the king made offer to paye presently foure hundred thousande crownes, and eight hundred thousande at sundry tearmes: and albeit the Cardinall of *Sion* with many other of their rulers inclined to accept those conditions, waighing thestate of the daunger if the Frenche king should ioyne with Cæsar and with the king Catholike: yet the commons of that nation increased in their generall hatred to the name of *Fraunce*, and made prowde by so many victories, tooke to them selues a confidence to defende the duchie of *Millan* agaynst all princes knitte in one strength: The authoritie of the Cardinall of *Syon* was muche diminished amongest them, and their

other chiefe rulers were ſuſpected by reaſon of the penſions which they were wont to receiue from the Frenche, Matters which made the Cantons with more obſtinacie to ſtand vpon the ratification of the accorde of *Dyon*: And beſides, giuing themſelues ouer to raſhnes and diſobedience to counſell, they debated to enter of newe into *Burgondy*, an action which the Cardinall and other chieftaynes amongeſt them labored to hinder, not onely with manyfeſt authoritie, but indirectly and with many ſleightes, deferring from one day to another, that reſolution. Therefore the French king ſtanding neither offended with them, nor aſſured of them, forbare not to continue with the king Catholike the practiſe of the mariage, in the whiche (as before) the principall difficultie was, whether the Damoſell ſhould remayne in the power of her father in lawe, tyll time had made her hable to the conſummation of the mariage: for that the father reteyning her, it ſeemed to *Cæſar*, that he could in no ſorte be aſſured of theffect. The king was content to enterteine the difficulties that happned in this action, for that he ſaw there was ſome hope that the brute of this match (which he diligently ſpread abroade) might to his profite mollifie the mindes of o-thers, by reaſon of thintereſts they had in it. The king Catholike ſent to him *Quintaine* his ſecretarie, whom in that negociation he had ſent to him the yere before: and he going afterwards by his conſent to *Cæſar*, returned eftſones to the Frenche king: At whoſe returne, to thende the difficulties of the peace might be reſolued with greater commoditie and reſpite, the king and *Quintaine* in the name of the king Catholike prolonged yet for an other yeare the truce that had bene made the yeare before: The prolongation was vnder the ſame conditions that were before, ſauing that they ſuffred a ſecret addition of this article, that during the truce the French king ſhoulde not moleſt theſtate of *Millan*: in which article *Genes* nor *Aſt* had no comprehenſion. This condition, whiche the king concealed as muche as he coulde, the king Catholike cauſed to proclayme it ſolemnly throwe all *Spayne*, a thing which made the world vncertayne which was moſt true, eyther the negatiue of the one, or the affirmatiue of the other. In the ſame couenaunt was reſerued to *Cæſar* and the king of *Englande*, a reſpite of three monethes, to enter into the agreement: which albeit *Quintaine* did aſſure on bothe their behalfes, yet touching the king of *Englande* there was no apparaunce, and in that he beguyled him ſelfe muche: But for *Cæſar*, the king of *Aragon* who alwayes ſtoode reſolued not to haue warre on the parte of *Spayne*, had perſwaded him that there was no better meane to compaſſe the mariage that was ſolicited. This prorogation of the truce aggrauated the Popes ſuſpicion, that betweene thoſe three Princes were eyther made already, or at a poynt to be made, ſome concluſion of greater things to the harme of *Italie*: And yet for all that not going from his firſte deliberation that it would be a matter very hurtefull to the common libertie to ſuffer the duchie of *Millan* to diuolue into the power of *Cæſar* and the king Catholike, and of no leſſe perill to haue it recouered by the French king, he founde it a harde matter ſo to temper and proceede in things, that the meanes which aided one of his intentiõs, ſhould not hurt the other, ſince one of the daungers came of the embaſing and the feare, & the other of the greatnes & ſuretie of the French king. Therfore to deliuer the king frõ neceſſitie to agree with them, he continued his perſwaſions to the *Svvizzers* (to whome the truce that was made was ſuſpected) that they had reaſon to compounde with him: And to thende to make to the king in all euentes the diſcending into *Italie* more harde, he tooke more paynes then euer he did to agree *Cæſar* with the Senate of *Venice*: who for their partes iudging that to make truce, would be to aſſure the matters

ters of *Cæsar* in the townes that remeyned to him, stoode resolued with a wonderfull constancie of mind eyther to make an absolute peace or to continue the warre, not retyring from so honorable a resolucion for any accident or ill aduenture whatsoeuer: for, besides so many aduersities hapned in the warre, and the dispaire, that, that yeare the french king would sende no armie into *Italy*, they had against them this token both of the anger of heauen, and ill disposicion of casuall accidents which are vainely surmised to depend vpon the power of fortune, that in the beginning of the yeare a great fire kindled in *Venice*, which, beginning in the night at the bridge *Rialto*, was caried by the violence of the North windes resisting all remedies of the diligence and trauell of men, and consumed the moste rich and populous part of the citie.

But because the Pope showed such forwardnes to haue them accorded, there was eftsoones made betweene them a new compromise in his owne person: which bare full power without lymitacion and was not restrayned to any tyme, and yet with a secret promisse vnder his hand, to pronownce nothing but by the consent of both parties: And after the arbytracion was giuen vp, he enioyned by writ both the one and the other to surceasse from armes, an order very slenderly obserued by the *Spanyards*, and *Almains*, for that those companies of the *Spanyards* which were in garrison at *Polleſina* and in *Este*, made pillage of the whole contry thereabout, & the *Viceroy* sent men to *Vincensa* to thende to be in possession at the tyme when the sentence should be giuen: Besides these insolencies, Capteine *Frangipan* did many harmes in the contry of *Fryull*, And the *Venetians* not standing carefully vpon their garde, the launceknights, by an intelligence with certein banished men, tooke *Marano* a towne in *Fryull* neare to *Aquilea* and hath his situacion vpon the sea: To encownter these doings, the *Venetians* sent thether by land *Baltazar Scipion*, with a certeine proporcion of souldiours, and *Ierom Sauorgnano* with many other bands of the contrey men, who being there incamped, and holding the towne strait by the armie at sea, there came to the succours of the towne, fiue hundred *Almain* horsemen, and a regiment of fiue thowsand footemen: for whose comming those that were within the towne, yssuing out to assaile the *Venetian* companies, They were put to flight with a great slaughter of men, and no lesse losse of artillerie, besides that with certaine ships, they tooke from them a gally with many other vessells: After this victorie the *Almains* tooke *Monfalcon* by force: and not many dayes after foure hundred horsemen & xij hundred launceknights that had bene at *Vincensa*, came as a strength to them of *Marano*, who ioyning with the other bands of horsemen and footemen newly come into *Fryull*, ouerronne the whole contry: By reason of which oppressions, *Malatesta Sogliano* gouernor of the contry with six hundred horsemen and two thowsand footemen, together with *Ier. Sauorgnano* and two thowsand of the contry men, who were now withdrawne into *Vdino*, seeing neither by their vallour nor by their fortune they were able to make resistance, passed on the other side of *Lyuensa*, giuing succours where they could: But the *Almains* being deuided, one part of them tooke *Feltro* & occupied the whole contrey thereabout with roades and incursions: Amyd which insolencies the *Venetians* that commaunded all the passages, charged certeine bands of them at *Bassan* where they kept no garde, And albeit they were lesse in number, yet they put them to flight and killed three hundred footemen of the fiue hundred that were there, and tooke prisoners two Capteines and many souldiours: The other part of *th Almains* was gonne to incampe at *Osoff* standing vppon the toppe of a sharpe Mounteine, And after they had executed vppon the castell with their artille-

ries, and giuen many vayne assaultes, they hoped to carrye it by besieging, hauing some assurance from them within of a want and necessitie of water: but the benefite of the heauen remedied that wante by the sodayne falling of sundry great showres, wherevpon they continued a fresh thassalt, but with so yll succesſe, that finding neither fruite in the assault, nor fauour in the siege, they leauyed their camp. These matters were not a litle grieuous to the Pope, but the thing that troubled him moste, was, that he coulde finde no meane of agreement to content both parties; for that becauſe of the continual variation of things, the hopes chaunging according to the succesſe of the same, it fell out that when *Cæsar* had consented to leaue *Vincensa*, keping still *Verona*, the *Venetians* refuſed vnleſſe they were repoſſeſſed of *Verona*: And when the *Venetians* muche embaſed by their calamities, would be contented with *Vincensa* onely, *Cæsar* on the other side, not satisfied with *Verona*, required also *Vincensa*. These difficulties made wearie the Pope, who though he suppoſed that his declaration would not be accepted, yet to showe that it was not long of him that they were not reconciled, he pronounced a peace betwene them, with this clauſe that armes should be presently layde aside on all sides: he reſerued to himſelfe this power, to expreſſe within one yere the conditions of the peace, wherein, as also in the surceaſſing of armes, the king Catholike should be comprehended: That *Cæsar* should depoſe out of his handes *Vincensa*, and all elſe that he and the Spaniards poſſeſſed in the countreys of *Padoa* and *Treuisan*: That the *Venetians* should do the lyke for *Crema*: And for other things, euery one vntill the publication, should hold what he poſſeſſed: That eyther partie should ratifie his sentence within a moneth, and vpon the ratification the *Venetians* to paye to Cæsar xxv. thousande ducketts, and as muche more within three monethes next: That if both parties did not ratifie, the sentence should be of none effect. He choſe this maner of arbitrating & iudgement not accuſtomed, as the moſt indifferent not to diſpleaſe neyther side: And becauſe there was no man had power to ratifie for the king Catholike, notwithſtanding his Embaſſador gaue assurance of his consenting, he reſerued to eyther partie ſo much time to ratifie, as the commiſſion and facultie to do it might conueniently require: But becauſe the *Venetians* were reſolute not to ratifie it at all, deſiring that at the same tyme the conditions of peace might be pronounced, the sentence tooke no effect.

The Popes sentence touching the controuerſies betwene Ceſar & the Venetiãs.

In this tyme the affayres of the *Venetians* stoode in good caſe touching the defence of *Crema*, which was afflicted within with plague and penurie, and without was beſieged with the campe of thenemies: *Proſpero Colonno* was come on the one side to *Eſeuanga* with two hundred men at armes, two hundred and fyftie light horſmen, and a strength of two thouſande footemen: And on the other side was come to *Vmbriana Siluio Sauello* with his guydon of horſmen and a regiment of two thouſande footemen: Both the places were not aboue two myles diſtant from *Crema*, from whence the ſouldiors made many ſallyes to skirmiſhe with thenemies: who as they were in their lodgings at *Vmbriana*, neither making doubtes nor keeping garde, *Ranſo de Cero* with one parte of his companies that were within *Crema*, iſſued out one night, and gaue them a Camueſado in their lodging, when ſuffring the paynes of their owne ſecuritie and negligence, the moſte of them were put to flight, and many of their footemen paſte by the ſworde: This made *Proſpero* retyre with his companies, eſteeming it litle to his ſafetie to remayne there, where the negligence of his fellowes had opened ſo manyfeſt a gappe to his perill. A fewe dayes after, thoccaſion was offred to *Ranſo* to paſſe the ryuer of *Adde* by foarde, by reaſon of the lownes

lownes and ſhalownes of the water: And hauing drawne ouer his companies at *Chaſtillon Lodigiano*, he ſtripped a regiment of fiftie men at armes that lay there, reaping no leſſe prayſes of theſe enterpriſes both happie and full of induſtrie, then were due to him by iuſte merite vppon the vniuerſall beginning: the reputation of hys vallour and celeritie made him to be eſteemed one of the principall Capteines in all the regions of *Italie*, wanting nothing to his worthynes that either nature or fortune could giue him. Theſe doings drewe the *Venetians* to a reſolute councell and courage to proceede to the reconquering of *Friull*, in which expedition they ſente thither *Aluiano* with two hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horſemen, and ſeuen hundred footemen: as they marched along the high way of *Portonouo*, where lay part of the ſtrength of *th Almains*, his light horſmen that ſcoured before, encountred out of the towne with capteine *Riſſan* an *Almain*, accõpanied with two hundred men at armes and three hundred light horſmen, by whom at the firſt encounter they were repulſed, but *Aluiano* comming to the reskew with the reſidue of his companies, the skirmiſh was eftſones recontinued with greater fury & daunger, & no leſſe doubtfull thiſſue, till capteine *Riſſan* being wounded in the face, was taken priſoner by *Malateſta Sogliano*: The chaunce of the fight threw the next calamitie vpon the ſouldiors of *Riſſan*, who ſeeking their ſauety by diſorder and fleing, retyred in their calamitie to *Portonouo*: But fearing they ſhould fayle to defend the towne, that were not hable to kepe the feelde, in their feare they fledde from the place that earſt they ranne vnto for ſuccour, abandoning the towne which immediatly was put to ſacke, and many bodies of the contrey men ſlaughtred. After this *Aluiano*, in whom no one vertue was more cõmendable then his celeritie, tooke the way to *Oſofo*, which *Frangipan* had newly beſieged with the other part of the *Almains*, who hearing of the cõming of *Aluiano*, leauied their ſiege, notwithſtanding they loſt much of their baggage and artilleries, by a charge which the light horſemen gaue vpon their tayle. By the fame of theſe encounters, bringing alwayes with them their victories, almoſte the whole contrey of *Italie* became returned to thobedience of the *Venetians*: and *Aluiano* attempting a vayne enterpriſe vpon *Goritia*, retyred with his armie to *Padoa*, hauing by his owne certificate to *Rome*, ſubdued what by the ſworde and priſoners, two hundred men at armes, two hundred light horſmen, and two thouſande footemen: But by reaſon of his departing, the number of *th Almains* being encreaſed, they tooke of newe *Cromonio* and *Monfalcon*, and conſtrayned the *Venetians* to breake vp their ſiege from before *Marano*, where not manye dayes before, capteine *Frangipan* had bene taken by ambuſh & led priſoner to *Venice*: for the *Venetians* feeling ſupplies and ſuccors to flocke, brake vp from thence in diſorder and as it were diſcomfited: and a litle after their eſtradiots beeing put to flight, *Iohn Vetturio* their aſſiſtant was taken with an hundred horſemen. Theſe chaunges and alterations hapned oftentimes in *Friull* by the neighborhoode of *th Almains*, who were not ſerued in that quarter with other ſouldiors then trayned & diſciplined, and ſuch as after they had ouerronne & pilled thoſe quarters, and that they perceiued the comming of the *Venetian* regiments, with whom many of the contrey ioyned, they retired immediatly to their houſes, returning alwayes to the ſeruice as occaſion ſerued. The *Venetians* ſent thither a new ſupply of cõpanies, by reaſon wherof the *Viceroy* gaue order that *Alarſon* one of his Spaniſh capteins which lay betwene *Eſte*, *Montagnano*, & *Cologno*, ſhould go to *Friull* with two hũdred men at armes, an hundred light horſmen, & fiue hundred footmen: but vnderſtanding on the way that a truce was made in the contry by reaſon of the harueſt, he brake off his purpoſe & returned frõ whẽce he came.

The hopes of the Frenche king.

Thus as the warres of *Italie* proceeded mildly and in an easie course, so also the practises of peace and agreement were not discontinued: for the Frenche king being not altogether depriued of hope that the *Svvizzers* woulde consent to receiue recompense of money in place of resignation of his interestes and rightes, sent to solicite them in that poynt with great instance: But the Communalties were so farre estraunged from the king and his affayres, that after they had compelled with many threatninges the gouernour of *Geneua* (when thostages fled) to deliuer them as prisoner the president of *Grenoble*, whom the king had sent to that Citie to negociate with them: They examined him with many torments whether any of their nation receyued any increase of pensions, or interteined secret intelligence with the French king: wherein no humanitie nor iustification was sufficient to stoppe the course of their barbarous crueltie. Besides, the Frenche king was not without suspicion, that the Pope, who for the diuersitie of his plottes and intentions, was constrayned to sayle with great warynes amongst so many rockes, would secretly worke the *Svvizzers* not to couenaunt with the king without him: Not that he doubted he would stirre them vp to make warre, from which he disswaded them so muche as he coulde, but to remayne firme in thaccorde of *Dyon*, or else for feare that with this beginning they were not brought to be separate from him. In these regardes the king threatned that he would make hast to come to accord with the residue, for that he alone would not stande thrust out to the battery of the whole world: he was also weary of thintollerable expences and insolencies of souldiors, for that hauing called into *Fraunce* twentie thousande Launceknightes, whom he could not haue altogether but when the king of *Englande* laye before *Tornay*, he would not sende them backe agayne, but reteyned them in *Fraunce*, to haue them ready for employment in due time according to occasion and necessitie. These were they that did infinite harmes in his countrey, with whom his authoritie was litle respected, that by force was not hable to represse their insolencies. In these difficulties, and in so great confusion of affayres, the onely matter that began to open to the French king the waye to his surety and hope to repossesse his first power & reputation, was, the incredible discontentment that the king of *Englande* receyued of the renouation of the truce which his father in lawe had made: A matter contrary to his faith & promise many times reitterated, to make no couenant nor cõtract with the french king without his consent: he complayned so much the more publikely of this, by howmuch it was the thirde tyme that his father in lawe had dallyed with him, and therefore he began more and more to estraunge his minde from the renewing of the warre agaynst the French. The Pope was not negligent to take thoportunitie of the kings disposition, and began to worke with the Cardinal of *Yorke* to perswade his king, that contenting himselfe with the glorie he had gotten, and remembring what correspondancie of fayth he had founde in Cæsar, in the king Catholike, and the *Svvizzers*, he would forbeare to trauell any more with armes the realme of *Fraunce*: which the Cardinall tooke vpon him eyther for a feare he had that the Frenche king (in case the king of *Englande* would inuade him) would not make peace and parentage with Cæsar and the king Catholike as he alwayes threatned: or else he thoughte that peace ensuing betweene them, it were good for him to aduaunce him selfe as an actor, and winne some fauour with the Frenche king in an action whiche was not in his power to lette. It is moste certayne, that when the Pope was tolde that the Frenche king woulde take armes agaynst the duchie of *Millan*, being once assured of the king of *Englande*: he aunswered that he knewe well enough the estate of

that

that daunger, but on the other side was to be considered the perill that might breede of the disunion of those kings: that in a matter of so greate importance it was harde to ballance things perfectly, and to finde a councell that were wholly cleare from those daungers: That in all euentes the *Svvizzers* woulde defende the duchie of *Millan:* And lastly he answered that it was necessarie in deliberations so vncertayne and difficulte, to referre one part to tharbitrement of aduenture and fortune. What soeuer was the cause, eyther for the authoritie of the Pope, or by the proper inclination of the parties, there began immediatly a practise of accorde betwene the king of *Englande* and the Frenche king: The mocions and forespeeches of it were begon by the Pope with the Bishop of *Yorke*, and were with diligence caryed into *England*, whither for that busines the king sent the generall of *Normandy*, but vnder culler to treate for the deliuery of the Marquis of *Rhothelin:* Assone as he was come there was proclaymed a surceassing of armes by lande onely betweene the two Realmes, so long as the generall remayned in *Englande*. The king of *Englandes* inclination to peace was encreased by the occasion of newe iniuries: for where Cæsar had promised not to ratifie without him, the truce made by the king Catholike, he sent notwithstanding to the same king thinstrumente of ratification, and by a letter whiche he wrote to the Frenche king, he ratified in the name of Cæsar, but reteyned thinstrument the better to vse his artificiall semblaunces and demonstrations: Assone as the negociation was begonne betweene the two kinges, the Pope desirous to purchase grace with them bothe, sente by poste into *Fraunce* the Byshoppe of *Tricaro* to offer him all his authoritie and facultie, and to that ende he arryued in *Englande* by the suffraunce of the sayde king: At the firste opening of this practise for peace, there fell out manye difficulties, for that the kinge of *Englande* demaunded *Boleine* in *Pikardye*, wyth a greate summe of money: But at laste all the differences fell vppon the towne of *Tornaye*, the kinge of *Englande* stryuing to reteyne it, and the French obiecting some difficultie: In so muche as the king of *Englande* dispatched in poste to the Frenche kinge the Bishop of *Tricaro*, whom he charged, without imparting in what nature of particularitie consisted the difficultie, to declare to the king from him, that in regarde of so greate a benefite, he shoulde not stande vppon so many suttle difficulties, but to consider that in a Prince reason shoulde beare more imperie then passion. The Frenche kinge, because he woulde neither do wrong to his Crowne, nor yll content hys people, the towne of *Tornay* beeing verie noble and loyall to the Crowne of *Fraunce*, caused the matter to be debated in full Councell, wherein was an assistaunce of the principalles of his Courte, who aduised him with one voyce to embrace peace, yea vnder the condition offred: And yet in that tyme the kinge Catholike dyd what he coulde to breake it, offering the king manye plottes and deuises, but specially to minister to hym all his meanes and fauours to conquer the duchie of *Millan:* But the aunswere beeing returned into *Englande* that the Frenche king stoode contented with the resolution of *Tornaye*, the peace succeeded and was concluded in the beginning of August betweene the two kings duryng theyr lyues and for one yeare after their death.

Treatie of peace betwene Englande and Fraunce.

In the capitulation it was expressed that *Tornay* should remayne to the kinge of *Englande*, to whome the Frenche kinge shoulde paye sixe hundred thowsande crownes, and that in suche sorte of distribution that the Frenche kinge shoulde make payment of an hundred thousande frankes euery yeare, till the full payment was satisfied: That they shoulde bee bounde to defende their estates

mutually and reciprocally with tenne thousande footemen if the warre wente by lande, and with six thousande onely if the warre were made by sea: That the french king should be bounde to serue the king of *Englande* in all hys affayres with twelue hundred launces, and the king of *Englande* likewise to minister to his seruices with ten thousande footemen: The expences to be defrayed by either of them that should haue nede of the men: Both the one and other of them named the Skottishe king, tharchduke, and the Empire: But Cæsar and the king Catholike were not named: The *Svvizzers* had a nomination, but it bare a condition, that who soeuer woulde defende agaynst the French king, the estate of *Millan*, *Genes*, or *Ast*, should be excluded out of the nomination. This peace which was made with a wonderful readines, was confirmed by the mariage of the kings sister of *Englande* with the Frenche king, vnder condition that he should acknowledge to haue receiued foure hundred thousand crownes for her dowry: The contract or handfestings were made in *Englande*, where the king Catholikes embassador was not in presence, for the great hatred the king of *Englande* bare to the king his maister. And euen vpon the conclusion and resolution of this peace, came to the Courte of *Fraunce* thinstrument of ratification which Cæsar had made, together with his commission and the king Catholikes, for conclusion of the mariage that was solicited betwene *Ferd. d'Austriche* and the seconde daughter of *Fraunce* not yet foure yeares of age: But the practise of that mariage vanished presently by reason of the peace that was now established: And the Frenche king to satisfie better the king of *England*, gaue order that the Duke of *Suffolke* Capteine generall of the Launceknightes that were in his pay, should departe the dominions of *Fraunce*, in whom the honors & recompences that the king made to him ouercame all occasions of discontentment, the bountie and liberalitie of the one, being no greater then the affabilitie and disposition of the other.

The Fr. king marieth the Lady Mary sister to the king of Englande.

Actions of the Pope.

The Pope had also in this time made new aliances, for that according to his dissimulations, he wished on the one side that the frēch king should not recouer the duchie of *Millan*, and on the other side he sought to enterteine the king and the other princes as much as he could with sundry meanes: And therfore he had delt with the king by the Cardinall *S. Seuerin*, who managed his affayres in the court of *Rome*, that seing the times suffred not to knit betwene them a more great and more discouered aliance, that at least there might be layed a beginning & fundation whervpon might be raysed a hope to accomplish at an other time a more straite intelligence: to those ends he sent him the particularities of articles: But the french king, notwithstanding he made demonstration to like well of the motion, did not answer so directly & spedily as was looked for: he was xv. dayes in resoluing, either for thimpedimēt of other affayres, or that he exspected some answere from an other place, to thende to proceede according to the trayne of affayres, By which delaying the Pope entred into newe capitulations for a yere with Cæsar and the king Catholike, which yet comprehended no other matter then the defence of their common estates: for the king Catholike was entred afore not without cause into suspicion that he aspired to the realme of *Naples* for *Iulian* his brother, and had already enterteyned in that action some practise with the *Venetians*. This newe confederation was scarcely established and concluded, when the French kings answere came: By it he approued all that the Pope had propounded, with this onely addition, that since he was to bynde hym selfe to the protection of the *Florentins*, of *Iulio de Medicis* hys brother, and *Lavvrence* hys nephew, whom the Pope had aduaunced to thadministration of thaffayres of *Florence*, that he woulde reciprocally be bounde to the defence

of the Crowne of *Fraunce*: But the Pope excused him selfe touching the action of capitulation with Cæsar and the king Catholike, that seeing how long he deferred to make aunswere to a demaunde so reasonable, he coulde not but enter into some doubt: And yet the confederation was but for a short time, and conteined no matter preiudiciall to him, nor to hinder the perfection of the practise begonne betwene them. These iustifications were accepted by the king, and so they passed the couenaunt, not by instrument authentike, to hold it more secret, but by a priuate writing subsigned by both their handes.

The peace betwene the king of *Englande* and the French king was more sodayne and easie then was exspected, being vnlikely that so great hatreds redoubled by new iniuries, should with such facilitie be conuerted into amitie and aliance: happly the peace was not liking to the Pope, who aswell as others was perswaded that there might grow betwene them rather a truce then a peace, or at least if it resolued to the nature of a peace, it would eyther intangle the king with harder conditions, or at least with obligation not to assayle the duchie of *Millan* for a certayne tyme: But it brought incredible discontentment to Cæsar and the king Catholike, who, as there is none euill in humaine actions which hath not ioyned with it some good, so he assured notwithstanding that he receiued by it in his minde two contentmentes: The one for that tharchduke his nephewe beeing out of hope to giue his sister for wife to the Frenche king, and entring withall into distruste of the king of *Englande*, would be nowe compelled to do nothing without his counsell and authoritie: The other for that the Frenche king standing nowe in good possibilitie of children, the succession of *Monsr de Angonlesme* was put in doubt, to whome he bare no little hatred, for that he norished a great desire to restore the king of *Nauarre* to his estate; Onely the *Svvizzers* gaue it out that they reioyced all at that accorde, notwithstanding they reteyned agaynst the French king the same hatred they did before: The reason of their gladnes grew of an opinion they had, that the french king being now at libertie, would take occasion to recontinue the warre in the duchy of *Millan*, by which meane they should eftsones begin to declare to all the world their vertue and their fayth: And truely it was not to be doubted, that the french king, being now deliuered almost of al feare to haue warre beyond the Mountes, would not be touched with his old desire to reconquer the duchy of *Millan*: only it could not be discerned whether he would presently dispose him selfe to armes, or deferre it tyll the yeare following, for that the facilitie of thenterprise appeared to all men, but there was none that discerned any signe of preparations: In whiche vncertayntie the Pope, notwithstanding that conqueste was grieuous to him, stirred him vp not to deferre nor corrupt the present occasions: wherein he gaue him to vnderstande that all thinges were yll prepared to make resistance, both for that the Spanishe armie was diminished and yll payed, the peoples of *Millan* reduced to great pouertie & straitnesse, and also none was hable to aduaunce money to make the *Svvizzers* march. These perswasions caryed so muche the greater force and authoritie, by how much a litle before the peace with the king of *Englande*, the Pope expressing a desire that the Frenche king should recouer *Genes*, had giuen him a certayne hope to induce *Octauian Fregoso* to compound with him. Assuredly the Pope in this action proceded not with sinceritie & good meaning, which disposition moued in him as was supposed, for that seeing euery one yll furnished, and no lesse doubting least the French king woulde make that expedition without his councell since he had his men at armes in readynes and many leauyes of Launceknightes at his deuotion:

The lamentation of Germanie led by the people.

thought by that meane to preuent and winne his frendship: perhappes (and in this he proceeded with greater suttletie) he was enduced by the knowledge he had that the Emperour and the king Catholike were of opinion, that it was not lawfull to the French king to inuade the Duchie of *Millan*: An opinion which though they supposed to be true, yet the Frenche king denied it, aduowing that it was good in him, & he was not forbidden to take armes against the estate of *Millan* during the truce: By reason whereof the Pope perswading him selfe that the king would not enter into thenterprise, thought he would expresse to him a good disposicion of will which also should serue him for excuse if an other time he required succours of him: And the matter succeded according to his opinion: for, the king being resolued, either for that cause, or for his present necessitie of money, or lastly for the nearenes of the winter, not to enter into armes affore the spring time, and making show that he had confidence that euen in that time the Popes fauor woulde not faile him: he wrote aunswere to him alleaging many excuses touching his deferring, but concelled the excuse of the truce which yet endured, and perhappes was the principall: Neuertheless he had desire to attempt the reconquering of *Genes*, or at least to succour the lantern, which the same yere by his direction, had bene reuittelled many times with certaine proporcions of vittels by the aduenture of sundry smal vessels, who making as though they woulde enter the porte of *Genes*, dissembled with the warders, and were profitable to them of the lantern: But at last the extremitie of vittells growing aboue all remedie, and no lesse diligence of the enemie to keepe them suppressed in that want, & their calamitie not able to temporise and expect any longer after succours, the garrison within, was driuen to yeelde it vp to the *Genouvais*, who in their spite rased it from the fundacions: A matter not a litle displeasing to the king: And albeit the losse of this fortresse tooke wholly from the king all cogitacions to vrge a present warre against the *Genouvaies*, yet it diminished nothinge his disposicion to the action of *Millan*, whereunto he turned all his preparacions, to inuade the yeare following that state with maine armies: he hoped that the Pope, both for the deuout intencion he protested, and for the good disposicion he had shewed in the negociacions with th English and the *Svvizzers*, and lastly for that he had prouoked him to thenterprise, would ioyne with him and fauor thaction, the rather for that he had made him many generall offers, and perticularly had promised to aide him to reconquer the realme of *Naples*, either to the vse of the Church, or to the benefit of *Iulio* his brother: But there hapned new occasions for the which the king beganne to enter into some distrust of him: The Pope would neuer put ende to the affaires that the Duke of *Ferrara* had with him, notwithstanding at his first aspiring to the Popedom, he had giuen him many faire hopes, promising to rēder to him *Reggia* at such time as his brother the Cardinal should be returned from *Hungria*: But he was more liberall to promise, then readie to performe, for that after the returne of his brother, he went alwayes in deferring with many excuses: And yet he forbare not to confirme to him the selfe same promises not onely with wordes, which might be vaine and vnassured, but by wryting sette out vnder thauthoritie and testimonie of his name, in which he consented that he should take the reuenues of *Reggia* as a degree to the whole which was to returne vnder his dominion: it was wel knowen that the Popes intencion was farre otherwise, dissembling in meaning the thinges he had simplie spoken with his mouth: his inclination and desire to occupie *Ferrara* were stronger then his promise and true meaning, whereunto happily he was caried by *Albert de Carpy Cæsars* Embassador and great enemy to the Duke, and also by the

The lantern of Genes rased by the people.

reasons

reasons of many others, setting before his eies the glorie of *Iulio* which was perpetuall, for that he had so greatly aduaunced & augmented the dominion of the church: And sometimes they preferred thoccasion to bestow an honorable estate vpon *Iulio* his brother, who thirsting after too great thinges, and nourishing him selfe with hopes immoderat, had voluntarily consented that his Nephewe *Lavvrance*, should reteyne at *Florence* the authoritie of the house of *Medicis*: so that the Pope being entred into these thoughts, obteyned of *Cæsar* who was alwayes needy of money, to deliuer to him in morgage the citie of *Modona* for xl. thowsand duckats according to the capitulacion made with him a litle affore the death of the late Pope: he made his reckoning to vnite that citie with *Reggia*, *Parma*, and *Pleisanca*, and to giue them in patronage or perpetual gouernmēt to *Iulio*, adding to them *Ferrara*, if euer thoccasion serued him to get it: he sought to doe a thing by authoritie and fauor of tymes, which he could not doe by equitie or lawefull course of iustice: But that manner of morgaging put the french king into great suspicion, for that in his conceit it caried a manifest signe of straight alliance with *Cæsar*, being also no lesse discontented that the Pope had giuen him money: Whereof notwithstanding, the Pope excused him selfe, alleaging that *Cæsar* had deliuered *Modena* to him for assurance of the money which he had receiued of him affore: The king on the other side augmented his suspicion, for that vppon a victory which the *Turke* gotte vpon the *Sophy* king of *Persia*, the Pope construing it to the vniuersall daunger of Christendom, wrote letters to all Princes, aduising them to depose armes amongst them selues, to resist or inuade the common enemies of the faith: he protested one thing vnder his letters, and practised an other by operacions secret, proceeding alwayes with faire apparances, and yet holding his intencions dissembled: But the matter that almost altogether disclosed his purposes, was, that he sent vnder the same shadowe and pretence, to *Venice*, *Peter Bembo* his Secretorye, and afterwards Cardinall, to dispose that state to agree with *Cæsar*, towards whom the same difficulties continuing that had bene before, the *Venetians* would not be wrought, but manifested to the french king thoccasion of his comming: A dealing that did so much discontent the king, that the rather for that the Pope sought to depriue him of his succours at a time when he was ready to aduaunce armes, he renewed eftsoones with the king Catholike the auncient practises, and that either to thende the Pope should be touched with that feare, or at least if he were careless, to conclude absolutely: so hot he was aboue all other thinges in the expedicion of *Myllan*.

Emocions against the Venetians and of the Venetians.

In those tymes there were not in any quarter of *Italy* other stirrs or emocions, thē against the *Venetians*, against whom were raysed many secret ambushes and conspiracies: for, according to the testimonie of their Cronicles, certeine spanish footemen feyning to be fugitiues from thennemies campe, entred *Padoa* with mindes to kill *Aluiano* by direction of their Capteines, who hoped by the trouble and disorder of the people for the death of such a Capteine, they should be able with their campe to cary the towne: So different at this day are the stratagemes of warre from the vertue of thauncients, who much lesse that they would subborne an instrument to so great a trayson, but of the contrary hauing knowledge of it, they would lay it open to thennemies, to thende that by their vertue they might vanquish thinfidelitie pretended: but the conspiracie being detected, the Magistrates committed the traytors to the due paynes of their offence.

The spanish armie, being now wel diminished in numbers, lay incamped betwene *Montagnano Cologno*, and *Este*: And the *Venetians*, to thend to constraine them to re-

turne to the kingdome of *Naples*, leauyed an armie at sea, and made their Admirall or capteine generall *Andrea Gritti*, whom they thought to sende to inuade *Povvilla*: But for many difficulties that happned, that expedition went no further, beeing assone discontinued as it was thought vpon. Afterwards the Spaniardes came to the towre neare *Vincensa* by the perswasion of *th Almains* that were within *Verona*, to thende to ioyne with them in an enterprise to waste and ouerronne the corne of the *Padoans*: But after the Spaniards had taryed in that place in vayne many dayes, being both reduced to a very small number, and not hable to accomplishe the promisses vnder the which they had called them, they left there their enterprise to spoyle their corne, forbearing in suche rashnes to do a violence which would draw with it a greater reuenge then was the iniurie: And after they had gotte of the *Almains* xv. hundred footmen, they marched with seuen hundred men at armes, seuen hundred light horsemen, and three thousande fiue hundred Spanishe footemen, to incampe before *Citadella*, wherein were three hundred light horsemen: they marched with great diligence all the night, and came to the place within two howres in the moatning, and falling to batter it with their artilleries, they caryed the towne the same day at the seconde assault: they made prisoners all the lighte horsemen that were there, and so returned to their campe lying within three myles of *Vincensa*, *Aluiano* making no resistance: He had receyued speciall commaundement from the Senate not to feight, and lay incamped vpon *Brenta* with seuen hundred men at armes, a thousande light horsemen, and seuen thousande footemen, And the place beeing strong by situation and defence, gaue him great oportunitie to vex thenemies with his light horsemen: Neuertheless a litle after, he retyred to *Barsillon* almost afore the gates of *Padoa*, to thend to drawe his armie into a place of suretie: But the whole countrey beeing turned into spoyle and waste, by the pillages that were made by both the Armies, the Spaniards hauing great want of vittells, retyred to their first lodgings from whence they were come, leauing abandoned the citie of *Vincensa* and the rocke of *Brendola*, which is about seuen myles from it: They releeued themselues with no other subsidies or payments then with the taxations which they imposed vpon *Verona*, *Bressia*, *Bergama*, and other places thereaboutes. Vpon the retyring of the Spaniards, *Aluiano* bestowed himselfe with tharmie betwene *Batallo* and *Padoa*, the place being strong and proper: and there vnderstanding that there was within *Este* a very small and negligent garrison, he sent thither by night foure hundred horsemen and a thousande footemen, who being entred afore they were descerned, tooke fourescore light horsemen of capteine *Coruero*, who saued himselfe in the Castell, and with that pray retyred to tharmie. But the *Venetians* hauing sent to tharmie freshe bandes of souldiors, *Aluiano* drewe neare to *Montagnano*, and presented the battell to the *Viceroy*, who refused to accept it beeing farre inferior in forces, and so retyred to *Polesina de Rouigno*: An oportunitie agreeing to the courage of *Aluiano*, who hauing nowe no more impedimentes beyonde *Adice*, made dayly incursions euen to the gates of *Verona*: the same so touching the *Viceroy* with the daunger of that Citie, that leauing within *Polesina*, three hundred men at armes and a thousande footemen, himselfe with the residue of tharmie went to the defence of that Citie, disposing his forces not sufficiently according to the state of his perills, but aswell as he was hable according to the necessitie of the time.

Farre greater difficulties began to kindle towards *Crema*, which was almoste besieged by the companies of the duke of *Millan* bestowed in the townes and villages thereabouts: for the towne suffred great affliction of famine, great stroke of plague,

great

great disorder of souldiors for want of pay, vniuersall lacke of munitions, with other particular prouisions which had bene many times demaunded: Aduersities which *Ranso* distrusting to be hable no longer to susteine, had made him almost to protest to the *Venetians*: And yet the same fortune following him with some fauor & countenaunce, he set vpon *Siluio Sauello*, whose strength was two hundred men at armes, an hundred light horsemen, and xv. hundred footemen, and charging him vpon the sodayne, he so put him to discomfiture that he fledde to *Lode* onely with fiftie men at armes, seeking safetie rather at aduenture and by chaunce, then by confidence in his vallour and proweſſe. After this the *Venetians* reuitteled *Crema* the second time, and the Count *Nicholas Scot* put into it xv. hundred footemen: In so much as both the forces and courage of *Ranso* rising increased, he entred a fewe dayes after the Citie of *Bergamo*, being called in by the townesmen, and the Spaniards fleing to the Chappell. At the same time also *Mercurio* and *Malatesta Baillon* tooke three hundred horsmen that were stragling without: but not long after, as *Nicholas Scot* went from *Bergamo* to *Crema* with fiue hundred Italian footmen, he was encountred with two hundred *Swvizzers*, who ouerthrewe his companies, and tooke him prisoner, and ledde him to the duke of *Millan*, who caused his head to be striken of. This losse of *Bergamo* awaked the *Viceroy* and *Prospero Colonno*, who went and incamped there with fiue thousande footemen ioyned to the regiments of the Spaniards, and to the bands of the duke of *Millan*: They planted their artilleries agaynst *S. Katherins* gate, whiche though it made valiaunt resistance, yet *Ranso* beeing within, and seeing no possibilitie of long defence, left the towne to discression, compounding to departe with the lyues and goods of all his souldiors, but without sounding of trompet, and with their ensignes wrapped vp: The *Viceroy* taxed thinhabitantes of *Bergamo* at iiij. score thousande duckets. But amidde these actions and seruices at *Crema* and *Bergamo*, an other exployte of greater worthines and more full of industry and celeritie, was executed by *Aluiano* in the towne of *Rouigno*, wherein was a garrison of two hundred men at armes spanish, who thought them selues to stand in suretie for that they had the ryuer of *Adice* betwene them and the *Venetian* bandes: *Aluiano* when was least doubt of him, cast a bridge neare the towne of *Anguillaro*, and by his industrie and diligence made him a passage ouer the ryuer, with a company of souldiers resolute and trayned, and no impediment of stuffe or baggage to hinder thenterprise, which was to be executed as muche with celeritie as with vallour: And as he was arriued at the towne, and had possessed the gate by the stratageame of a hundred footemen attyred like paysantes whom he had sent before vnder the cullor and occasion of the market that was kept there that day, he easily made him selfe Lorde of the whole, and tooke prisoners all the men at armes that he founde there: In this enterprise he preuayled as muche by pollicie as by vertue, which two properties in a man of warre are equally required: and turning neither the one nor the other into rigour nor blood, he accompanied his vallour with clemencie, and spared the liues of those whom his fortune & the course of armes offred to the edge of his sworde: By reason of this aduenture, the residue of the Spaniardes that were lodged at *Polisena*, retyred into thabbay, as to the strongest place in the countrey, and afterwards leauing abandoned all *Polisena* and *Leguagua*, they fledde towards *Ferrara*, carrying with them more feare then hope of safety. Immediatly after the taking of *Rouigno*, *Aluiano* marched with tharmie to *Oppiano* neare to *Leguaguo*, whither he caused to be brought by the ryuer certayne armed barkes: and so he went on to *Villacero* neare to *Verona*, with this resolution, that if from that place he should not be hable to take

Verona, wherein was a ſtrength of two thowſande ſpaniſh footemen and a thowſand launceknightes, at leaſt he would kepe it in vexacion & torment all the winter long: But being aduertiſed that an armie of three hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, and ſix thowſande footemen of thenemies, were gone vp towardes *Leguaguo*, he came out of that place fearing leaſt they would either ſtoppe his vittels, or conſtraine him to feight: he came within the view of them going towards *Adice*, which they paſſed at *Albaretto*, with no ſmall difficulty of vittells by reaſon of thimpedimentes which the light horſemen and the armed barkes gaue them: And hearing there that the ſpaniſh army after the recouery of *Bergama*, returned towards *Verona*, he determined to abide them no longer, for which cauſe he ſent the companies of men at armes by land to *Padoa*, and paſſed in perſon by night by the riuer of *Adice*, with the footemen: he caried with him by water, thartilleries and baggage of tharmy, both to auoide the raines and myers which were great, and alſo for feare to be charged by thenemies to whome the waters that were then riſen very high, gaue great impediments: And aſſoone as he had taken land, he retired with his accuſtomed celerity to *Padoa*, where the men at armes were entred two daies before: Afterwardes he diſtributed his army betwene *Padoa* and *Treuiſa*: And the *Viceroy* and *Proſpero Colonno*, after they had ſent their men to lye in garriſon at *Poliſena de Rouigno*, went vp to *Iſpruch* to conſult with *Cæſar* vpon theſtate of thaffaires.

This yeare the countrey of *Friull* remeined in tranquillitie more then was wont for the taking of Capteine *Frangipan*, the only man that afflicted it more then any other: And therfore the *Venetians*, knowing how much it imported them to reteine it, had refuſed to render it in exchaunge of *Iohn Pavvle Baillon*: He, for that ſolicitacion had bene made at *Rome* to exchaunge him for *Caruaiall*, had got leaue of the Spaniardes to goe to *Rome*, giuing his faith to returne priſoner, if the permutacion could not be agreed vppon: But for that during the treaty, it hapned that *Caruaiall* dyed, *Iohn Pavvle* affirmed that by the benefit of thaccident, he was at libertie, and ſo holding him ſelfe acquited he would no more returne to him whoſe priſoner he was: About theſe times and towardes the latter end of the yeare, the families of the *Adorney* & *Fyeſquey* entred *Genes* by night by a ſecret fauor and working of the Duke of *Millan* as was ſuppoſed: And albeit by conſpiracie and intelligence they were come as farre as the pallace greene, yet their fortune being ſomwhat inferior to the vallor of their enemies, they were chaſed out againe by *Octauian Fregoſo*, who going out againſt them euen vntill beyonde the barriers accompanied with the footemen of his garde, fought valliantly in his owne perſon, and put them to fleight: he was not otherwiſe wounded then in the hand, being recompenſed (beſides the honor of the victorie) with the perſons of *Sy. Fyeſquo*, *Ier. Adorno*, and *Io. Camilla* of *Naples*, as his priſoners.

Two Elephãts preſented to the Pope.

Amidde theſe affaires of warre and ſeruice, it is not vnworthy of memorie, to report that this yeare there were ſeene at *Rome* two Elephantes, a nature of creatures which happily had not bene ſeene in *Italie* ſince the triumphes & publike playes of the *Romaines*: *Emanuell* king of *Portugall* ſent to the Pope a very honorable Embaſſage, and withall, preſented him with two huge and ſtately Elephantes which his ſhippes had brought by ſea from *India*, their entring into *Rome* was celebrated with a very great concourſſe of people, ſome wondring at the ſtraunge forme and ſtature of the beaſtes, ſome marueiling to what vſes their nature inclined them, and ſome coniecturing the reſpectes and purpoſes of ſuch a preſent, their ignorance making their wonder farre greater then their reaſon.

But

But about thoſe times the frenche king, who had other cares in his minde then pompes and ſpectacles, ſolicited all ſortes of prouiſions for the warre: And albeit he was determined reſolutely to proſecute thenterpriſe of *Myllan*, yet, deſiring to be aſſured of the Popes will, he prayed him to declare him ſelfe in his fauor: Wherein to draw him on the rather, he confirmed to him the offers he had made to him affore, aſſuring him for ende, that if he were diſappoynted of his amitie and thexſpectacion of it, he would eſtſoones ioyne him ſelfe to thoſe condicions of *Cæſar* and the king Catholike, which he had already refuſed: In this demaund he debated with him the power of his kingdom, the ſtrength of his confederacions, & the proporcion of ſuccours promiſed by the *Venetians*: how at that time the forces of *Cæſar* and king Catholike were ſmall in *Italy*, and how both the one and other were very needy of money, and hauing no meane to pay their owne ſouldiours, much leſſe that they were able to defraie the *Svvyzzers*, who would not deſcend from their Mounteines without good certeinty of pay: That the popularitie of *Myllan* hauing proued the hard yoke of others, exſpected with an vniuerſall deſire the returne of the french iuriſdiction: That the victory of *Myllan* ought not to giue cauſe to the Pope to arme and band againſt him, both for that the greatnes of the kings of *Fraunce* in *Italy*, and his owne authoritie, had bene in all ſeaſons profitable to the ſea Apoſtolike, And alſo ſtanding alwayes contented with the things that of right apperteyned to them, they roſe not higher into humors of ambicion, nor once lifted vp their mindes to aſpyre to the reſidue of *Italy*, A matter well teſtified by ſo many experiences: That thintencion of *Cæſar* and the king Catholike was farre other, hauing aboue all other thinges thirſted after the whole Empire of *Italy*, and to ſubiect the regions thereof, either by armes, by alliances, or by pollicies: That they haue nouriſhed a perpetuall diſpoſicion of mind, to reduce into thraldom, no leſſe then other ſtates, the ſea Apoſtolike & the Popes of *Rome*, A deſire which all the world knew to be very auncient and reſolute in *Cæſar*: That therefore, he would at one time prouide for the ſewertie of the Church, defend the common libertie of *Italy*, reeſtabliſh the greatnes of the famulie of *Medicis*, and that he ſhould not be curious to employ the preſent occaſion, which would not be eſtſoones preſented neither with the fauor of a better time, nor with the oportunitie of better alliance then his. On the contrary for *Cæſar* & the king Catholike there wanted no perſwaſions ful of affection & efficacie that he would ioyne with them for the defence of *Italy*: Wherein was not forgotten to be alleaged, that if they conioyned al together, they were able to chaſſe the french king out of the duchie of *Myllan*, and their power was no leſſe ſufficient to defend it againſt him: That he was to remember the wronge that he had done to the king the yeare paſt, ſending money to the armie of the *Svvyzzers* at ſuch time as the french campe marched into *Italy*: Laſtly that he had to conſider that if the french king obteyned the victorie of *Myllan*, he would not be vnmindfull to reuenge all the wronges he had receyued, and to aſſure him ſelfe of all daungers and ſuſpicions to come: But the Pope was much more moued with the authority and offers of the *Svvyzzers*, who, continuing in their firſt obſtinacies, offered to commaund and defend with ſix thowſand footemen the paſſages of the Mount *Senis*, of the Mount *Geneure*, & *Finalo*, receiuing onely by the moneth ſix thowſand florince of *Rhein*: And in caſe their payes might be aduaunced to forty thowſand florince by the moneth, they offered to inuade *Burgondy* with twenty thowſand footemen: Theſe perplexities made the Pope doubtfull in him ſelfe, & as feare withdrew him from the thing whereunto his will did driue him, ſo, amyd ſo many variacions of mind, he deferred as much as he could, to declare his

intencion, giuing to euery one, words and aunſweres generall: But being continually importuned by the Frenche king, at laſt he made him this aunſwere, that there was no perſon that knew better then him ſelfe, how much he was inclined to his affaires, being not ignoraunt with what affection he perſwaded him to paſſe into *Italy* at a time when he might haue victorie without daunger or great effuſion of blood: That his perſwaſions, for that thinges were not kept ſecret as he had oftentimes required him, were now come to the knowledge of others, to the common detriment of them both: for that for his parte, he ſaw him ſelfe in daunger to be aſſailed by others, & that the difficulties were become the greater for the enterpriſe of the king, ſince others had giuen ſuch order to their affaires that he could no more enter into the victorie but with manifeſt perill and lamentable ſlaughter of men: That the power and glory of the Turkes being newly increaſed by ſo great a victorie & ſucceſſe, it was neither conuenient to his condicion, nor conformable to thoffice of a Pope, either to giue fauor or counſel to Princes chriſtened, to make warre amongeſt them ſelues: And that therefore he could not otherwiſe aduiſe him, then to temporiſe & ſurceaſe, exſpecting ſome other facilitie & better occaſion, which when it hapned, he ſhoulde finde in him the ſame diſpoſition to his glory & greatnes which he hath ſo well diſcerned certaine monethes paſſed: An anſwere, which (albeit it did not in other ſorte expreſſe his conception) if it had come to the knowledge of the king, it had not onely depriued him of all hope of the Popes fauor, but alſo haue certified him that the Pope would haue ioyned and banded againſt him both with counſel & with armes: Theſe were the accidents of the yeare 1514.

The death of king Lowys the twelfth 1515.

But death, who bringeth with him this law & authority, to cut of the vaine councells of men euen in their greateſt hopes, was the cauſe that the warre ſo forward in apparaunce, burſt not out to action with that ſpeede that was exſpected: for, whileſt the French king gaue him ſelfe ouer to behold too much the excellent bewty of his new wife, bearing then but eighteene yeres of age, nothing conſidering the proporcion of his owne yeares, nor his decayed complexion, he fell into the rage of a feauer, which drawing to it a ſuddeine flux, ouercame in one inſtant the life, that nature gaue ouer to preſerue any longer: he dyed the firſt day of the yeare 1515. a day of memorie for the death of ſo great a Prince: he was a king iuſt & much beloued of his peoples, but touching his condicion, neither affore he was king, nor after he had the crowne, he neuer found conſtancy or ſtability in either fortune: for, riſing from a ſmall Duke of *Orleance* with great happines to the crowne, and that by the death of *Charles* younger then he, and two of his ſonnes, he conquered with a very great facility the Duchie of *Millan* and the kingdom of *Naples*, and almoſt all the reſidue of the regions of *Italy*, being gouerned for many yeares by his direction: he recouered with a very great proſperity, the ſtate of *Genes* that was in rebellion: & vanquiſhed with no leſſe glory the armies of the *Venetians*, being in perſon at both thoſe victories: But on the other ſide, euen when he was in youth and beſt diſpoſicion of body, he was conſtrained by king *Lowys* the eleuenth to mary his daughter that was both barren & deformed, and yet could neuer get the good will nor countenaunce of his father in law: And after his death, ſuch was the greatnes of the Lady of *Burbon*, that he could neuer get the inſtitucion of the newe king being then in minoritie, being almoſt compelled to retyre him ſelfe into *Brittaine*: where being taken in the battell of *S. Aubyn*, he liued two yeares in the calamity of a priſoner: To theſe afflictions may be added the ſiege and famin of *Nouaro*, the many diſcomfits he had in the realme of *Naples*, the loſſe of the ſtate of *Millan*, *Genes*, and all the townes

which

which he had taken from the *Venctians:* And laſtely the grieuous warre he had in *Fraunce* agaynſt very mightie enemies, his eyes beholding into what lamentable perils his realme was brought: Neuertheleſſe afore he died it ſemed he had conquered al his aduerſities, & fortune ſhewed good tokens of her reconcilement, both for that he had defended his kingdome agaynſt mighty enemies, & alſo eſtabliſhed a perpetuall peace & alliance with the king of *Englande*, with whom by how muche his amitie was great and aſſured, by ſo muche it gaue him hope to be hable to reconquer the duchie of *Millan*.

Frauncis the firſt comes to the crowne.

After *Lovvis* the xij. aſcended to the Crowne *Frauncis d'Angouleſme*, who was the next heire male of the blood royall & of the ſame line of the Dukes of *Orleance:* he was preferred to the ſucceſſiō of the kingdom before the daughters of the dead king by the vertue & diſpoſition of the lawe Salike, a lawe very auncient in the realme of *Fraunce*, which excludeth from the royall dignitie all women, ſo long as there is any iſſue male of the ſame line. The world had ſuch a hope in his vertues, and ſuche an opinion of his magnanimitie, & ſuch a conceite of his iudgement & wit, that euery one confeſſed that of very long time there was none rayſed vp to the Crowne with a greater exſpectation: he was made the more agreable to the fancies of men, by the conſideration of his age bearing then but xxij. yeres, his excellent feiture & proporcion of body, his great liberality, & general humanity, together with the rype knowledge he had in many things: But ſpecially he pleaſed greatly the nobilitie, to whom he transferred many ſinguler & great fauors. He tooke vpon him together with the title of the french king, the name of the duke of *Millan:* A dignitie which he ſayd apperteined to him not only by the auncient rights of the dukes of *Orleance*, but alſo as cōprehended in the inueſtiture that was made by *Cæſar* in the treaty of *Cambray:* Beſides there liued in him the ſame deſire to recouer it that dyed with his predeceſſor; whervnto not only the working of his owne inclination, but the perſwaſions of al the noble yong gentlemē of *Fraunce* did induce him, no leſſe by the memory of the glory of *Gaſton de Foix*, thē for the monumēt of ſo many victories as the kings raigning next afore had obteined in *Italie:* And yet (not to warne others afore the time not to prepare to reſiſt him) he diſſembled his deſires by thaduiſe of his graue counſelors, & in the meane while fell to practiſe the amities of other princes: frō whom were ſent to congratulate with him many embaſſadors, whō he receiued with countenaunce affable & gracious, but ſpecially the embaſſadors of the king of *England*, who deſired to continue with him thamity begon with his predeceſſor, the iniuries he had receiued frō the king Catholik being yet freſh in memory. There came at the ſame tyme an embaſſage frō the duke of *Auſtrich*, wherof the lord of *Nauſan* was chief, & in this embaſſage, for the regard of therle of *Flaūders*, wherof the kings of *Fraūce* are ſoueraignes, were diſcerned demonſtrations of great ſubmiſſion in acknowledging of ſuperiority: Both the one & the other of theſe embaſſages had a ready & happy expedition: for touching the king of *England*, the confederation betwene him & the late king, was cōfirmed vnder the ſame conditions ſo long as either of thē ſhould liue, reſeruing a reſpite of iij. yeres for the Skottiſh king to enter in it: And for tharchduke, many differences ceaſſed, which many men ſuppoſed would haue giuē great impediments to the action of the peace: But the archduke being now in full maiority, & newly taken vpon him the gouernment of his eſtates, was drawne to the peace for many cauſes: firſt for thinſtance of the peoples of *Flaunders*, who would in no wiſe haue warre with the realme of *Fraunce:* Secondly for a deſire he had to be aſſured of ſuch impediments as might be oppoſed againſt him by the French in the ſucceſſion

The fr. king aſſumeth the title of duke of Millan.

of the realme of *Spayne*, when the death of his grandfather ſhould happen: And laſtly for that he thought it to great a daunger, to dwell without any league of amitie in the middeſt of the powers of *England* and *Fraunce* being conioyned together: And on the other ſide, the king deſired greatly to take awaye all occaſions that might reſtrayne him to be gouerned by thauthoritie & counſell of his grandfather, eyther by the fathers or mothers ſide: So that at laſt there was enacted betwene them in the towne of *Paris*, a perpetuall peace & confederation, reſeruing facultie to *Cæſar* & the king Catholike (without whoſe authorities tharchduke contracted) to take their place in this peace within three monethes. In this capitulation was promiſed thaccompliſhment of the mariage betwene the Archduke and Lady *Renee* daughter to king *Lowvis*, ſolicited ſo many times before: and that the king ſhould endue the mariage of Lady *Renee* with ſix hundred thouſande crownes and the duchy of *Berry* in perpetuitie aſwell for her children as for her: This dowry, in reſpect of her inſufficient age at that time, ſhould be aſſigned to her aſlone as ſhe ſhould come to the age of ix. yeres, vnder this condition notwithſtāding, that ſhe ſhould renounce al rights of inheritance either by the father or mother, & namely ſuch as might apperteine to her of the duchy of *Millan* & *Britaine*: That the king ſhould be bounde to ayde the archduke with men & ſhips to go to the kingdome of *Spayne*, after the death of the king Catholike: At the requeſt of the king, the duke of *Gueldres* was alſo named: and as ſome write, beſides the matters afore rehearſed, it was agreed that in bothe their names ioyntly, embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the king of *Aragon*, to require him to publiſh tharchduke prince of the realmes of *Spayne*, ſuch is the title of him to whom the ſucceſſion apperteineth: That he would render the kingdome of *Nauarre*, & abſteine from the defence of the duchie of *Millan*. Here it is not to be doubted, that both theſe two Princes making this confederation, looked not more to the preſent cōmoditie that appeared, then to thobſeruatiō of the ſame in time to come: for what fundation could be layde vpon the mariage that was promiſed, the Lady *Renee* bearing as yet ſcarcely foure yeres: And how could it pleaſe the Frenche king that that damſell ſhould be the wife of tharchduke, who (her eldeſt ſiſter being the kings wife) had her action prepared vpō the duchy of *Britaine*? for that the *Britons* deſiring once to haue a particular duke, at ſuch time as *Anne* their Ducheſſe maryed the ſeconde time, agreed that the dukedome ſhould apperteine to the youngeſt of the children and diſcendantes of her, if the eldeſt were preferred to the Crowne of *Fraunce*. In like ſort the French king treated with the king Catholike to prolong the truce made with his predeceſſor, but to leaue out this condition not to moleſt the duchie of *Millan* during the truce: he hoped he ſhould afterwards compounde eaſily with *Cæſar*: By which reaſon he kept in ſuſpence the *Venetians*, who offred to renewe the league made with his predeceſſor, wiſhing that he were in his liberty to accord with *Cæſar* agaynſt them: But the king Catholike, notwithſtanding he ſtoode ſtill poſſeſſed of his deſire not to haue warre in the frontiers of *Spayne*, conſidering how great ſuſpicion the prolongation of the truce might giue to the *Svvizzers*, which mighte alſo be the cauſe that the Pope, who till then had bene in doubt, might turne to the french amity, refuſed at laſt to prolong the truce, but vnder the ſame conditions it had bene renued with the laſt king: So that the Pope, ſhut out of that hope, and leſſe exſpecting to contract with *Cæſar* agaynſt the will and councelles of that king, reconfirmed with the Senate of *Venice* the league, in the ſame fourme it had bene made with his predeceſſor. Nowe there remayned the Pope and the *Svvizzers*: Touching the *Svvizzers* he required that they woulde admitte his Embaſſadors,

but

but they refuſed to giue them ſaffe conduit, vſing the ſame rudenes they had done before: And for the Pope, vpon whoſe will depended wholly the *Florentyns*, he required no other thing of him, then that he would kepe him out of all bond, to thend that when by the trayne of affaires he ſhould be councelled to reſolue, it might be in his power to make choice of the better, perſwading him that he ſhould neuer finde in any, either for his owne perticular or for the aduauncement of his houſe, a greater amitie, A more aſſured faith or more honorable condicions.

After the king had layd theſe foundacions for his affayres, he beganne with great care to leauie prouiſions of money, and to encreaſe the bandes of his men at armes to the number of foure thowſand: he publiſhed that he made thoſe preparacions, not of intencion to make warre for that yeare, but onely to make head againſt the *Svvyzzers*, who threatned him to inuade *Burgondy* or *Dauphine*, if he would not accompliſh the couenants made at *Dyon* in the name of the late king: Many beleeued him in the ſemblāces he made, the rather for the example of the kings of *Fraunce*, who haue alwaies forborne to intangle the firſt yeare of their raigne, with newe warres: But that coniecture caried not ſuch impreſſion in the mindes of *Cæſar* and the king of *Aragon*, to whome the kinges youth was ſuſpected and the facilitie he had (more then other kinges) to commaund all the forces of the kingdom of *Fraunce*, and the loue of his people opening a way and readines to all that he would deſire: Beſides, they were not ignorant of the great preparacions that king *Lovvys* had left, the ſame making demonſtracion that ſeeing he was aſſured of the king of *England*, he did not of new determine to make warre, but rather did enterteyne and recontinue the plot that was layed before: Therefore becauſe they would not be taken vnprouided, they fell to ſolicit a confederacion with the Pope and with the *Svvyzzers*: But the Pope enterteyning both parties with wordes gracious, and ſtudying to nouriſh them all with diuers hopes, deferred ſtil to make any certaine declaracion: And touching the *Svvyzzers*, their former hatreds did not onely ſtill continue, but by time were made greater by increaſe of occaſions, for that the cauſes that had taken their beginning of grieſes publike, bothe for the deniall of augmentacion of their penſions, for the calling of launceknightes to the kinges paye, and for the diſdaynefull and iniurious wordes deliuered againſt their nation: were redoubled and reincreaſed of priuate ſorowes, diſpleaſures, and ambicious deſires: The ſame riſing both vppon an enuie which the Commons bare to many perticulars receiuing giftes and penſions of the king, & alſo for that thoſe factions that moſt hotly obiected them ſelues againſt ſuch as followed the french amities which commonly were called at that time *Gallizzanti*, being by that meane aduaunced with the fauor of the Commons, into reputacion and greatnes, feared a diminucion of their authoritie, if the common weale were of new reallied with the french: In ſo much that the councell & diſputacion of affaires paſſing, not in a courſſe of publike zeale, but with ambicion and diſſentions ciuill, & theſe bearing more credit then the *Gallizanti*, it was obteyned that they ſhould refuſe the vnreaſonable offers of the french king.

In this diſpoſicion of mindes and affayres th Embaſſadors of *Cæſar*, king of *Aragon*, & Duke of *Myllan*, aſſembled and met affore the *Svvyzzers*, & contracted with them in the name of their Princes, a confederacion for the defence of *Italy*, reſeruing a reſpit for the Pope to enter, vntil the Monday of the lent following: In this capitulacion it was agreed that to compell the french king to diſclaime all his rights & intereſts in the Duchie of *Myllan*, the *Svvyzzers* receiuing monethly of the other cōfederats xxx. thowſand duckats, ſhould inuade either *Burgondy* or *Dauphyne*, And the

king Catholike with a mightie army, ſhould make ſtrong warre vpon the realme of *Fraunce* either vpon the ſide of *Parpignan* or *Fonterabye*: By theſe inuaſions the confederats pretended, that the french king cõpelled to apply to the defenſe of his own realme, ſhould haue no oportunitie to moleſt the Duchy of *Millan*, though he had made a reſolucion agreable to his will: this deliberacion of the king was kept ſecret vntill the moneth of Iune, but at laſt, ſuch was the greatnes and care of the ſeuerall preparacions, that they could no longer diſſemble ſo great and apparant ſtirres: The prouiſions of money were great & vniuerſally reached to all the parts in the realme, he leauied many bandes of launceknightes, he cauſed to be drawne towardes *Lyon* great ſtoare of artilleries: And had lately ſent into *Guyhen* to leauy tenne thowſande footemen from the marches of *Nauarro*, vnder *Peter* of *Nauarro* who was newly entred into his pay: This was the reaſon that he ioyned him ſelfe to the french ſeruice, the king of *Aragon* was diſcontented with him, and charged him moſt of all others with the ill ſucceſſe of the battell of *Rauenna*: he would not pay his ranſom that was rated at twentie thowſand duckats, which the late king had giuen to the Marquis of *Rottelyn* to recompenſe in ſome parte the hundred thowſand crownes which he had paid in *England* for his ranſom: but the new king electing him to his ſeruice, defraied his ranſom at his firſt comming to the crowne, & tooke him into his pay: which yet the ſayed *Peter* of *Nauarro* would not accept till, for the ſafetie of his honor, he had ſent to the king of *Aragon* to excuſe himſelfe, that being abandoned of him, he gaue place to neceſſitie, renouncing notwithſtanding the eſtates which he had giuen him in the kingdome of *Naples*: By this time it was manifeſt to all the worlde, that thoſe preparacions tended to make warre vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, & that the king determined to goe thether in perſon: So that the kinge beganne in demaundes and ſpeaches diſcloaſed, to require the Pope to ioyne with him, wherein he vſed beſides, many other inſtrumentes and perſwaſions, by the meane of *Iulian* his brother, who had newly taken for wife *Philiberta* ſiſter to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoye*, and aunt to the king by the mothers ſide, his dowrie being aſſigned to him vpon the hundred thowſande crownes which the Pope gaue him: This gaue the kinge ſome hope that the Pope, reſpecting the alliance, would be readily inclined to embraſe his amity, & the rather for that he hauing before treated with the king Catholike to mary *Iuliã* with one of his parentes which was of the houſe of *Cardoua*, it ſeemed he had preferred that alliance to the other more for his owne regard, then for other reaſon: he douted not alſo that *Iulian* would not willingly help forward for deſire to get by that meane, ſome eſtate by the which he might furniſh thexpenſes conuenient to ſo great a mariage, & with all, the better to eſtabliſh the perpetuall gouernment which the Pope had newly giuen him of the cities of *Modona*, *Reggia*, *Parma*, and *Plaiſance*: which being not ſupported by the fauor of mightie Princes, he had litle hope to be hable to keepe them after the death of his brother: But the king began euen now to fall from his hope, both for that the Pope had transferred to the king of *Aragon* for two yeres the moneys and collections called the Croiſſards of the realme of *Spaine*: whereof it was thought, he would draw by way of contribucion aboue a million of duckattes: And alſo for that he heard with great inclinacion, *Alberto Carpy* & *Ier. Vich* Embaſſadors of *Cæſar* and the king Catholike, who did not only keepe almoſt alwayes about him, but alſo it ſeemed the Pope did communicate with them all his councells: Neuertheleſſe the Pope interteined the king in ſuſpence, both giuing good wordes and ſhowing ſounde intencion to thoſe that negociated for the king, but alwayes without any reſolucion: as one that deſired aboue all other thinges that the Duchie of

Preparacions of the frenche king againſt the Duke of Millan.

Millan

Millan shoulde not bee possessed by forreyne Princes: Therefore the king whom it imported to bee better assured of his intencion, addressed to him newe Embassadours, amongest whome was *William Buda* of *Paris*, a man in science of humanitie eyther Greeke or Latin, of most absolute and onely erudicion of all the learned men of our time: Afterwardes he sent to him in the same legacion, *Antho. Maria Paluoisino*, A man verie acceptable to the Pope, seeking to omitte no meane wherein might bee any oportunitie to aduaunce his purpose: But all was labour loste, for that before his comminge euen from the moneth of Iulie he had verie secretlie contracted with the others for the defense of the estate of *Myllan*.

Notwithstandinge seekinge to keepe couered that resolucion vntill the necessitie of affayres constrayned him to declare him selfe, and desiringe withall to publishe it with some excuse: Sometimes he required the kinge to consent that the Churche might reteyne *Parma* and *Plaisance*, and sometimes he preferred other demaundes, to the ende that any one of the thinges which he demaunded beinge refused, it might appeare that necessitie more then will, had caried him to knitte with the kinges enemies: And at that time, distrusting not to be denyed of some one of those thinges which altogether he woulde not preferre without some honest colour, he made diuerse aunsweres, doubtfull, suttle, and irresolute.

But as for the doinges of mortall men there is reserued in the infallible iustice of God, an equall measure and like proporcion of recompence, so there were others that vsed towardes him the same sleightes and suttleties wherewith he abused the kinge: For *Octauian Fregosa* Duke of *Genes*, fearinge on the one side the great preparacions of the Frenche Kinge, and on the other side holdinge for suspected the victorie of the confederates for thinclination of the Duke of *Myllan* and the *Swvizzers* to their aduersaries, had made a verie secrete contracte with the Frenche Kinge by the meane of the Duke of *Burbon*, and yet verie firmelye assured the contrarie to the Pope, bothe in the time of the action, and after it was resolued: Yea, because *Octauian* was one of the auncient frendes of the Pope, and of his brother *Iulian*, to whome they had borne no small fauours at suche time as he was created Duke of *Genes*, the Pope did so simplie beleue him, that the Duke of *Myllan* suspecting thinges for the rumors and brutes that went, and determined to inuade him with foure thowsande *Swvizzers* alreadie come to *Nouarro*, together with the faction of the *Adorney* and the *Fiesquey*, the Pope was the cause that thenterprise brake and passed no further.

This was the capitulacion of *Octauian Fregosa*: That the towne and iurisdiction of *Genes* shoulde bee rendered to the kinge, together with the castell: That *Octauian* shoulde beare no more the name of Duke, but take vppon him the name of perpetuall Gouernor of *Genes* for the kinge, with power to dispose the offices of *Genes*: That the kinge shoulde geue vnto him an hundred men at armes, the order of *Sainct Michaell*, And a yearelye pension duringe his life: That the king should not reedifie the fortresse of *Codisa* very hatefull to the *Genovvais*, and shoulde also recontinue and graunt to the Citie all those capitulacions and priuileages which had beene reuersed and burned by king *Lovvys*: That he should geue a certeyne proporcion of ecclesiastike reuenues to *Federyke* Archbishop of *Salerno* & brother to *Octauian*, and to himselfe certeine places in *Prouence*,

Octauian Fregosa Duke of Genes compoundes with the Frenche king.

if euer it hapned that he were chaſſed out of *Genes*: When theſe matters were ſpred abroade, it was not hard for *Octauian* to iuſtifie his reſolucion; for that it was diſcerned of all men, that he had great reaſon to feare the Duke of *Myllan* and the *Swyzzers*: The onely thing that was noted ill in him, was, that he had ſo many tymes denied the truth to the Pope, of whom he had receiued ſo many benefits, and had broken hys promiſſe and faith, in entring into couenants without his priuitie: And yet in a long letter which he wroate to him afterwards for his iuſtificacion, he diſcourſed at large with great care and humilitie, the cauſes that had moued him; together with all the excuſes wherein he might reaſonably defend his honor and the propertie of thaction: he tolde him nothing was done in deſpiſing the reſpect and deuocion which he ought him, acknowledging in his perſon the full maieſtie of Pope and his chiefe rayſer and aduauncer: his concluſion was that it would be more hard for him to be iuſtified, if he wroate to perſons priuate, or to any Prince that meaſured thaffayres of eſtate, according to regardes priuate: But writing to a Prince wiſer aboue all others of that tyme, and to whoſe wiſedom it was ſeene he could not otherwaies ſaue his eſtate, That it was matter ſuperfluous to offer excuſes to him that ſo well vnderſtoode and knewe what was lawefull to Princes, or at leaſt what they were wont to doe, not onely when they were reduced to thoſe neceſſities, but alſo when they went about to encreaſe or make better the condicions of their eſtate.

But by this tyme, matters were wrought from wordes and councells to deedes and execucion: for, the king that was nowe come to *Lyons* accompanied with the whole preſence of the Nobles of *Fraunce* and Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Gueldres*, cauſed to marche towards *Italy* his power, which was the moſt mighty and floriſhing armie that had bene ſeene of long tyme: he ſtoode aſſured to haue no troubles beyond the Mountes, for that the king of *Aragon*, who fearing at firſt leaſt ſo great preparacions might bee turned againſt him, had armed his frontyers and perpetually vnited the Realme of *Naples* to the kingdom of *Caſtillo*, to make thoſe peoples more ready to defende it: And aſſoone as he had credible vnderſtanding, that the warre ſhould be made in *Italy*, he diſmiſſed all the companies he had leauyed, holding no more reckoning of his promiſſe made that yeare to the confederats to make warre vpon *Fraunce*, then he had done of al other couenants and contractes made to them the yeres before: So ready he was to be caried by occaſions, and ſo light to laye downe his faith and word more to the profit of his affayres, then preſeruacion of his reputacion and honor.

At the brute of the deſcending of the french king, the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, who, hauing bene many moneths as it were in truce with the *Venetians*, & now come to the contrey of *Vincenſa* to draw neare to thennemies that lay incamped in a very ſtronge place neare *Vincenſa*: remoued his armie to *Verona*, to go as he ſayd, to the ſuccours of the Duke of *Myllan*: And the Pope diſpatched into *Lombardye* his companies of men at armes with the regiments of the *Florentyns* vnder the gouernment of his brother choſſen Capteine of the Church, to miniſter likewiſe to the ayde of *Myllan* according to his reſolucion not many dayes before with the other confederats: Neuertheleſſe he forbare not to perſeuer in his fayre ſhowes and ſemblances, making the worlde to beleeue that he ſent out that ſtrength onely for the garde of *Plaiſanca*, *Parma*, & *Reggia*: Wherein he had ſo cunningly proceeded with thEmbaſſadors of *Fraunce*: That the kinge nowe doubting no more to fall to agreement with him, had diſpatched from *Lyons* to his Embaſſadors, A new commiſſion with authority to conclude, conſenting that the church ſhould remeine poſſeſſed of

Plaisanta and *Parma*, vntill he had satisfied it with suche a recompence as the Pope should holde him selfe contented. But all these remedies were but cures vnperfect whose sores burst out after agayne: they were shadowes whose bodies were farre of, yea they serued for nothing, for those causes that hereafter shall be expressed: for it was a destinie set downe that the defence or losse of the Duchie of *Millan* should be executed onely with the daunger and blood of the *Svvizzers*, who not staying for any impediment or small quantitie of money in prest, discended by such heapes and trowpes into the duchie of *Millan*, that their armie there, was aboue twentie thousande, of whome ten thousande were drawne neare to the mountaynes. It was a councell taken amongest them, to keepe agaynst the French, the strayte passages of those valleys which beeing at the foote of the *Alpes* that deuide *Italie* from *Fraunce*, come to open them selues vpon the playnes of *Lombardie*.

The Swizzers seeke to stoppe the passage of the Frenchemen.

This councel of the *Svvizzers* troubled greatly the minde of the king, who afore had promised to himselfe an assured victorie by the greatnes of his forces, not remēbring that the succesſe of warre respecteth other considerations then the multitudes of souldiors: he had in his armie two thousande fiue hundred launces, xxij. thousande launceknightes ledde by the duke of *Gueldres*, ten thousande footemen of *Peter Navarre*, eight thousande Frenchemen, and three thousande laborers that were payed according to the rate of the other footemen. The king considered with hys capteines, that in regarde of the vallour of the *Svvizzers*, it was impossible to driue them from those strayte and strong passages, but with a farre greater number. And yet, considering the nature of those straites, so great numbers could not be but hurtfull to the seruice: and muche lesse in so litle tyme could they do any thing of consequence, and least of all be hable to nourishe any long season, so great an army in a contrey so barreine, notwithstanding there was continuall traffike of vittels to the mountaynes. Amid these difficulties, some of the capteines that were of opinion rather to diuert and drawe them away then to set vpon them, gaue counsell to sende out eight hundred launces through *Prouince*, and *Peter Navarre* by sea with his ten thousande contrey men, which should all ioyne together at *Saluzine*. Others were of aduise that to go so farre about were to loase too muche time, that it would weaken tharmie, and increase too muche the reputation of the enemies, who woulde not doubt to boast that they had not the corage to encounter with them: So that it was resolued, that not retyring so muche from that straite, they should assay to passe by some other way, that eyther was not kept by the enemies, or at least not so strongly defended: And that *Emard de Prio* with foure hundred launces and fiue thousande footemen should take the waye to *Genes*, not in hope to drawe them downe from their mountaynes, but to make warre vpon *Alexandria* and the other townes beyonde *Pavy*.

The French armie.

There be two wayes in the *Alpes* that leade ordinarily from *Lyons* into *Italie*, the one is called *Monsane* (a mountayne within the iurisdiction of the duke of *Sauoy*:) it is the shortest way, the straightest way, and most beaten way: The other is called the mounte *Geneure* within the gouernment of *Dauphine*, a way longer then the other, and leades by crookings and turnings to *Grenoble*: both the one and the other falleth into the way of *Susa* where the playne beginneth to enlarge: But the French armies are alwaies wont to passe by the Mount *Geneure*, notwithstanding it be a way somewhat longer, because it hath a facilitie of passage, & more conuenient to draw thartillerie: The *Svvizzers* that were carefull to keepe those two passages & the other pathes thereaboutes, were lodged at *Susa*, the cause was, that the passages which be

lower drawing towards the sea, were so streate and steepe, that it seemed impossible to drawe any artillerie, being verye harde to passe thither the horses of so great an armie. On the other side *Triuulco*, to whom the king had giuen that charge, being followed with very many pyoners, and hauing about him men paynefull and experienced to drawe artilleries, whom he sent to searche the places that were there: went sounding the passages if he could finde libertie of way without impediment of the *Swyzzers*: By which occasion, the armie that for the moste parte was dispersed betweene *Grenoble* and *Brianson*, marched slowely, exspecting what should be determined, wherevnto there was a constraynt by a necessitie to abyde the prouisions of vittells.

The king of Englād sends to the frenche king not to passe into Italie.

About this time the king of *Englande* sent a gentleman to the French king, who was nowe departed from *Lyons*, to tell him on the behalfe of his king, that he ought not to passe into *Italie* for feare to trouble the vniuersall peace of Christendome: The cause of so great variation and chaunge of that king was, that he was ielouse of the alliance betwene *Fraunce* and the Archduke, fearing least the affayres of that Crowne would take a course too happy: In which considerations he began afterwards to giue willing eare to thembassadors of the king Catholike, who with continuall reasons put into his minde, howe hurtefull the greatnes of the Frenche king would be to him, in whom he coulde not hope for anye other affection then of an enemie, aswell for the naturall hatred of that nation, as for his late actions of warre and hostilitie done agaynst him: But the thing that most moued him, was the emulation and enuy of his glorie which he thought would be raysed to too high degrees if he wonne the victorie in the state of *Millan*: he thought in himselfe, that notwithstanding he found his kingdome in rest, and very populous for the long peace it had lyued in, together with a great masse of treasor which his father had gathered, yet he neuer had the corage tyll within certayne yeres, to inuade the realme of *Fraunce*, alone and enuironed with so many enemies, and broken with so many aduersities: That nowe the Frenche king, somewhat younger then he was, at suche time as he came to the crowne, albeit he founde his kingdome ouerwearyed and made poore with so many warres, durst yet in the first monethes of his raigne, go to an enterprise for the whiche so many princes were banded against him: That touching him, with all his huge preparations, and so many occasions, he had not brought into *England* any other profite then the citie of *Tornay*, and that with expences intollerable and infinite: But the Frenche king would returne with great glory into his kingdome, bringing with him the conquest of so braue a duchie, and would open the waye, and happly take the occasion affore he retyred his armie out of *Italie*, to inuade the realme of *Naples*. These were the motions that easily renewed in his minde his auncient and naturall hatred: But for that he was not at that time prepared to giue impediment to the Frenche king with armes (wherein happly he sought some occasion and cooller) he thought good to sende him this message. The king nor his armie forbare not for all that to marche, taking their waye from *Lyon* to *Dauphine*, where met with the armie the Launceknightes otherwise called the blacke bandes guided by *Robert de la Marche*, together with all the regimentes of lowe *Almains* so greatly esteemed for their vallour, their fayth, and loyaltie which they had alwayes shewed in the French seruices.

At this time *Iohn Ia. Triuulco* aduertised the king that his artilleries might be caryed ouer the Mountes neare the Alpes of the sea discending towards the Marquisdome of *Saluzze*: he wrote that the passage was full of many difficulties, but yet the

ſtrength of men and inſtruments would make that eaſie which by nature was harde: And becauſe on that ſide, neither on the toppes of the Mountaynes, nor in the entry of the vallies, there was no garde, he perſwaded the king that it was better to aſſaye to ouercome the difficulties of mountaynes and the ſtraitnes of vallyes (an action with payne, but not with daunger of men) then to aduenture to winne the paſſages from the *Svvyzzers* whoſe vallour was not more terrible then their obſtinacie, beeing deſperate eyther to vanquiſhe or dye: Beſides, the army coulde not ſtaye there many dayes if any reſiſtance were made, for that no power or preparation was able to bring through places ſo impaſſible and barreine, ſufficient prouiſion of vittells to feede ſo many mouthes. This counſell was allowed and followed, and immediatly thartillerie that laye in a place conuenient to be turned on all partes, began to marche that way. And as *Triuulco* had aduertiſed the king that the difficultie to paſſe the artilleries was very great, ſo alſo he ſayde thexperience would be found harder, when it was put to action and triall: for firſt they muſt of neceſſitie mount vpon very high and ſharpe mountaynes, and that not without extreme difficultie, bothe for that there was no oportunitie of pathes or wayes, nor yet ſo muche largeneſſe of rometh as the artilleries conteined, but ſuche as was made by the ayde of the pyoners from hande to hande. There were many of thoſe laborers that marched before, whoſe ſeruice was ready, ſometimes to breake downe and enlarge the ſtraites and ſometimes to digge vp the hillockes and lumpes of earth that gaue impedimēt to the paſſage of thartilleries: from the toppes of thoſe mountaynes they diſcended by broken cliffes whoſe onely aſpect gaue feare to the beholders, into moſte deepe vallies of the ryuer of *Argentiero*: By the difficultie of theſe cliffes oftentimes thartilleries could not be ſuſteined, neither with the horſes that drew them whoſe number was great, nor with the ſhoulders of the laborers that guyded them, and therefore very often they were driuen to diſmount them, and in faſtning them to greate cables, they founde a waye to make them diſcende by the handes of the footemen whoſe readynes in theſe paynefull actions, was nothing inferior to the greatnes of their trauell: The labour ceaſſed not when they had ouercome the firſt mountaynes and the firſt vallies, for that they founde others which of neceſſitie they muſte paſſe with the ſame difficulties: At the laſt, about the ende of fiue dayes, the pollicie of the leaders and paynes of the labourers opened a waye for thartillerie through the mountaynes into the enlarged places of the Marquiſdome of *Saluſſa*: but with ſuch hardnes and importunitie of trauell, that if eyther they had encountred anye reſiſtance, or the Mountaynes had bene couered with ſnowes as they were wont to be the moſte parte of the yere, it is moſt certayne that they had taken in vayne ſo great trauell: The matter that deliuered them from the reſiſtance and impedimentes of men, was thopinion and perſwaſion of the troubleſome and impaſſible mountaines, which abuſing the *Svvizzers* with ſecuritie, made them to lodge without ſuſpicion at *Suſa*, carefully garding and watching the places which of neceſſitie muſt be paſſed by ſuche as diſcende the mount *Seni* or *Geneura*, or the mountaynes adioyning to them: And the ſeaſon of the yeare, being then vpon the tenth of Auguſt, had taken from them thimpediment of ſnowes which were already melted. At the ſame time paſſed the men at armes and bandes of footemen not without the ſame difficulties, ſome by that way, and ſome by the paſſage called *la Dragoniera*, & the reſidue by the high toppes of the rocke *Perotta* and *Cuny*, paſſages more lower towards *Prouence*. By theſe paſſages *Monſr Paliſſa* paſſed, to whome an occaſion was offred to do an acte worthy of memory: He departed from *Singlaro* with foure cornetts of lighte

horſemen, and after he had marched long with great diligence by the guiding of the countrey men, he arriued without any ſuſpicion at *Villafranco*, a towne ſeuen myles from *Saluſſa*, and of the which goeth a greater fame and reputation then the qualitie of the towne requireth, for that the head of that notable ryuer of *Pavv* riſeth out of a place very neare it: In that towne laye lodged with his companies, *Proſpero Colonno*, doubting no daunger by the farre diſtance of the enemies, in whom he feared not that diligence and celeritie which him ſelfe beeing of nature ſlowe and heauy, had not wont to vſe: ſome ſuppoſe that he ment the ſame day to depart and ioyne his ſtrength with the *Svvizzers*, A matter wherein he might in ſome ſort abuſe his carefulneſſe: But what propertie of deſtinie ſoeuer did guyde him, it is ſure that as he was ſet at the table at dinner, the bands of ſouldiors of *Paliſſa* arriued, being not diſcerned of any, till the certentie of the perill tooke away all their pollicie to auoide it: They were vpon the counterskarſes of his lodging, affore he could be perſwaded that they were come: ſo profitable is celeritie in an enterpriſe, and ſo effectuall is ſodayne feare agaynſt enemies ſurpriſed: He was holpen in this action (beſides his induſtrie and ſpeede) by the towneſmen, with whom *Paliſſa* thirſting after ſo goodly a pray, had firſt ſecretly conſpired, and by their aydes was ſeaſed vpon their skowtes and ſentynells: So that *Proſpero Colonno* a capteine of ſo great name, and in whome aſwell for his authoritie in gouerning an armie, as for the credite he had in the duchie of *Millan*, reſted no ſmall importance for this warre, was made priſoner the xv. day of Auguſt, farre otherwyſe then apperteyned to his auncient glory: *Peter Margano* a Romayne was companion with him in this fortune, together with parte of his companies, and the reſidue at the firſte brute fledde in their feare to diuerſe places.

The diſcending of the Frenche armie ouer thoſe inuincible paſſages, together with the calamitie of *Proſpero Colonno*, chaunged the counſels of euery one, and confuſed wholly the ſtate of all affayres, kindling new diſpoſitions in the mindes of the Pope, the *Viceroy*, and the *Svvizzers*: for the Pope, who was conſtantly perſwaded that the French king coulde not paſſe the Mountes for the impedimentes of the *Svvizzers*, and reappoſing no leſſe in the vertue of *Proſpero Colonno*, was nowe galled and greeued in courage, commaunding his nephew *Laurence* capteine generall of the *Florentins* to marche but ſlowely: To him he had giuen charge to leade the armie into *Lombardie*, for that *Iulian* his brother was conſtrayned to abyde at *Florence* by the occaſion of a long and paynefull feuer: This *Laurence* beeing come to *Modena* three dayes after the aduenture of *Proſpero*, tooke occaſion to recouer the rocke of *Rubiero* that had bene occupied by *Guido Rangon*, for the which he payed him at laſte two thouſande duckets, and conſumed many dayes in the countrey of *Modena* and *Reggia*. Moreouer, the Pope hauing recourſe to his accuſtomed practiſes, diſpatched very ſecretly to the French king, *Cintio* his familiar friend, both to excuſe himſelfe of things that had bene paſſed tyll that day, and alſo to begin, by the meane of the duke of *Sauoy*, to ſolicite to compounde with him, to thende that by that beginning he might haue more facilitie to paſſe further, if the defence of the duchie of *Millan* fell not out well: But the Cardinall of *Bibbieno* with certayne others, carryed more by their priuate paſſions, then by the reſpectes and intereſtes of their prince, induced him to take a counſell more conſtrayned and ſuddayne: for they tolde him there was daunger, for the reputation of the ſucceſſe and fortunes of the Frenche, and happly by the perſwaſions and ayde of the king, the duke of *Ferrara* would not nowe ſtirre to recouer *Modena* and *Reggia*, and alſo the

Bentiuoleis

Bentyuoleys, to repoſſeſſe their eſtate in *Bologna:* And therefore as amyd ſo many other trauells and perplexities, he ſhould find it a very hard matter to contend againſt ſo great a number of enemies: ſo, it imported him much more both in ſauetie and diſcreſſion of councel, to labor to winne them with ſome propertie of benefit, and in all chaunces and chaunges, to make them his aſſured friendes, diſſembling the remembrance of iniuries paſt till time brought about a better oportunitie to reuenge. They aduiſed him to reeſtabliſh the famulie of the *Bentyuoleys* within *Bologna*, and to reſtore to the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modena* & *Reggia*: A councell which he had preſently put in execucion, had it not bene for the contrary working of *Iulio de Medicis* Cardinall and Legat of *Bologna*, whome the Pope had ſent thether to thende that in ſo great accidents, he might ſuſteine thinges on that ſide, and remeine as it were a moderator and counſellor of the youth of *Lavvrance:* he was touched with the diſpleaſure of thinfamie that would haue falne vppon the Pope by a councell ſo full of cowardiſſe, which no doubt would haue bene greater then had bene the glory of *Iulio* in getting to the Church, ſo great a iuriſdiction: he was alſo moued with griefe, that it would make infamous the memorie of his legacion, wherein being skarcely in the firſt action, he ſhould reſtore *Bologna* the principall citie of the whole Eccleſiaſtyke ſtate, into the power of her auncient tyrants, abandoning to pray and ſpoyle, ſo great a nobilitie which in fauor of the Apoſtolike ſea had openly conſpyred againſt them: In theſe reſpects he diſpatched an expreſſe Meſſenger to the Pope whom with reaſons and with requeſts he brought againe to a councell more honorable and ſafe: Notwithſtanding this *Iulio* was a baſtard, yet he was made Cardinall by *Leo* in the firſt moneths of his pontificacie, following thexample of *Alexander* the ſixt in the effect, but not in the manner: for, *Alexander* at ſuch time as he created Cardinall, *Cæſar Borgia* his ſonne, made to be proued by witneſſes that depoſed the truth, that his mother at the time that ſhe was conceiued of him, had a husband, inferring therevpon according to the opinion of the lawes, that the ſonne was to be iudged to bee begotten rather of the husband then of thadulterer: But touching *Iulio*, the witneſſes preferred the grace and fauor of men affore the truth, for that it was depoſed that the mother of whom he was begotten, being yet a maide and not maried and affore ſhe deuided her body to the deuocion of *Iuliano*, had of him a ſecrete conſent to be his wife.

Theſe newe accidents were likewiſe the cauſe that the *Viceroy* behaued him ſelfe farre otherwayes then he would haue done: for, being not yet departed from *Verona*, both for that he could not make his ſouldiers marche without money, and alſo exſpected newe companies promiſed by *Cæſar* who was nowe come to *Yſpruch*, to thend to leaue ſufficient garriſon within *Verona* and *Breſſa* as neede required: he begaune with theſe and other excuſes to temporiſe and deferre, to ſee what might afterwards happen to the Duchie of *Myllan*.

Theſe matters alſo moued the *Svvyzzers*, who retyred to *Pignorolo* immediatly after the diſcending of the french armie: And albeit vnderſtanding afterwards that the king who was paſſed the mounts, mooſtred his people at *Thuryn*, they were gon to *Cyuas* and had taken it and ſackt it, onely for that they were refuſed vittells, doing the like at *Vercelli* almoſt affore the kinges eyes beeing at *Thuryn:* yet beeing at laſte drawne into *Nouaro*, & thoſe factions of them that were not ſo farre eſtraunged from the french amities, taking courage and diſcloſing themſelues more and more in their aduerſities, they began to treate of compoſicion with the king.

About this time, thoſe regiments of the french which marched by the waye of

Genes, with whom were ioyned foure thousande footmen waged by the *Genovvaies* by the working of *Octauian Fregosa*, became lords on the whole contrey on this side *Pavv*, seazing first vpon the towne of *Castellaccio*, *Alexandria*, & *Tortona*: And the king that by this time was come to *Vertilly*, and had there the first aduertisement that the Pope was declared agaynst him, which the duke of *Sauoye* signified in his name, A matter which albeit did muche vexe and discontent the king: yet not suffring counsell and iudgement to be troubled with anger or disdayne, and becawse he would not kindle him to thuttermost, he caused to be proclaymed publikely aswell through his army, as amongst the regiments that had taken *Alexandria*, that no man should molest or inuade in any sort the lands of the Church. The king remained many dayes at *Vercilly* exspecting the issue of the parley with the *Svvyzzers*, who though they enterteined the practise, yet on the other side they shewed thēselues full of varietie and confusion: for at *Nouaro* where they were, they began to fall into tumult, taking their occasion vpon the breach of the king of *Aragon*, for that the payes he had promised were not yet come: They tooke also by force from the officers of the Pope, the money he had sent to be orderly distributed amongst them, & in the same fury they departed from *Nouaro*, with intention to returne into their contries: A matter whiche many sortes of them did require, who hauing spent three monethes in the spoyles of *Italy*, & now laden with money & booty, desired to conuey in safety to their houses, the riches they had gotten: They were no sooner gone out of *Nouaro* then the mony which was due for the king of *Aragons* porcion, was sent: And albeit they rauished it from the officers, & by violence made them selues possessed of it, yet wayghing the infamies that followed for the most part suche insolent and rashe dealings, they eftsones turned their furie into discression, and restored both the one & the other sums to receiue them orderly at the hands of the officers: Afterwards they went to *Galero*, expecting an other strength of xx. thousand footmen which was said to be newly ariued, and three thousande went with the Cardinall of *Syon* to be imployed for the gard of *Pauia*. By which occasion the king (whose hope of agreement did diminishe for these variations) departed frō *Vercelly* to go towards *Millan*, leauing within *Vercelly* with the duke of *Sauoy*, his bastard brother, *Monsr Lavvtrech*, & the generall of *Myllan*, to continue negociations begon with the *Svvizzers*: And becawse after the departing of the *Svvizzers* out of *Nouaro*, he had got the town, he left the castell besieged, which feling the execution of thartilleries, yelded within fewe dayes, reseruing the liues & goods of those that kept it: Afterwards the king to whom *Pauia* yelded, passed the riuer of *Thesin*, & the same day *Ioh. Ia. Triuulco* ranne vp with a parte of his companies to *Saint Christophers* neare to *Millan*: Afterwards the confidence of his vallor caried him vp euen to the suburbs of the gate of *Thesin*, hoping to be receiued by them of the towne, who il contented with the pillages & raunsoms of the *Svvizzers*, desired to returne vnder the iurisdiction of the French: he saw also a more facilitie in this enterprise, for that the towne was naked of souldiors. The people of *Millan* had a great feare of the *Svvizzers*, and the memorie was yet grene of the afflictions they had suffred the yere before, when they mutined in fauor of the king, the *Svvizzers* being retired frō *Nouaro*: the same restraining them now to better coūsel, & to temporise & exspect the issue of things, notwithstāding they wished the victorie to fall vpon the king: Therfore they sent to *Triuulco* to desire him to passe no further, & the next day dispatched embassadors to the king being at *Buffaloro*, to besech him, that resting contented with the disposition of the people of *Millan* well inclined to his crowne, & ready to giue vittells to his army, he would not demaunde of them

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a more manifeſt declaration: A matter which would aduaunce nothing for the ſubſtance of the warre, no more then it had ſerued or ayded the yere before his predeceſſor, but brought vpon them great domages: They wiſhed him to match & ſtand aſſured that the towne of *Millan* ſhould be ready to open their gates to receiue him, at ſuch time as he ſhould be maiſter of the field. The king receiued them with good countenance and affability, and albeit at the firſt he was diſpleaſed that they had not receiued *Triuulco*, yet he anſwered now that he was contented to be conformable to their demaundes. From *Bufaloro* the king marched with his army to *Biagreſſa*, and whileſt he remayned there, the duke of *Sauoy*, after he had giuen audience to xx. Embaſſadors of the *Svvizzers* ſent to him at *Vercelly*, and going afterwards to *Galero* accompanied with the baſtard & other deputies for the king, contracted a peace with the *Svvizzers* in the kings name vnder theſe conditions: That there ſhould be betwene the crowne of *Fraunce* & nation of *Svvizzers* a perpetuall peace during the kings life and ten yeres after his death: That the *Svvizzers* and the *Griſons* ſhould make reſtitution of thoſe vallies apperteyning to the duchie of *Millan* whiche they had occupied: That they ſhould acquite that eſtate of a bonde to paye yerely a penſion of xl. thouſande duckets: That the king ſhould indue *Maximilian Sforce* with the duchie of *Nemors* with a yerely penſion of xij. thouſande frankes, a company of fiftie launces, & a wife of the blood royall: That he ſhould reſtore to the *Svvizzers* the yerely penſion of xl. thouſande frankes, and defraye the paye of three monethes to all the bandes of *Svvizzers* that were already in *Lombardie* or on the waye to come thither: That he ſhould pay to the Cantons (at tearmes and times) the ſixe hundred thouſande crownes promiſed in thaccorde of *Dyon*, and three hundred thouſande for the reſtitution of the vallies: That he ſhould enterteine continually in his pay foure thouſande of them. In this peace they named by common conſent the Pope, ſo farforth as he would render *Parma* & *Plaiſanca*: Alſo they comprehended the Emperor, the duke of *Sauoy*, and the Marquis of *Montferat*, without making any mention at all of the king Catholike, the *Venetians*, nor any other *Italian*. But this peace was made and broken almoſt in one day, by the comming of new bandes of *Svvizzers*, in whom for the memorie of their victories paſt, was a ſettled hope to carie from that warre no leſſe quantities of ſpoyles and riches, then the welth which they ſaw their other contreymen loaden withall: And for that cauſe much leſſe that they would heare ſpeake of the peace, but of the contrarie, to diſſolue and breake it, they refuſed to reſtore the vallies: In ſo muche as the firſt bandes beeing not able to retyre them from theſe furies, fiue and thirtie thouſande drewe to *Monſo* to lye in the ſuburbes of *Millan*; *Alberto Petro* a notable capteine being gone from them with many enſignes along the way of *Coma*, which way the king altogether leſte free and open. Thus the peace being no ſooner made then broken, things returned to the ſame difficulties they ſuffred before, yea they brought with them farre greater doubtes for the newe armies and forces that were approched neare the duchie of *Millan*: for, the *Viceroy* leauing for the garde of *Verona*, *Mark. Anth. Colonno* with an hundred men at armes and ſix hundred light horſmen, and within *Breſsia* xij. hũdred launceknightes, was come at laſt to lodge vpon *Pavv* neare to *Plaiſanca*, hauing in his army ſeuen hundred men at armes, ſix hundred light horſmen, and ſix thouſande footmen, with a bridge ready prepared to paſſe the riuer: And to leaue him no occaſion to complaine, *Laurence de Medicis* hauing with great watch and gard remayned many dayes at *Parma* with tharmie, was come from thence to *Plaiſanca*: Tharmie conteined at that time ſeuen hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horſemen,

The treatie betwene the king and the Swizzers broken.

and foure thousande footemen: he had sent affore a trowpe of foure hundred light horsemen to the *Svvizzers* during the negociation of thaccord: A band which he appoynted at their requeſt to serue them to fetch in vittels, and were guided by *Mucio Colonno* & *Lodovvike Count de Petillano*, the one a capteine of the Church, and the other a commander for the *Florentins*: He aduaunced that expedition not so much for any desire he had to ayde the cõmon cause, as to giue to the *Svvizzers* no occasion to cõprehend the Pope within the peace if they accorded with the french king. On the other side *Bartlemevv Aluiano*, who had sent word to the king that he would so intangle the Spanish army that they should haue no meane to hurt him, assone as he vnderstoode the *Viceroy* was departed from *Verona*, went from *Polesina*, & passing the riuer of *Adice*, he marched all along *Pavv* with ix. hundred men at armes, xiiij. hundred light horsmen, and ix. thousand footmen: he drew with him sufficient prouisions of artillery, and was vpon the walles of *Cremona* with a speede and diligence contrary to the custome of the capteines of our time, and wherein *Aluiano* him selfe tooke such glory, that in his vaunting he would oftentimes lay it in comparison with the celeritie of *Claudius Nero*, when, to make head agaynst *Asdruball*, he led the swiftest part of his army vpon the riuer of *Metauro*: Great is the moment of celeritie and speede in enterprise, and oftentimes is more effectuall to the benefite of the seruice and reputation of the leaders, then eyther the multitude or courage of souldiors.

But in this sort the state of the warre was not only diuerse & variable, but also confused & intangled: On the one side was vpon the confines of *Millan* the french king with an army appoynted and furnished, and by this time was come to *Marignan* to giue facilitie to *Aluiano* to ioyne with him, and to let the vniting of the ecclesiastike and Spanish companies with the enemies: And on the other side lay a gallant army of xxxv. thousand *Svvizzers*, which was a force of footmen full of vallor, and neuer yet had passed vnder the victorie of the French. The *Viceroy* kept along the shores of *Pavv* neare to *Plaisanca*, and vpon the high way that leades to *Loda*, hauing a bridge ready dressed to passe the ryuer and to ioyne with the *Svvizzers*: *Laurence de Medicis* was within *Plaisanca* with the regiments of the Pope & the *Florentins*, & all to ioyne with the *Viceroy* to the same ends: And *Aluiano* a circumspect & resolute Capteine, lay with the *Venetian* army vpon the territories of *Cremona*, almost vpon the banke of *Pavv*: his purpose was to ayde the French king, either by ioyning his strength with him, or in drawing away the Church & spanish regiments. The citie of *Loda* which standeth in the midst betwene *Millan* & *Plaisanca*, & of an equall distance frõ them both, stoode abandoned of all partes: only it had bin sacked before by *Ranse de Cere* entring as a souldior to the *Venetiãs*, who for quarrels rising betwene him & *Aluiano*, had affore, what with protestations & what with threates, got leaue of the senat, and was entred into the Popes pay with two hundred men at armes & two hũdred light horsmen: But for that his souldiors could not folow him with that speede, by reason the *Venetians* would not suffer many of them to depart frõ *Padoa* where they laye, he went from *Loda* to fill vp his numbers with those companies with the which he had serued. The cardinall of *Syon* also amazed with the practises which his nation helde with the french king, & no lesse douting the state of the citie of *Millan*, was fled from *Plaisanca* with a thousand *Svvizzers* and with part of the regiments of the duke of *Millan*: Afterwards he went to *Cremona* to solicite the *Viceroy* to march on: he tooke the way of *Millan* before that side was occupied by the french king, & left certain of his cõpanies for the gard of *Loda*, who assone as they heard that the french king was come to *Marignan*, abãdoned the place, their feare being greater thẽ their perill. But

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whileſt the *Viceroy* lay vpon the ryuer of *Pavv*, & before *Lavvrence de Medicis* came to *Plaiſanca*, *Cintio* whō the Pope ſent to the french king, was taken by the ſouldiors of the *Viceroy*: And albeit he found about him letters & breefes of credite, yet he let him go aſſone as he was taken, for the reuerēce he bare to him that ſent him, entring notwithſtanding into doubt that the hope was vaine that had bene giuen him, that the Church army ioyning with him, would paſſe the riuer of *Pavv*: This doubt was increaſed by this occaſion, that at the ſame time, *Lavv. de Medicis* was detected to haue ſent ſecretly to the french king one of his men: which he did either of his own councell, or by cōmaundement of the Pope, to be excuſed in that he led the army againſt him: wherin he proteſted that albeit he was conſtrained by a neceſſitie to obey the Pope, yet without incenſing his vncle, or ſtayning his owne honor, the king ſhould finde in him a ready deuotion to labor to ſatisfie him, A thing which he had alwayes ſought, and now more then euer did deſire to expreſſe it.

Aſſone as *Lavvrence* was come to *Plaiſanca*, there began a diſputatiō betwene the *Viceroy* & him with others that ſat with them in coūcel, whether it were beſt to paſſe ouer the riuer of *Pavv* in one ſtrength to ioyne with the *Svvizzers*: Amongſt them were occupied diuerſe reaſons according to the diuerſitie of their affections, there being litle conformity of councel where was ſo great variety of will and diſpoſition: Such as perſwaded to paſſe the riuer, ſayd there was no reaſon to diſſwade them frō going into *Loda*, for that being there, both they ſhould let *Aluiano* for ioyning with the french armie, & for their owne parts, they ſhould haue good oportunitie to knit with the *Svvizzers*, either in going to *Millan* to ſeke them, or els the *Svvizzers* drawing to mete them: And if their lingring left time to the french men to get it (as the brute went they would) being already vpon the waye betwene *Loda* and *Millan*, the french ſhould haue vpon their backes, their armies ioyned together, A matter which would put them in payne & daunger: euen ſo perhaps it would not be hard to finde meane to ioyne with the *Svvizzers*, notwithſtanding they ſhould be driuen to make a greater circuit: They reaſoned that this reſolutiō was profitable to thenterpriſe, & neceſſarie to take from the *Svvizzers* al occaſions of new practiſes of accord, & no leſſe conuenient to encreaſe their forces againſt ſo great an army as they had neede, and namely of horſmen: That beſides theſe reſpects the fayth & honor of the Pope and the king Catholike required it ſo, both for that the capitulations bound them to ſuccor theſtate of *Millan*, & alſo they had often promiſed no leſſe to the *Svvizzers*, who being diſapoynted, might perhaps of aſſured friends, take occaſion to become daungerous enemies: Laſtly that neceſſitie would it ſo for thintereſt and regarde of their owne eſtates, for that the *Svvizzers* either loaſing the battell, or making accord with the french king, there would remaine no force in *Italie* able to ſtād againſt his victorie, or to let him frō ſpreding the wings of his fortune ouer the whole eſtate of the Churche euen to the poſterns of *Rome*. To the contrary of this opinion was reaſoned by others, that it was not credible that the French king had not already ſent a ſtrength of ſouldiors to *Loda*, and if it were ſo, theſtate of the perill would dryue their companies to retyre with ſhame, and happly not without loſſe of blood, ſince they ſtood ſubiect to haue at one time the french on their backes, and the *Venetians* in flanke: withall they could not repaſſe the bridge without confuſion & long tract of time, which would bring great infamie to their vallour, and by the propertie of thaction transferre to the aduerſary the glory they ſought to appropriate to themſelues: That in matters of enterpriſe it importes capteines to make cōference of the perill and the price, of the time and the place, and of the neceſſitie and their proper

willes, to whom by all lawes, examples, and experience of men of warre, it can be no infamie to refuse the attempt that bringes not with it thoportunitie of tyme, place, neceſſitie, and recompence. But be it that *Loda* were abandoned, and that there were libertie for them to take it, what profite coulde growe by thenterpriſe, howe coulde they laye their plotte eyther to meete with the *Svvizzers*, or the *Svvizzers* to ioyne with them, ſo mightie an armie lying obiected agaynſt them betweene *Millan* and *Loda*: Beſides, it mighte fall out not to bee a counſell aſſured, to put into the handes of a nation ſo raſhe and vnreaſonable, all the forces of the Pope and the king Catholike, ſeeing there were factions amongeſt them, the greateſt parte hauing made peace with the Frenche men, and ſtoode in diuiſion with their fellowes. At laſte it was reſolued, that the firſte daye both the armies ſhoulde paſſe ouer *Pavv* without any baggage or cariage, leauing ſufficient garriſon within *Parma* and *Plaiſanca*, for feare of the *Venetian* armie, whoſe light horſmen euen at that tyme had made incurſions and pillages through the countrey: But as in all actions are founde many impedimentes where eyther is emulation of men, or varietie of will, ſo this reſolution was not ſincerely executed by eyther of the parties, for that in particular, bothe ſeeming to haue an equall will to paſſe, they labored to lay the fault one of an other, and neither of them to touch the daunger: for the *Viceroy* that was already entred into ſuſpicion for the gooing awaye of *Cintio*, and no leſſe acquaynted with what cunning the Pope proceeded in hys affayres, was of opinion, that his wyll was that *Lavvrence* ſhould paſſe no further: And on the other ſide, *Lavvrence* conſidering howe hardly the *Viceroy* was drawne to commit his armie to the power of fortune, gaue of an other the ſame iudgement that others gaue of him: In the after noone the Spaniſhe bandes beganne to paſſe the bridge, whom the Churche armie was appoynted to followe with ſpeede: but by reaſon of the night that came vpon them, they deferred by neceſſitie vntill the moarning following, when they dyd not onely not paſſe, but alſo the *Viceroy* retyred with his armie on this ſide the ryuer, beeing aduertiſed by a skowte of foure hundred light horſemen ſent out from bothe the armies to eſpie the enemies and their doinges, that an hundred Frenche launces were entred into *Loda* the daye before: This made the *Viceroy* and *Lavvrence* to returne to their firſt lodginges, whiche gaue oportunitie to *Aluiano* to marche with his armie to *Loda*.

Euen about this tyme the Frenche king diſlodged from *Marignan* to lodge at *S. Donato*, and the *Svvizzers* retyred to *Millan*, one parte whereof not willing to heare of warre, and the others nothing inclined to peace, there aroſe oftentymes amongeſt them ſelues councells and tumultes: And beeing one daye drawen into an aſſemblie and vniuerſall preſence, the Cardinall of *Syon* no leſſe great for his authoritie and place, then agreable to the people for his affabilitie and eaſines, began with wordes full of affection and vehemencie, to encourage them to iſſue out the ſame daye and ſet vppon the French king: He willed them to conſider what harmes delayes drew with them, ſpecially when was cõcurrance of oportunitie & occaſion: He willed them not to ſtande ſo muche vpon the number of horſemen and artilleries of thenemie, as by ſo baſe a feare, to diminiſhe the memorie of the auncient vallour of the *Svvizzers*, and the perpetuall victories which they had obteyned agaynſt the French men. It is (ſayth he) farre from the glory & merite of our nation, who hath paſſed through ſo many paines, vanquiſhed ſo many perils, made ſacrifice of ſo much blood, and triumphed in ſo many victories, to loaſe in one day ſo great a glorie,

The Cardinal of Syon perſwadeth the Swizzers.

glory,& leaue to the enemies whom we haue so often vanquished,the reputation of so many our former merits. These be the same frēchmen who being ioyned with vs, haue obteined so many victories,but going seperat to the warres without our armes & forces,haue become a miserable pray to others:when there was societie & felowship betwene vs,their name ranne gloriously thorow the world, & that much more by our vallor then by their owne fortune,they were the shadowes,& we the bodies, they the birdes and we the Aygles,through whose power peoples and regions were subiected to them: But without vs,what haue they done worthy of memory? what haue bene their fortunes?where are erected their pillors of perpetuall prayses? what are shadowes when they are seperate from their bodies? They are the same whome a small armie of ours ouerthrewe the laste yeare at *Nouaro* with so great name and glorie: They be the same to whom our vertue brought so much astonishment, and their owne cowardise so greate confusion, that euen in their ouerthrowe and calamitie,they areared vp to the heauens the name and reputation of the *Svvizzers*: Suffer not your selues to forget that those small companies of ours that preuayled at *Nouaro*, had neyther horsemen nor artilleries, and yet not esteeming the perill present, and lesse exspecting the succours that were to come, they ranne with Capteine *Motin* (the glory of our nation) to charge the Frenche men euen in their tentes and lodginges, and winning with incredible vallour their artilleries, they slue of them and the Launceknightes, so many bodies as they had weapons and armes to vse them: An example sufficient to perswade you, that now they will not haue the courage to abyde an armie of fourtie thousande *Svvizzers*, A power able to mete in the field with the whole residue of the world ioyned in one strength. The remēbraunce of calamities past makes fearfull alwayes after the minds of those that were vanquished,and though amongst men there is a naturall emulation and desire of reuenge, yet to hartes once daunted it is a peculiar condition to settle in dispayre, and not to aduenture to recouer remedie where they receyued their harmes, as we reade they do that are wounded by scorpions. Doubt you not but thexamples paste of your prowes, and thexperience of your euerlasting vallour, will make them nowe flee affore you, euen at the first noyse of your comming, as the selly fowles that make a verye faynte and weake wing when they heare the belles of the Falcon: They haue not drawne so neare *Millan* by any confidence they had in their owne vertue, but onely through a hope they haue in your diuisions: The person and presence of their king can not gouerne them, for that by howe muche his lyfe and estate shall be in daunger,by so muche it will import him to be the first to looke to his safetie, by whose example the residue wyll seeke to eschewe the hazarde that makes their king affrayde: if with this armie that conteyneth the vallour and forces of the whole countrey of *Svvizzerlande*, you haue not the courage to sette vpon them, with what power, with what fortune, with what mindes can you hope to bee hable to make resistance agaynst them? To what ende are we discended into *Lombardie*? why haue we taken into our protection the walles of *Millan*, if we haue feare to go charge our enemies? To what infamie will be interpreted the braue wordes, and prowde threates which we haue vsed all this yere, both vaunting that we would discende into *Burgondy*,and reioysing of thaccord of thEnglish king,& the Popes inclination to confederate with the french king,wherin we estemed our glory would be so much the greater,by how much al those great Princes were ioyned in conspiracie agaynst the state of *Millan*: It had ben better we had rested cōtented with the termes of our auncient renowme,

" and neither enioyed the yeres before ſo many honorable victories, nor chaſed the
" Frenche out of *Italie*, then now with an vniuerſall cowardiſe to deceyue thexpecta-
" tion of all men. Nowe is the worlde to iudge whether our vertue was the cauſe of
" our victorie at *Nouaro*, or our fortune: If we ſhowe our ſelues fearefull of our ene-
" mies, euery one will aſcribe to aduenture and chaunce, the victorie which we gotte
" with our incredible vallour and reſolution: But if we expreſſe the ſame vertue, we
" can not but drawe with vs the ſame ſucceſſe we did before, fortune hauing no inte-
" reſt in thoſe actions whoſe courſe is guyded wholly by a reſolute vallour, no more
" then the Moone can chalenge any other propertie of light then ſuche as it pleaſeth
" the ſunne to imparte to her: So ſhall we confirme thexpectation of the worlde, ſo
" ſhall we be redoubted and feared by the nations and peoples of the age preſent, ſo
" ſhall we be recommended and wondred at by the worldes and poſterities to come,
" and ſo ſhall we make the reputation and merite of the *Svvizzers* be rayſed aboue
" that great name and monumentes of the *Romains*, for that it is not read of them that
" they haue euer vſed ſuche a reſolute hardyneſſe, nor wonne victories with ſo great
" vallour, nor neuer without neceſſitie ſette vpon their enemies with ſo great diſad-
" uauntage: But of vs may be read the battell we gaue neare to *Nouaro*, where with a
" fewe ſouldiors, without artilleries, and without horſemen, our vallour put to flighte
" a mightie armie, not onely refurniſhed of all forces and ſtrength neceſſarie, but alſo
" guyded by two moſt notable capteines, the one the moſt flouriſhing in all *Fraunce*,
" and the other the floure of *Italie*: We ſhall leaue behinde vs alſo the memory of the
" encounter at *S. Donato*, executed on our partes with the ſame difficulties, & agaynſt
" the perſon of a Frenche king, and ſo many huge bodies of launceknightes, who by
" howmuche they are many in number, by ſo muche will they fill and ſatisfie our ha-
" tred, and by how muche in this action we ſhall for euer depoſe the name of their
" armes and diſcipline, by ſo muche ſhall we paſſe them and their fortunes into a per-
" petuall ſubiection, neuer after to holde vp their heades or once to laye them ſelues
" in compariſon with the *Svvizzers* in matters concerning warre and armes. It is
" contrarie to the reaſon and iudgement of warre that we ſhould ſtande to temporiſe
" and exſpect, ſeeing it is almoſt impoſſible, for many difficulties, that we ſhould be
" ſuccoured by the *Viceroy*, or the bands of the Church, yea their impediment ought
" to be more agreable to vs then their comming can be neceſſarie, for that entring
" into thexecution alone, the glory will be particular to vs, and the ſpoyles and welth
" of our enemies armie, a moſt plentyfull rewarde of our victorie: Muche leſſe that
" capteine *Motin* would communicate his glory to ſtraungers, ſeeing the greatnes of
" his courage could not ſuffer participation euen with his owne companies and con-
" trey men. Let not vs then eſteeme ſo baſely of our vallour & hardines, that though
" they may conueniently ioyne with vs, yet we will not exſpect to communicate ſo
" great honor and merite to ſtraungers. The reputation of the *Svvizzers* can not en-
" dure, nor the ſtate of affayres requires not, that we deferre any longer or ſtande vp-
" pon any more councells and reſolutions: It belonges to cowardes to whom daun-
" gers are fearefull, to conſult and ſpende tyme in councell, and not to a nation of ſuch
" warlike minds as we beare, to whoſe glorie it apperteines to make triall of thenne-
" mie aſſone as he is diſcloſed. In matters of action oportunitie can not brooke de-
" layes, neither can it be good to take counſell after thoccaſion be fully rype and of-
" fred: Let vs then take the fielde, and vnder the wings and ayde of God, who by a
" iuſt reuenge perſecuteth the pride of the Frenchemen, ſound vp your drommes and
" manage your pykes with the ſame courage you were wont to do, and let vs loaſe no

more

more time to aduaunce our enseignes and satisfie our thirst with the blood of those who by their ambicion and pride seeke to subiect the whole worlde, but by their cowardise are left alwayes an infamous pray to many.

These speaches gaue great incouragement to the *Svvizzers*, who, ioyning to thexhortacion the remembraunce of their auncient vallour & felicitie, armed themselues: And assoone as they were issued out of the gate towardes *Rome*, they fell into aray and order, & albeit the day was almost spent, yet they marched with their squadrons towards the French army, vsing such showtes and cries, that to such as knewe not the cause, it was a reasonable perswasion that they had obteined some glorious victory: The Capteines encoraged the souldiours to marche, and the resolucion of the souldiours was suche that they put their leaders in remembraunce that at what hower soeuer they came neare the campe of thenemies, they should giue the signe of the battell, assuring them that that was the day wherein they woulde couer the fieldes with dead bodies & vtterly rase out the name of the launceknights, & namely of such, who prophecying of their death, bare blacke enseignes: And as in this estate of furie and resolucion of minde, they were come neare the place where the Frenchmen lay, albeit there remeined not two howers of day, yet they beganne the battell, and with a desperate corage charged thartilleries and fortifications of thenemies, breaking and dispersing at this first charge, the bandes that made head against them, and with their incredible vallour wonne one parte of thartilleries: But what with the horsemen bringing on a great parte of tharmy, & the presence of the king inuironed with squadrōs of valliant gentlemē, their great furie was somwhat abated: Neuertheless a cruell feight began betwene them, which, with diuerse chaunces, and to the grieuous losses of the men at armes of *Fraunce*, who were broken, continued till iiij. howers within night, diuerse french Captaines lay dead on the ground, and the king him selfe receiued many wounds with a pyke: Such aygernes of mind remeined in both partes, that their bodies being no more hable to manage the weapons which the reuenge of their hartes put into their hands, they separated and fell of from the feight both without sounding of trompet, & commaundement of their Capteines: The *Svvizzers* remeined incamped in the same place exspecting the next sunne or day light, neither partie offending the other, as if there had bene a secret truce betwene them: The Cardinall caused the campe of *Svvizzers* to be reuittelled from *Millan* whilest their bodies tooke rest, adding such propertie of help as he could, being the author of the enterprise: And to this first felicity of theirs, was ioyned a generall brute throughout all *Italie*, that the *Svvizzers* had put to flight the armie of the Frenchemen with many other rumors giuen out to discorage the Frenche, and confirme their owne side: The French king consumed not vnprofitably the residue of the night, for, knowing the greatnesse of the perill, he labored to raunge his artilleries into places conuenient, to reassemble his horsemen, and put in order his squadrons of launceknights & *Gascoyns*: he performed in his owne person, all things that could be required of a king, of a Capteine, of a man of warre, and of a minde whose resolucion was greater then thestate of the daunger: By this time it was day, and at the beginning of the sunne, the *Svvizzers*, who did not only despise the French army, but also (in thopinion of their vallor) seemed to dishable the whole forces of *Italie* knit together, recontinued their charge vppon thenemies with the same furie and rashenes they went to it ouer night: But they were receiued of the French with greater vallour, with better order, and with more discression, they were subiect to a bloody charge of the horsemen, and suffred slaughter both a front and in

The battell of Marignan.

flanke: Beſides, at the riſing of the Sunne came *Aluiano*, whom the king had ſent for ouer night, bringing with him his light horſemen and the moſt ſpeedieſt part of his armie: he arriued at ſuch time as the fight was moſt cloaſe and furious and all things reduced into greateſt trauell and daunger: And hauing the reſidue of his regiment marching to good purpoſe and time, he entred furiouſly vppon the backes of the *Svvyzzers*, who, notwithſtanding they mainteyned alwayes the fight with one vallour and reſolucion, yet ſeeing the deſperat reſiſtance that was made, and the *Venetian* armie that was now ioyned, they began ſo to doubt of the victorie, that after the Sunne had ſhined many howers vpon the earth, they ſownded the retrait, and charging vpon their ſhowlders the artilleries they had brought with them, they caſt about their ſquadrons, and retyred: They obſerued their accuſtomed order in their retyring, and ſo ordered their marche towards *Myllan* with ſo great terror and aſtoniſhment of the frenche, that of the whole armie there was neither horſemen nor footemen that durſt breake out to follow them: Onely there were two companies of their ſouldiers who beeing fled into a graunge, were burned within the houſe by the *Venetian* light horſemen: The reſidue of the armie returned to *Myllan*, not breaking one ioate of their order, and reteyning in their apparance and countenance, one conſtant and perpetuall aſſurance: ſome ſay that they cloyed fifteene peeces of great artilleries which they wonne at the firſt charge, for that they had no oportunitie to cary them to their campe.

All men are of opinion, that there hath not bene ſeene in *Italy* of long time a battell of more furie and greater terror, for that, what by the deſperat vallour with the which the *Svvyzzers* began the charge, and alſo for the darknes of the night which led all men in errour, the order of the whole armie beeing confuſed and the fight ſo mixed that there could not be ſeene or obſerued any ſigne or commaundement, All thinges were wholly referred and ſubiected to fortune: The king, whoſe perſon was not without many and manifeſt daungers, was able to diſcerne that his preſeruacion and ſafetie came more by his owne vertue and by chaunce, then by the ſuccours and ayde of his people, from whom he was oftentimes ſeparat ſometymes by the confuſion of the battell, and ſometymes by the troubles and obſcurities of the night: ſuch was the diſcourſe and ſtate of this conflict, that *Trynulco* (A Captaine of great tryall and experience of thinges) affirmed that this battell was fought by Gyants and not by men, and that eighteene battells wherein he had bene an execucioner, were but combats of litle children, in compariſon of this: It is not to be doubted that (without the ayde of the artilleries) the victorie had not remeyned to the *Svvyzzers*, who, entring at the firſt charge into the fortificacions of the french, and recouering from them the moſt parte of thartilleries, had alwayes wonne further into their campe: Beſides, the comming of *Aluiano* was to great purpoſe for the french, for that comming freſh to the fight when the battell was moſt doubtfull, he redoubled the courage of the french, and gaue terror to the *Svvyzzers*, ſuppoſing that the whole *Venetian* armie was with him: Touching the number of the deade bodies, if euer it was vncerteine in a battell (as it hapneth almoſt alwayes) it fell out moſt vncerteyne in this, men ſpeaking diuerſly, ſome by paſſion, and ſome by error: ſome make reckoning of foureteene thowſand *Svvyzzers* to be ſlayne, ſome ſet downe but ten thowſand, and others that haue a more moderat iudgement, affirme there were but eight thowſand left on the ground, yea ſome woulde haue them reduced to a number of three thouſand, and all bodies of baſe place: on the french part in the encounter that was giuen ouer night, were ſlayne *Frauncis* brother to the Duke of *Burbon*, *Monſr D'imbercourt*

D'imbercourt, the Prince of *Tallemount* sonne to *Monsr Trimouille*, *Monsr de Boysi* nephew to the Cardinall of *Amboyse*, the Count of *Sancerre*, *Catelarth* of *Sauoye*, *Bussy* of *Amboyse*, and *Mouy* enseigne bearer to the kings bande: All personages of marke either for their nobleneſſe and greatnes of eſtates, or for the honorable places they managed in the army: And touching the general numbers of dead bodies, some referre them to six thousand, & some reckon them to three thousand, amõgest whom were certeine Capteines of the launceknightes, sundry men making sundry accõpts for the causes and respects aforesayd.

When the *Svvizzers* were retired to *Millan*, they fell into great disagreement & controuersie, some willing to accomplish an accord with the French king, & others perswading to continue the defense of *Millan*: wherein as there was amongest them partialitie and faction, so euerie one had his particular reason and opinion: Those Capteines that affore had solicited thaccorde, sought nowe a cause lesse dishoneſt to breake vp, requiring money of *Maximilian Sforce* which they knewe he was not hable to aduaunce: But all the bandes of footemen at the perswasion of *Rost* their Generall, departed the day following to returne to their countrey by the way of *Coma*: They left in the castell fifteene hundred *Svvizzers* and fiue hundred *Italians*, and gaue hope to the Duke that the same bands and regiments, would returne speedely to his seruice, and giue reskew to the castell: with this property of hope, *Maximilian Sforce* accompanied with *Iohn Gonzago*, & *Ierom Morono* with other gentlemen of *Millan*, incloſed him selfe in the castell, after he had with great difficultie consented that his brother *Frauncis* Duke of *Bary* should go into *Germanie*: The Cardinall of *Syon* tooke his iorney towardes *Cæsar* to solicite for succours, giuing his faith to returne to the seruice with expedicion.

Thus was the city of *Millan* abandoned and giuen vp to the French king, neither their vallour nor their fortune being able to minister any further protection amid so many hard aduersities: And as it is a course ordinary in humane chaunces, that one infelicity neuer comes alone, so, besides their subiection, they suffered this propertie of calamity, to pay to the king such quantities of treasor and money, as it pleased him to impose vpon them: only his person forbare to enter the towne so long as the castell helde good for the enemies, holding it a matter vnworthie the maiestie of a king, to make his entrie into a towne which was not wholly and absolutly in his power: In the place where he had wonne the battell, he caused Masses to be song solemnly for three dayes: the first was to thanke God for his victorie: the seconde to pray for the soules of those that were slaughtered in the battell: and in the third he made supplication for peace, and in perpetuall memorie of his victorie, he built in the same place a chappell of deuocion: immediatly vpon the brute of this battell all the townes and castells of the Duchie of *Millan* followed the fortune of the victory, except the castells of *Cremona* and *Millan*, to the which was appointed *Peter* of *Nauarre*, who assured that he would carie it in lesse then a moneth: A matter that seemed vnreasonable in thopinion of wise men, both for that the castell bare good fortificacions, and also for the plentifull proportion of all things necessary for defence, yea hauing within it a resolute garrison of two thowsand men of warre.

The *Viceroy* receiuing aduertisement of the french victorie, remeined a very few dayes in the place where he was incamped, and that more by necessity then by will, hauing no reason nor oportunitie to remoue his armie for want of money: But being at last refurnished with some litle proporcion, and borowing besides of *Lavvrence de Medicis* six thowsand duckats, he brake vp and withdrewe to *Ponto de Nuro*

with intencion to goe to the Realme of *Naples*: for, albeit the Pope vnderstanding what was hapned, had in the beginning represented to the world the constancie of his predecessor, hauing withal, the Embassadors of the confederats to perswade him to make head against fortune, and to labor either to hold the *Swyzzers* in good disposicion, or at least vpon their reuolting, to take in their places the launceknightes: yet he discerned that it could not be but that the remedies and prouisions would fall out too slow for his perills, and that he should be the first that should suffer: for that though the respect and reuerence of the Church held the king from molesting the state Ecclesiastyke, yet he could not beleeue that it was able to conteyne him from assailing *Parma* and *Plaisanca* as members depending of the Duchie of *Myllan*; and much lesse hold him frō molesting the state of *Florence*, A matter wherein al regards did cease, and for the which he would thinke him selfe as deepely offended as if violence were directly offered to the state of the Church: It was not without cause that he feared these inuasions, for that the king had already giuen order to cast a bridge ouer the riuer of *Pavv* neare to *Pauia*, to send to take *Parma* and *Plaisanca*, and afterwards, if the Pope refused his amitie, to proceede by the way of *Pontresmo* to chasse the *Medicis* from the towne of *Florence*. But amyd these deuises and preparacions, The Duke of *Sauoye* and Bishop of *Tricaro* the Popes *Nuncio*, by commission of the Pope, treated with the king, who was not without vehement desires to be accorded with him, fearing perhaps new allyances to be made against him, & bearing a wonderfull reuerence and inclinacion to the sea Apostolike for the terrour that was throw the whole Realme of *Fraunce* by reason of the persecutions receiued by Pope *Iulio*: In these respects there was concluded betweene them a present confederacion for the defense of the states of *Italy*, wherein was particularly expressed that the king shoulde take vppon him the protection of the person of the Pope, the state of the Church, *Iulian* and *Lavvrence de Medicis*, and the estate of *Florence*: That the king should giue an estate in *Fraunce* and pension to *Iulian*, and to *Lavvrence* a pension & a companye of fifty launces: That he should consent that the Pope might giue passage to the *Viceroy* thorow the states and iurisdiction of the Church, to returne with his armie to the kingdom of *Naples*: That the Pope should be bound to make depart out of *Verona*, the souldiers he had there, and withall, to countermaund the companies sent to the succours of *Cæsar* against the *Venetians*: That he should giue vp to the french king the cities of *Farma* and *Plaisanca*, and in recompense thereof, the king to agree that from thence forward the Duchie of *Myllan* should be bound to leauy for his vse the salts of *Cerui*, A matter of great profit to the church, and wherein the Pope had already agreed with the Duke of *Myllan* in the confederacion he made with him: That there should be made an arbytracion and compromisse in the person of the Duke of *Sauoye*, to iudge whether the *Florentyns* had broken the confederacion made with king *Lovvys*, and if they haue offended that way, then he to haue power to impose such penaltie as they haue deserued: This the king sayde he demaunded more for satisfying of his honor, then for other respect.

Assoone as this conclusion was made, the Bishop of *Tricaro* went to *Rome* in post to perswade the Pope to ratifie it, And *Lavvrence de Medicis* to giue occasion to the *Viceroy* to depart the sooner, withdrew to *Parma* & *Reggia* the companies that were within *Plaisanca*: touching him selfe, he went to the king to obteyne his good grace and fauor, and to perswade him that in all estates of tymes and chaunces of thinges, he would depend vpon him, vsing in that office or offer of Court, the aduises of his Vncle which were more full of suttletie then of good meaning: It was much a doe,

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to induce the Pope to this ratification, for that it brought no litle displeasure to him to loase *Parma* and *Plaisanca*: He coulde willingly haue temporised to see what the *Svvizzers* woulde first determine, who hauing called a Parliament at *Surich* (the principall Canton of the whole nation, and most enemie to the French) debated to giue reskew to the Castell of *Millan*, notwithstanding they had abandoned the vallies and the townes of *Bellinzone* & *Lugarno*, but not the Castles. Neuertheleſſe the king obteined the Castell of *Lugarno* in corrupting the capteine with six thousande crownes: onely the *Grisons* would not abandon *Chiauanna*: At laste the Bishop of *Tricaro* laying afore him the daunger leaſt the king would inuade *Parma* and *Plaisanca*, and sende men of warre into *Tuskane*, and making great terror of the harmes that the *Svvizzers* had receyued at the battell of *Marignan*: the Pope was content to ratifie the peace, albeit vnder this moderation, that neyther he nor his Agentes should be bound to giue vp into the kings handes *Parma* and *Plaisanca*; but by leauing them voyde of men and officers, to giue libertie to the king to enter vppon them: That the Pope shoulde not be bounde to leauie his people from *Verona*, for that he woulde not commit suche a propertie of iniurie agaynst *Cæsar*: and yet he promised to do it vpon the next conuenient occasion: Lastely that the *Florentins* should be holden absolued of the pretended breaking of the league. The accorde bare also that the king shoulde not take vpon him the protection of any vassall or subiect of the estate of the Church, and that not onely he should not hinder the Pope as their supreme lorde, to procede agaynst them with correction, but also he should be bounde to minister ayde to him in that action when necessitie required. Moreouer it was debated that the Pope and the French king should haue an enterview together in some place conuenient, A matter offred by the king particularly, but desired indifferently by them both: The king sought it, the better to establish that amity, to assure the estates of such his friends as he had in *Italie*: and lastly for that he hoped with his presence, and offring great aduauncementes to the Popes brother & nephew, to winne of him his consent to inuade the realme of *Naples*: A matter which was one of his greateſt desires: The Pope wished this enteruiew, to thend that with that office and obseruance very proper to winne grace & amitie with euery one, to enterteine the king whileſt he stoode in so great fortune and prosperitie. Manye thought not well of this deliberation, as an action vnworthy of the maiestie of a Pope, and that it more apperteined to the king, desiring to haue conference with him, to go seeke him and do reuerence to him at *Rome*: but the Pope gaue it out that he was so muche the more ready to condiscende to this meeting, by how much he was desirous to induce the king not to molest the realme of *Naples* during the life of the king Catholik, who to the iudgement of man could not liue long, for that it was more then a yere since he was yll disposed.

Pe. Nauarre afore the Castell of Mill.

In this meane while *Peter* of *Nauarre* was labouring to cary the Castel of *Millan*, and hauing wonne a mordring house vpon the castell ditche whiche on the flanke side had his prospect vpon the gate of *Coma*, and afterwards approching nearer the ditch and the castell wall by the helpe of pauisses and engines of wood, be began to worke a myne within the sayd ditche: And when he had remoued the defences, he began to labor more mynes, taking away with the helpe of his engines a great paue or space of the wall on the flanke of the Castell, and applyed his hookes and Rammes to make it fall at the same instaunt that he put fyre to hys mynes: Matters which albeit in cõmon iudgement seemed not sufficient to cary the castell but with great difficultie & long time, & that there was good intelligence that the *Svvizzers*

by the resolucion of *Zurich*, prepared to succour it: yet a practise being begon betwene *Iohn Gonsago* the duke of *Millans* capteine which was within the castel, & the Duke of *Burbon* his parent, *Ierome Morono*, with two other *Svvizzer* Capteines interposing also in the action, the resolucion was concluded the fourth day of October not without a wonderfull maruell of all men: *Ierome Morono* was specially blamed for this conclusion for that either through feare, which was naturall in him, or for want of faith which was neuer imputed to him, he had vsed his authority to perswade the Duke to agreement: Neuertheless he excused him selfe vppon certeine controuersies and mutinies hapned betwene the footmen of the *Svvizzers* and the *Italians*: Tharticles of thaccord were, that *Maximilian Sforce* should immediatly giue vp into the hands of the french king, the castells of *Millan* and *Cremona*: That he should depose him selfe of all rights & interests which he had in that estate: That he should receiue of the king, a certeine proporcion of money to pay his dets: That he should go into *Fraunce* where the king should indue him with a yearely pension of thirtie thowsande duckats, or procure him to be made Cardinall with the same reuenue: That the king should pardon *Galeas* Viscont with certeine other gentlemen of that Duchie who had followed the seruice of *Maximilian*: That he should distribute amongst the *Svvizzers* that were within the castel, six thousand crownes: That he should confirme to *Iohn Gonzago* the goods that he held in the state of *Millan* by the gift of the Duke, and enlarge his liuing with some yearely pension: That he should in like sorte ratifie to *Morono*, as well the goods that apperteined to him in property, as others that he had of the Dukes gift, together with the offices he exercised, and should make him Maister of requests of the court of *Fraunce*: vpon the publicacion of this accord, *Maximilian* surnamed the *More* according to the name of his father, departed out of the castell and went into *Fraunce*: he sayed it was a sweete aduersity that brought with it prosperitie, for that by that exchaunge of fortune, he was drawne out of the seruitude of the *Svvizzers*, the ill dealings of *Cæsar*, and the deceits of the *Spanyards*: In this alteracion also men seemed more to allowe of the working of fortune that she had so speedily deposed him from such a degree, then that affore she had exalted a man, who, for his incapacity, inconstant thoughts, and most fowle maners of life, was vnworthy of all greatnes.

Affore the castell of *Millan* was restored there were sent to the king as Embassadors from *Venice* these foure of the most principal and honorable of the Senate *Antho. Grimani*, *Dominike Treuisan*, *George Cornaro*, & *Andrevv Gritti*: Their comming was to congratulat with the king of his victorie, and to beseech him by the vertue of the capitulacions of the league, to ayde them to recouer their townes: An enterprise wherein they had no other impediments then the forces of *Cæsar*, & the Popes regiments that were within *Verona* vnder the charge of *Marke Antho. Colonno*: for, the *Viceroy* after he was gone from of the marches of *Plaisanca*, and had reposed some fewe dayes vpon the frontiers of *Modona* exspecting the Popes ratification to thaccord with the french king, he withdrew with all diligence to the realme of *Naples* by the way of *Romagnia*: vpon the relacion of these Embassadors, the king gaue speedy order that the bastard of *Sauoye* and *Theoder Triuulco* should go to their succour with six hundred launces and vij. thowsand launceknightes: who, whilest they deferred to march and depart, either that they temporised to see what would come of the castel of *Millan*, or that the king had a meaning to send out the same bands against the castell of *Cremona*, *Aluiano* drew with his army towards *Bressa*, for, the *Venetians* would not consent that he should follow the *Viceroy*, for that they desired to

recouer

recouer *Breßia* and *Verona* (if it were poſſible) without forreine ſuccors: But becauſe that Citie was newly reſupplyed with a thouſand Launceknights, and *Bergamo* alſo rendred to the *Venetians* many dayes before, *Aluiano* reſolued to go firſt to beſiege *Verona*, as being the leaſt fortified, and hauing there greateſt commoditie of vittels, and withall for that *Verona* being taken, the action of *Breßia* would be eaſie, the ſituation bearing no oportunitie of ſuccours by the *Almains*: onely he forbare to giue beginning to his enterpriſe for feare leaſt the *Viceroy* and the Popes bandes that were in the countreys of *Reggia* and *Modena* ſhould not repaſſe ouer *Pavv* at *Oſtia*, to reskew *Verona*: But beeing deliuered of that ſuſpicion by the going awaye of the *Viceroy*, he fell into an other impediment of ſickneſſe, whereof he dyed in the beginning of October at *Gueda* in the countrey of *Breßia*, hauing not yet threeſcore yeres of age: The *Venetians* receiued great diſpleaſure for his death, but greater was the ſorowe of the ſouldiors, who beeing not ſatisfied with the remembraunce of him, kept publikely in tharmie his bodye by the ſpace of xxv. dayes, carying it aboute with them with very great pompe, at ſuche time as they marched: And when he ſhould be conueyed to *Venice*, *Theodor Triuulco* would not ſuffer that as he was caried by the marches of *Verona*, they ſhould demaund ſafeconduit of *Marke Antho. Colonno*, ſaying, it was not conuenient that he who in his life had neuer feare of his ennemies ſhould now in his death demaunde the thing by petition which affore they durſt not denie him of duetie: he was buryed at *Venice* by publike order and with great ceremonies in *S. Stephens* Churche, where yet remayneth the monument of his ſepulcher, and in perpetuall remembraunce of the merites and vertues of hys lyfe, was pronounced by a very eloquent young Gentleman, a funerall oration: he was a Capteine in all mens opinion of greate reſolution and courage, and an aſſured executioner of things determined: and yet eyther by the malice of fortune, who hath no ſmall imperie ouer enterpriſes, or for that he was ſodayne in counſayle, a principall ennemie to the vallour of men, he receyued manye foyles by his ennemies, yea it is thought he neuer obteyned victorie when he was generall of an armie.

Death of Aluiano.

By reaſon of the death of *Aluiano*, the Frenche king (not beeing required by the *Venetians*) gaue to them for gouernour of their armie, *Triuulco*, whom they ſo much deſyred, aſwell for his experience wherein he was well confirmed, as for his reputation in the ſcience of warre, for the whiche they had him in no ſmall opinion: but moſt of all for that by the common inclination of the faction of the *Guelffes*, there had beene alwayes a ſettled amitie and good wyll betweene him and that common weale. Whyleſt he wente to the armie to take hys charge, the *Venetian* bandes tooke *Peſquiero*, and ouerthrewe a little before thenterpriſe, certeine trowpes of horſemen, and three hundred Spaniſhe footemen that wente to their reskew, recouering alſo *Aſolo* and *Louo*, whiche the Marquis of *Mantua* had abandoned. Aſſoone as *Triuulco* was come to the armie they beſieged *Breßia* at thinſtaunce of the Senate, notwithſtanding it ſeemed a matter of great difficultie to carye it without the Frenche armie, bothe for that the towne was ſtrong and well manned with a crewe of two thouſande footemen aſwell Launceknightes as Spaniardes, and alſo for that a great number of the *Guelffes* had bene conſtrayned to go awaye, the wynter alſo drawing on, and the ſeaſon muche diſpoſed to rayne and ſtormes: Neyther dyd the iſſue and ſucceſſe of the matter beguyle the iudgemente that the Capteine gaue of it: for as they had begonne to do execution vppon the walles with their artilleries which they had planted vppon the

brinke of the ditche on that ſide where iſſueth the ſmall ryuer of *Garzetto:* ſo they that were within making many ſallies, brake foorth at laſte with fifteene hundred Launceknightes and Spaniardes, to charge the garde of thartillerie, whiche was an hundred men at armes and ſix thouſande footemen: and beating them alſo with the ſhot that for that ende was araunged vpon the towne wall, they put them eaſily to flight, notwithſtanding that *Iohn Paule Manfron* with thirtie men at armes ſuſteyned ſomewhat their furie: In this action they ſlewe two hundred bodies, burnt the powders, and drewe into *Breſcia* ten peeces of artilleries: For the harmes of this diſorder, *Triuulco* thought good to retyre and incampe more at large, exſpecting the comming of the Frenche men: In which minde he withdrew to *Coccaio*, which is ten miles from *Breſcia*, the *Venetians* looking in the meane while to make new prouiſions of artillerie & municions: But aſſone as the frenchmen were come the camp returned to beſiege the towne, & began to batter it in two ſundry places on that ſide of the gate of Piles towards the Caſtell, and alſo on that ſide of the gate of *S. Iohn:* in one of whiche quarters the Frenche men were incamped, and after they had giuen leaue to the Launceknights, for that they refuſed to do ſeruice agaynſt the townes of *Cæſars* obedience, *Peter* of *Nauarre* arriued at the campe with fiue thouſande *Gaſcons* and Frenchemen: And in the other quarter lay with the *Venetian* regimentes, *Triuulco*, in whom reſted almoſte the whole ſuperintendencie of thoſe affayres, for that the baſtard of *Sauoy* being falne into ſickneſſe, was gone from tharmie: When they had battred the wall, they followed not with thaſſault for the ſundrie rampiers and fortifications whiche the vallour of the defendauntes had made to reſiſte their violence: Onely *Peter* of *Nauarre* hauing recourſe to his accuſtomed remedies, began to vndermine and ſinke the walles. About this time *Marke Antho. Colonno* iſſuing out of *Verona* with ſix hundred horſmen & fiue hundred footmen, encountred in the playne *Iohn Paule Manfron* and *Mark. Antho. Buo*, who were beſtowed in garriſon within *Valeggio* with foure hundred men at armes & foure hundred light horſemen, he ouerthrew them, & in the skirmiſh was taken the ſonne of *Iohn Paule*, his horſe beeing killed vnder him, and his father fledde for his ſafetie to *Goieto:* Immediately after which expedition, *Marke Antho.* occupied *Leguaguo*, where were taken priſoners certayne Gentlemen of *Venice.* At laſte the difficulties to take *Breſcia* beeing more and more redoubled, bothe for that the mynes employed by *Peter* of *Nauarre* did not aunſwere the hopes that had bene giuen, and alſo for an exſpectation of eyght thouſande footemen to come out of *Germanie*, whiche the Capteines that laye about *Breſcia* had no confidence to be hable to hinder: The *Venetians* to couer ſomeway thignominie of their retrait, were contented to agree with the defendauntes of *Breſcia*, that if they were not ſuccoured within thirtie dayes, they would abandon the Citie and go out of it with their enſignes diſplayed, their artilleries, and what elſe apperteined to them: A promiſe whiche euery one knewe would ſerue to no purpoſe for thaſſurance they had of ſuccours: only it was a thing profitable to them of *Breſcia* to be deliuered in the meane whyle from aduerſities and afflictions. Afterwardes the *Venetians* put eyght thouſand footmen within *Bre*, a towne ſubect to the *Counts* of *Lodrono*, but aſſone as they heard the launceknights marched (to whom the Caſtell of *Auſo* was rendred) they retyred cowardly to tharmie: The capteins themſelues ſhowed no greater reſolution & corage, who fearing to be charged at one time both by thoſe bands, & the defendantes of *Breſcia*, and alſo by *Mark Antho. Colonno* with the regiments that were within *Verona*, retired to *Gueda*, whither they had ſent afore (being aſſured of that accident) their greateſt ſortes of

artillerie

artillerie and almost all their baggage: And the launceknights that entred into *Verona* without impediment, returned into *Germanie*, after they had refurnished it of vittells, and reenforced the garrison.

During these accidents and enterchaunge of affayres, the Pope and the French king had agreed vppon an enteruiewe at *Bolognia*: A place which the king accepted affore *Florence*, because he would not be farre remoued from the Duchie of *Millan*, And chiefly for that the Duke of *Sauoye* managed continually the negociacion of accord betweene him and the *Sivyzzers*: But some thought he made election of that place, for that in passing into *Tuskane* he should be constrayned to leade with him a great trayne of souldiours, to thende he should not enter into *Florence* with a lesse pompe then did the late king *Charles* before him: for dressing of which pomp, it behoued him to spend certeine daies in deferring a matter by so much more grieuous and intollerable to the king, by how much (besides generall respects) it would breede occasion to make him reteyne yet longer the whole armie, whereof albeit the exspenses were great, yet made he no reckoning nor resolucion to send away any parte of it, so long as his person remeyned in *Italy*: Thus the Pope entred into *Bolognia* the eyght daye of December, and after him the king made his entry within two dayes, and to receiue him, were gone to the confyns of the contry of *Reggia*, the Cardinalls *Fiesquo* and *Medicis*, Legats Apostolyke: The king entred without many bandes of souldiers, and with no great trayne of Court and Courtyers, And beeing conueyed according to the manner of kinges into the publike Consistorie affore the Popes presence, he offered in his owne person (his great Chauncellor deliuering the speech for him) the obedience which till then he had not protested: They were lodged three dayes together in one pallace, showing one to an other right great and manifest tokens of good will and amitie: They confirmed at this meeting with wordes and promisses, the obligacions and contracts passed affore, and debated besides, of many thinges touching the Realme of *Naples*, which for that the king was in no readines to assayle at that tyme, he contented him selfe with the great hope and assurances which the Pope gaue to fauor him in that enterprise, eyther assoone as the king of *Aragon* should dye, who in reasonable iudgement coulde not longe liue, or when the confederacion which he had with him should be ended, which yet had continuance of sixteene monethes: The king also besought the Pope to render to the Duke of *Ferrara* *Modono* and *Reggia*, whereunto he condiscended so farre forth as the Duke repaied xl. thowsand duckats which he had giuen to *Cæsar* for *Modona*, & withall, make recompense for such summes of money as he had disbursed in exspenses for both the cities: Lastly the king was a sutor for *Frauncis Maria* Duke of *Vrbyn*, who beeing waged and interteyned by the Church with two hundred men at armes and appoynted with *Iulian de Medicis* to goe to tharmie, and afterwards that charge beeing transferred to *Lavvrence*, by reason *Iulian* was sicke: he refused to go thether, alleaging he would not accord to *Lavvrence* that which against his dignitie he had suffered for friendships sake in *Iulian*, to beare the place of a simple Capteine and subiect to thauthoritie of an other and that in the armie of the Church, wherein he had ruled so oftentymes as generall and soueraigne Commaunder of all: Moreouer he reuoked those souldiours in his paye that were on the way notwithstanding his promisse to sende them on to the seruice: he had also secretly compownded or at least was in action of composicion with the french king, like as also euer since the kinges victorie, he had not ceassed by speciall working to kindle him against the Pope: who taking the occasion of those

Enteruiew of Pope Leo & the fr. king in Bolognia.

iniuries, and casting by all his deuises to make fall to his house that Duchie, refused to the kinge his demaunde, reducinge to his remembraunce by sweete wordes, of what consequence it woulde be for thaffaires of the Churche, to giue boldnesse to his subiectes, to rebell by so hurtefull an example: These reasons induced the king to conforme him selfe to the Popes will, notwithstandinge in regard of his honor, he would gladly haue purchassed safetie for him that was falne into daunger for being faithfull to his seruice: Wherunto he was perswaded by many of his councell and most of his Courte, who vnder the example of the late king, proued howe vnwise a councell it was to giue harte and countenaunce to the Duke *Valentynois* to oppresse the inferior Lordes of *Italie*, a matter that made him rise into that estate of greatnesse, that if God had giuen longer life to his father Pope *Alexander*, his ambicion coulde not but haue bene verie preiudiciall to the affayres of *Fraunce*: The Pope promised to giue the king power to leauie the tenth parte of the Churche reuenues of the realme of *Fraunce* for the arearing of an armie: And gaue also his consent that the king should haue the nomination of benefices which alwayes affore hath apperteyned to colledges and Chapters of Churches, a matter that fell out muche to the profitte and purpose of the kings of *Fraunce*, not only hauing by that meane the facultie to dispose at their owne arbitracion and will many riche benefices, but also the annates of the frenche Churches, shoulde afterwardes be payed to the Pope according to the true vallue, and not as the auncient taxacions being farre lesse required: Wherein the Pope found him selfe deceiued: for, when his Deputies and commissaries, for the realme of *Fraunce*, sought to proceede against those that conceiled the true vallue, they coulde finde no proofe nor testimonie, and muche lesse haue meane to execute against the parties, so that dispatches went out according to the olde rates: The king for his parte promised not to take into his protection any of the Cities of *Tuskane*: And albeit afterwardes he required to haue libertie to protect the people of *Lucqua* who offered him fiue and twentie thowsande duckats, saying he was bounde to that protection by thobligacion of his predecessor, yet the Pope would giue no consent, but promised for his parte that he woulde forbeare to molest them in any sorte: Lastly they agreed by indifferent consent of them both to sende frear *Giles* Generall of the *Augustins* and an excellent preacher, to *Cæsar* in the Popes name to dispose him to render to the *Venetians Bressa* and *Verona*, taking a recompense of money: And so vppon the expedicion of these matters, but not sette downe by wryting, except thartiele for nominacion of benefices and payment of the Annats according to the true vallue: the Pope in fauour of the king pronounced Cardinall *Adrian de Boisy*, brother to the great Maister of *Fraunce* and of the greatest authoritie with the king and in the generall gouernment: That the enteruiewe brake vppe, the king departing from the Pope verie well contented and in great hope to haue him his perpetuall frende, who for his parte expressed no lesse with all reasonable demonstracions: but in his minde he nouriished other impressions: for that bothe it was a matter no lesse greeuous to him then affore, that the Duchie of *Myllan* shoulde be possessed by the Frenche king, and *Parma* and *Plaisanca* restored, and also that the Duke of *Ferrara* should be eftsoones reinuested in *Modena* and *Reggia*: And yet all these not long after turned to vanitie and smoake, for that the Pope being gone from *Bolognia* to *Florence*, & remeining there about a moneth, had receiued of the Duke promises of the money that should be payd assoone as he should enter into possession, & being there set down in writing by common consent thin-

thinstrumentes that were to passe betwene them, the Pope neither denying nor accomplishing, but interposing many delayes and excuses, refused to giue perfection to things.

The king being returned to *Myllan*, dismissed his armie except seuen hundred launces, six thowsand launceknightes and foure thowsand frenchmen such as they cal aduenturers, whom he left for the gard of that estate: And for his owne person he returned into *Fraunce* with great speede about the first beginning of the yeare 1516. leauing behinde him as his Lieftenaunt, *Charles* Duke of *Burbon*: he thought he had left his affayres in *Italie* in good estate of sewertie, both for the allyance newlie contracted with the Pope, and also for that about that time, he was newly compounded with the *Suvyzzers*, who, notwithstanding the perswasions of the king of *England* to haue them to reenter into armes against the frenche king renewed with him thalliance by the which they bound them selues to furnishe alwayes for his seruice and at his paye, both in *Italie* and out of *Italie*, for defense and offence, and against all nations, suche numbers of footemen as he would require, and that vnder their vniuersall name and publike enseignes: onely they excepted to beare armes against the Pope, the Empire, and the Emperour: And on the other side, the king confirmed to them of newe their auncient pensions, with promisse to paye them within a certaine time the six hundred thowsand duckats agreed vpon at *Dyon*, with three hundred thowsande if they gaue vp to him the villages and vallies apperteyning to his Duchy of *Myllan*: A matter which the fiue Cantons that possessed those places, refusing to do, as also to ratifie the accord, the king began to pay to the other eight Cantons that parte and porcion of the money that apperteined to them: who accepted it, but vnder this expresse condition that they should not be bound to take his pay against the fiue Cantons. 1516.

The french king returneth into Fraunce.

About the beginning of this yeare the Bishoppe *Petruccio* an auncient seruant to the Pope, chassed out of *Siena* by the Popes aide and some helpe from the *Florentins*, *Borgueso* sonne to *Pandolffe Petruccio* his cossing, and impatronised him selfe vpon the place, the authority and gouernment remeining by equity in the possession of his said cossing: the Pope had two respects inducing him to this actiō, the one for that that citie standing betwene the estate of the Church, and the dominion of the *Florentins*, was gouerned by a man wholly at his deuocion: the other was & much more particular and mouing, for that he hoped with the fauor of some good occasion, to make it fall into the gouernment of his brother or his nephew, wherein he douted nothing of the Bishops consent, hauing already framed him tractable to all his desires and ambicions.

The warre continued kindeled betwene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, who for their partes desired to recouer by the aide of the frenche king, *Bressa* and *Verona*: But for other places and regions of *Italie*, things seemed to stand in a peasible estate: onely there beganne to burst out mocions of new stirres that were pushed on by the king of *Aragon*, who fearing least the greatnesse of the frenche king would bring some aduersities to the realme of *Naples*, delt with *Cæsar* and the king of *Englande*, to recontinewe the warre: A matter not onely of no great difficultie and hardnesse to drawe *Cæsar* vnto, being both desirous of innouacion and newe thinges, and also was not able easily to kepe the townes which he had take from the *Venetians*: But also it was fullie concluded and agreed vnto by the king of *England*: The remembraunce of the late infidelitie and breache of promise of his father in lawe, being of lesse power in him, then either his present emulacion or auncient hatred against the

crowne of *Fraunce*: beſides, he was enuious, that the *Skottish* king being in minoritie, ſhould be gouerned by people of his appoyntment, or any waye depending on him.

Death of the king Catholike.

Theſe matters had bene followed both with better councell, and greater forces, if during the negociacion, the death of the king of *Aragon* had not hapned, who, after he had bene vexed with a long indiſpoſicion, died in an inferior village called *Madrigalege*, as he went to *Seuile* with his Court: he was a king excellent in councell and ſo furniſhed with al other properties of vertue, that he bare no occaſion or matter of reprehenſion, if he had bene conſtant to keepe his promiſſes: for, touching thimputacion of nigardnes or the reapport that went of him to be ſtraite in exſpenſes, it was proued vntrue by the teſtimonie and diſcouerie of his eſtate after his death, leauing behinde him no amaſſe of treaſor, notwithſtanding he had reigned xlij. yeares: But it hapneth oftentymes by the corrupt iudgement of men, that in a king prodigalitie is more prayſed though the raking and oppreſſion of ſubiects be ioyned to it, then a ſparing ſtraitnes wherin is nouriſhed an orderly abſteyning from taxing the goods of others: To thexcellent vertues of this Prince, was ioyned a moſt rare, and perpetuall felicitie during the whole courſſe of his life, excepting onely the death of his onely ſonne: for, the accidents of his wiues and his ſonne in lawe, were the cauſe that he kept his greatnes vntill his death, and the neceſſitie to depart with *Caſtillo* after his wiues death, was rather a ſport then a blowe of fortune: In all other thinges he was right happy: for, being ſecond ſonne to *Iohn* king of *Aragon*, he came to the crowne by the death of his elder brother: he aſpyred to the kingdom of *Caſtillo* by *Iſſabell* his wife: he ſubdued the Competytors of the ſame kingdome, and expulſed them: he made a conqueſt of the Realme of *Granado*, which the ennemies of Chriſtian faith had vſurped almoſt eight hundred yeares: he annexed to his Empire, the Realmes of *Naples*, and *Nauarre*, and the principallitie of *Orano*, with many other places of importance vpon the coaſt of *Affriqua*: he bare alwayes the victorie and vpperhand of his ennemies: he almoſt cloaked his ambicions and couetouſnes with an honeſt zeale to religion, and an holy affection to the common weale wherein fortune appeared manifeſtly conioyned with induſtrie. About a moneth affore his deathe, dyed the Great Capteine, both abſent from the Court, and ill contented of the king: And yet the king gaue order, that in remembrance of his vallour, there ſhoulde bee done to him both in the Court and through the whole partes of the Realme, thoſe honors that haue not beene vſed to bee done, but at the death of kinges: A matter plauſiblie accepted and executed by all his ſubiectes, who omitted no ſorte of reuerence or celebracion to the name of the Great Capteyne, making him ſinguler in liberalitie, in councell, in diſcreſſion, and for knowledge in warres and martiall ſcience, excelling all the Capteines of his time.

Death of the Great Capceine.

By the death of this king, the french king entred into a newe courage to addreſſe an enterpriſe againſt the realme of *Naples*, to the which he was in mind to ſend forthwith the Duke of *Burbon* with an armie of eight hundred launces, & tenne thowſand footemen: he ſeemed to reappoſe much in thopportunitie of the time, for that the kingdome beeing in ſome tumult vppon the death of the king, and ill prepared for defenſe, he perſwaded a facilitie of conqueſt, ſpeciallye the Archduke hauing no reſpitte or tyme to ſuccour it: And he doubted nothinge of the Popes fauour, bothe for the hopes he had giuen him at the enteruiewe of *Bolognia*, and in regarde of thalliance contracted with him, and alſo in conſideracion of his proper intereſt, as though he ſhoulde bee ielouſe of the wonderfull height and great-

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nes of tharchduke heire presēt to so many kingdomes by the death of the king Catholike, and exspected successor of *Cæsar*: he hoped besides, that tharchduke would giue him no great impediment, knowing howe harmefull might be to him his ill will touching the Realmes of *Spayne*, but specially for the regarde of the kingdome of *Aragon*, wherevnto many of the same famulie had aspired, if their power had bene as great as their right: for albeit in the life of the late king and *Isabell* his wife, it was interpreted in an open & generall Parliament, that the ancient constitutions of that kingdome which admit not women to the succession of the Crowne, were not preiudiciall agaynst the issue males borne of them, when in the lyne masculine was to be founde neither brother, vncle, nor nephew of the dead king, nor any other that was more nearer to him then they that were discended of the womans side, or at least in equall degree: and that for that reason it was declared, that after the death of *Ferdinand*, the succession apperteined to tharchduke *Charles*, wherin was brought for example, that after the death of *Martin* king of *Aragon* dying without issue males, the sentence of the Iudges deputed to that matter through the whole kingdome, preferred *Ferdinand* graundfather to this *Ferdinand*, notwithstanding he came of the womens side, affore Count *Vrgello* and others ioyned to *Martin* by masculine lyne, but in degree and propertie of discending, further off then *Ferdinand*: yet the people nourished amongest them selues a secret complaynt and controuersie, that in that interpretation and declaration, the power of *Ferdinand* and *Isabell* had more force, then the lawe of iustice and equitie: In this did thinterpretation seeme vniust to many, that the women beeing excluded, suche as discended of them might be admitted, and withall that in the sentence giuen to the behoofe of tholde *Ferdinand*, the feare of his armes ruled more then reason. These matters beeing layde open to the French king, and withall that the peoples of the prouince of *Aragon*, *Valence*, and Earledome of *Catelonia* (all these are comprehended vnder the kingdome of *Aragon*) stoode desirous to enioye a king proper and particular: He hoped that tharchduke, not to endaunger so great a succession and so many estates, would not at laste be straunge or harde to leaue to him that kingdome vnder some reasonable cōposition. And for the better preparing of this enterprise, because he would insinuate by benefites, aswell as preuayle by forces, he sought at that time to set at libertie *Prospero Colonno*, vpon whom was imposed a raunsome of xxxv. thousande duckettes, whereof the king procured him to be pardoned of the one moytie: By whiche propertie of fauor the worlde beleeued that *Prospero* had made secrete promise not to beare armes agaynst him, yea happly to ayde him in the warre of *Naples*, albeit with some limitation or reseruing of his honor.

Albeit the king was occupied with these thoughtes, and had now determined to deferre no longer the action of armes and forreine warre, yet he was driuen by new accidentes to turne his minde wholly to his owne defence: for that *Cæsar* hauing receiued a hundred and twentie thousande duckets according to the former negociation begon with the king of *Aragon*, made preparation to inuade the duchie of *Millan*, after he had once giuen succours to *Verona* and *Bressia*: for the *Venetian* armie (commaunded by *Theoder Triuulco*, for that the other *Triuulco* was returned to *Millan*) lying encamped within six myles of *Bressia*, suffred their estradiots to make incursions thorowe the whole contrey: And one daye beeing charged by those that were within the towne, and either partie ronning to the reskew and succour of their friendes, they repulsed them and draue them beaten into *Bressia*, hauing long fought for the victorie, in which conflict they slue many, and tooke prisoner the gouernors

brother of the Citie. Not many dayes after *Monsr de Lavvtrech* generall of the French armie, and *Theodore Trivulco* having espiall that a strength of three thousand Launceknightes came to *Bressia* to conduct the money sent for the paye of the souldiors, sent out to hinder their passage at the Castell of *Asso*, *Ianus Fregoso* and *John Conrado Vrsin* with certayne bandes of both the armies: they put the launceknights to flight, and made slaughter of eight hundred of them, the residue carying awaye the money, founde safety by flying to *Lodrono*. Afterwardes the *Venetians* sent a regiment of two thousande fiue hundred footemen into Sandualley to fortifie the castell of *Anso*, who brunt *Lodrono* and *Astoro*. Thus were they in *Bressia* maruelously trauelled, whose aduersities and straitnes bearing suspicion least they would giue vp, compelled *Cæsar* to aduance and marche: he tooke his way by *Trent* to *Verona*, hauing in his armye fiue thousande horsemen, fifteene thousande *Swvizzers* sent to him by the fiue Cantons, and ten thousande footemen aswell Spanish as launceknightes: By reason of which marching comming on both in a maner, in a number, and by a way contrarie to exspectation, the Frenche armie and the *Venetians*, leauing sufficient garrisons within *Vincensa* and *Padoa*, went to *Pesquiero*, carying a minde to stoppe *Cæsars* passage at the ryuer of *Mince*: But (as it often happneth in matters of enterprise) the execution did nothing answere the counsell: for that when they sawe the enemies approache and come on, they wanted the courage to performe in the fielde the thing which they had so brauely promised vnder counsell in their pauillions, but, hauing passed *Oglia*, they retyred to *Cremona*, omitting thopportunitie with the losse of reputation, which in the enemie encreased together with a newe courage and resolution: But *Cæsar*, eyther caried by an vndiscret counsell, or pushed on by an euill fortune, encamped before *Asolo*, which was garded by a hundred men at armes and foure hundred footmen of the *Venetians*: there he consumed vnprofitably many dayes, wherein it was thought that the respite whiche he gaue to the enemies in that delay, tooke from him thopportunitie of the victorie. Assone as he brake vp from before *Asolo*, he passed the ryuer of *Oglio* at *Orcinouo*, and the enemies leauing in *Cremona* three hundred launces and three thousand footmen, retyred on the other side the ryuer of *Addo*, with intention to stoppe his passage: By whose retyring leauing the peeces there abandoned, all the countrey betwene *Oglio*, *Pavv*, and *Addo*, was at the deuotion of *Cæsar*, except *Cremona* & *Crema*, wherof the one was garded by the French, & the other kept by the *Venetians*: The Cardinall of *Syon* with many of the banished people of the duchie of *Millan*, folowed *Cæsar* together with *Mark. Antho. Colonno* who marched with two hundred men at armes of the Popes pay: A matter which gaue so muche the more feare to the Frenchmen, by howe muche their greateste hopes were reduced thither, if ten thousande *Swvizzers* who had bene payed for ten monethes made any more tarying to marche. After *Cæsar* had passed the ryuer of *Oglio*, he drewe neare to the ryuer of *Addo* to make his passage at *Pisquetono*, but finding many difficulties to passe in that place, he came to *Riuolo*, the Frenchmen lying at *Casciano* on the other side the ryuer, who for that the *Swvizzers* were not come, and that the ryuer of *Addo* had many foardes that yeelded facilitie of passage, retyred the daye after to *Millan*, not without matter of infamie to *Monsr Lavvtrech*, who had written to the king that he would stoppe *Cæsars* passage at that ryuer: But *Cæsar* finding no impediment to resiste his passage there, ioyned diligence to his fortune, and finding mens mindes inclined to his victorie, he had the Citie of *Loda* rendred to him forthwith: And being within a fewe myles of *Millan*, he sent an Herald to sommon the towne, threatning thinhabitants,

that if within three dayes they expulsed not the Frenche armie, he woulde deale worse with them then did *Federike Barberosso* his predecessor, who not satisfied to waste and burne *Millan*, caused salte to be sowed and strawed about in memorie of his anger and their rebellion.

The French men that in great feare were retyred to *Millan*, fell amongest themselues into great debates and diuersitie of councells: some were of opinion to abandon *Millan*, both for that in them selues was no possibilitie of resistaunce agaynst so mightie enemies, and withall they had no great confidence in the comming of the *Svvizzers*, notwithstanding they knewe they were already vpon the way: Besides, they had aduertisement that the Cantons eyther had already ordred, or were at poynt to commaunde, that the souldiors of the *Svvizzers* shoulde depart from the seruice of both the one & the other, which direction it was thought credible & likely that those bands that were vpon the way, would be more ready to obey then they that were in the seruice of thenemie: Others gaue aduise not to leaue the seruice, esteeming it too great infamie to leaue forsaken in perill and aduersitie, those friends that had reappосed and layde vp in them the whole confidence of their safetie and protection: They alleaged a better hope in the reskew of the *Svvizzers*, and their owne habilitie to defende *Millan*, giuing a resolute counsell to sticke to the defence of the towne, and for their better suretie they willed to keepe reteyned in *Millan* all the footemen, and eight hundred launces, making distribution of the others together with the *Venetians* and the light horsemen, into places adioyning, to keepe and cutte off vittells from thenemies. The varietie of opinions was no small impediment to the present seruice, their daunger and necessitie being more importunat, then their councells resolute, or their confidence assured: Neuertheless the firste councell had bene followed, had it not bene for the contratie working and perswasion of *Andrevv Gritti* and *Andrevv Treuisan*, Venetian commissioners, who obteined by their authoritie (for otherwise they could winne nothing) that a cowardly haste should not carry them further then the reputation of vallour and counsell apperteining to men of warre and seruice: In the action of which perswasions newes came that the day following *Alberto Peter* would be in *Millan* with ten thousande *Svvizzers* and *Grisons*: A matter that breathed newe minds and courages in them, and yet hauing no confidence to be hable to defende the suburbes, they burnt them by the counsell of the *Venetian* commissioners, who aduised them to that violence, eyther for that they supposed it necessarie to the sauetie of the towne, or else vnder that occasion they sought to satisfie the auncient hatred remaining of long time betwene them of *Millan* and *Venice*. They both expulsed out of the Citie, and also reteined vnder good garde, many of the chieftaynes of the *Gebelin* faction, as inclined to the name of thempire by the care and labour of those houses, and for that there were in the armie many of the same parcialitie. In this meane while *Cæsar* encamped with his armie at *Lambra* two myles from *Millan*, where he had no sooner setled his campe to the terror of the towne, then thexspected supply of *Svvizzers* entred for the defence of it: Besides the sodennes of their comming, which in cases of reskew is of no small importance, their readines and disposition to feight, amazed not a litle euen those that affore seemed to stande in assuraunce of the victorie: They gaue a newe life to the discouraged mindes of the French men, and no lesse feare & terror to *Cæsar*, who looking into thauncient hatred of that nation to the house of *Austrich*, and comparing with his present estate, the accident happned to *Lodovvike Sforce* hauing *Svvizzers* in his armie, and in the French armie his enemies, began

to feare leaſt they would ioyne him to that lamentable example: he ſawe it was likely that they would ſooner practiſe infidelitie and treaſon agaynſt him for the difficultie he had to paye them, then agaynſt the French men, to whom was wanting no money to paye their wages, nor to corrupt their mindes: wherein this was one matter that confirmed him in his doubt, that *Iames Stafflier* generall of the *Svvizzers*, had asked him his paye with great arrogancie: Which neuertheleſſe was deferred, beſides many other difficulties, becauſe the treaſor that was ſent to him out of *Germanie*, was reſtrayned by the Spaniſh regimentes that were within *Breſſia*, to ſatisfie ſo muche of their payes as were due: So that in the conſideration of theſe obiections and doubtes, together that the daunger was nothing inferior to the feare, *Cæſar* brake vp his campe and retyred towards the ryuer of *Adda*, his negligence taking from him the glorie of the victory which fortune and oportunitie ſeemed to prepare for him: for, if he had made his approches to *Millan* but three dayes affore (a time which he vaynely conſumed affore *Aſola*) the French men that lyued in great doubt and incertentie of the comming of the *Svvizzers*, had returned beyonde the Mountes: Beſides, if he had not ſo ſoone diſcamped, eyther the Frenche men, not reappoſing fully in the *Svvizzers* for the reſpectes of their contrey men that ſerued in *Cæſars* campe, had followed their firſt councell, or elſe the *Svvizzers* taking their excuſe vpon the commaundement of their ſuperiors, would haue abandoned the French men. *Cæſar* paſſed the ryuer of *Adda*, and was not followed of the *Svvizzers*, who remayned at *Loda*, proteſting that if their payes came not within foure dayes they would depart and leaue his ſeruice: But *Cæſar* making his aboade vpon the territories of *Bergama*, gaue them continuall hopes to be ſatisfied, for that he exſpected a newe ſupply of money to be ſent him out of *Englande*: he threatned to drawe backe his forces agayne to *Millan*, which eſtſones recontinued the doubts of the French men, who nowe more then euer ſtoode incertayne of the fidelitie of the *Svvizzers*, for that beſides they had willingly forſlowed their comming, with proteſtation that they would neuer lift vp their weapons agaynſt their contrey men in the other campe, there was come to them a commaundement from the Cantons to forſake the paye of the French men: In ſo much as there were two thouſande of them that went away, leauing behind them great feare leaſt the others would follow their example, notwithſtanding the Cantons had aſſured the king that they had giuen ſecret commaundement to their footemen to the contrarie. At laſte *Cæſar*, after he had leauyed vpon the towne of *Bergama* an impoſt of xvj thouſande duckets, and was gone towardes *Crema* vnder hope of an intelligence, returned eſtſones vpon the territories of *Bergama* without doing any thing, and determined to withdrawe him ſelfe to *Trenta*: He communicated with the Capteines of the army his deliberation, aſſuring them that his principall intention was to giue order for money whiche he ment to leauie of men, with the which and with the treaſor of *Englande* that was vpon the way, he would make a ſhort returne, deſiring them to temporiſe & exſpect with him ſo good preparation: And they hauing ſacked *Loda*, and forced the caſtell without artillerie, retyred to *Guiaradada* for want of vittells, after they had alſo made pillage of the towne of *S. Angè*. After the departing of *Cæſar*, there was ſome hope that the *Svvizzers* with whom was ioyned the whole army at *Romano*, would eſtſones paſſe the ryuer of *Adda*, the rather for that the Marquis of *Brandebourg* was come to the campe, and the Cardinall of *Syon* to *Bergama* with thirtie thouſande duckets which the king of *Englande* had ſent: for feare whereof the duke of *Burbon* whom almoſte all the *Svvizzers* and the *Venetian* ſouldiors had forſaken, was come

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vpon the shoares on the other side the ryuer to make resistaunce: but the thoughtes of thenemies were sodenly chaunged, for that the *Svvizzers*, the money not suffising to satisfie their whole pay, disperſed and returned into their contrey by the vallie of *Voltolina*: And for the same cause a regiment of three thousande footemen, parte Spanishe and parte Dutche, came and rendred them selues to the campe of the French men and the *Venetians*, who being passed the ryuer of *Adda*, had not ceassed to trauell thenemies with sundrie incursions, and to skirmishe with them with diuerse fortunes and accidentes: sometimes the French men had the worse, who in a hoat skirmishe made neare *Bergama* loste about two hundred men at armes: and sometimes the aduersitie fell vpon the contrarie parte, of whom in a like encounter fell into the fortune of a prisoner *Cæsar Fiermosquo*: The residue of tharmie drewe neare to *Brèssia*, hauing receyued in prest a ducket for euery man: but for the impedimentes that the light horsemen gaue them, *Mark Antho. Colonno* entred into *Verona* with the Launceknightes and certayne bandes of Spanishe footemen, and all the others seperated themselues.

This was the ende of the mouing and marching of *Cæsar*, wherein the Frenche king had no small suspicion of the Pope, for that hauing summoned him according to the bonde of the league made betweene them, that he should send to the defence of the state of *Millan*, fiue hundred men at armes, or at least drawe them neare the confines, and withall to wage three thousande *Svvizzers* according to his offer made to *Antho. Maria Palvoisin* whiche the king charged him withall: The Pope made but colde aunswers touching the waging of *Svvizzers*, and taking an occasion to excuse himselfe that his men were in yll appoyntment, he promised to sende him bandes of the *Florentins*, who with certeine of his souldiors marched very slowly towardes *Bologna* and *Reggia*: The king suspected more and more that he dyd communicate with the comming of *Cæsar*, both for that assone as he knewe he was entred into *Italy*, he created Legate with him *Barnerd Bibiena* Cardinall of *S. Maria in Portico*, who bare alwayes a setled emulation to the French, and was accustomed to impugne the proceding of their affayres with the Pope: And also for that he suffred *Mark. Antho. Colonno* with his regimentes to folowe *Cæsars* armie. But howe so euer the king was ielouse of the Popes priuitie in this action, or by what humors he ranne in coniecture agaynst him for his consent to the emotion, it is moste true that touching his proper interest, the Pope was not a little aggreeued with the discending of *Cæsar* with so great forces, fearing that if he caryed the victorie, he woulde aduenture to oppresse all *Italie*, according to his auncient inclination: Neuertheless, what for thimpression of feare, and that suche maner of proceeding was conformable to his nature, he dissembled his thoughtes, labouring to make himselfe as litle hatefull as he coulde to eyther parties: That was the cause why he was bold to call home agayne *Marke Antho.* and durst not sende to the king the succours he had promised: That he had created a Legate with *Cæsar*, and on the other side, *Cæsar* being departed from *Millan*, the Legate vnder a fayned cooller of sickneſse, stayed at *Rubiera* to see affore he passed further, what would be the issue of such an enterprise: And afterwards, to settle & quiet the kings mind, he thought good that his nephew *Lavvrence* (continuing in the same demonstration to depende of the king that he showed when he went to him at *Millan*) should giue him money by the *Florentins* to paye three thousande *Svvizzers* for one moneth: But albeit the king accepted this money, yet (discloſing by tokens that he knewe the Popes driftes) he sayd, that since he was alwayes agaynst him in warre, and the alliaunce made with him serued

him to no vſe in times of daunger, he would eſtſoones make a new confederacion wherein he would be bownd but in peace and in ſeaſons of ſuertie.

The Venetians recouer Breſcia.

Aſſoone as the armie of *Cæſar* was diſperſed and ſeparat, the *Venetians* (without tarying for the french men) approached *Breſcia* by night thinking to skale the wals: They had confidence in this enterpriſe by the ſmal ſtrength of men that was within, ſince there remained no more but ſix hundred footemen ſpaniſh, and foure hundred horſemen, but both their ladders being ſhorter then was neceſſary to that ſeruice, & the vallour of the defendants beguiling their exſpectacion, their attempt drew with it no ſucceſſe: Afterwardes arriued the frenche armie vnder the charge of *Odet de Foix* whom the king had newly created his Lieuetenant in place of *Monſr Burbon*, who of his owne mocion had willingly reſigned that gouernment into the kinges handes: Theſe armies aſſailed *Breſcia* with artilleries in foure places to take from the defendants all reaſonable poſſibilitie to make reſiſtance againſt ſo ſeuerall executions: and albeit the vallour of the defendants contending againſt their fortune, made good reſiſtance ſo long as they had hope, that a regiment of ſeuen thowſand footemen of the contry of *Tyroll*, beeing come by *Cæſars* commaundement to *Montagnia*, ſhould paſſe further: yet, both that reskewe beeing diſapointed for thimpediments which the *Venetians* beſtowed in the caſtell of *Auſo* and other paſſages, and alſo the defendants not willing to abide thaſſalt which was to be giuen the next yeare, (a great pane of the wal being already beaten downe to the ground) the ſouldiours couenanted to leaue the towne and caſtell onely with their goods ſaued, if they were not reskewed within a day.

About theſe times the Pope preparing to take by armes from *Frauncis Maria de la Rovvero*, the Duchie of *Vrbyn*, began to proceede againſt him with cenſures and Church paines, cauſing to be publiſhed an admonition wherein was expreſſed, that being in the pay and wages of the Church, he had refuſed thoſe regiments of men for the which he had receiued pay, and was ſecretly compownded with thennemies: That long time before, he had killed the Cardinall of *Pauia* of the which he was abſolued by grace and not by iuſtice, and had executed many other morders: That in the greateſt heate of the warre betweene Pope *Iulio* to whom he was Nephewe, ſubiect, and Capteine, he had ſent *Baltaſar de Chaſtillion* to take the kings pay: And that at the ſame time he had denied paſſage to certein bands that marched to ioyne with the armie of the Church, and in the iuriſdiction which he poſſeſſed as freeholder to the ſea Apoſtolike, he had purſued the ſouldiours of the Church that fled from the battell of *Rauenna*: The Pope was determined many moneths before to make warre vpon him, whereunto, beſides all late and greene iniuries, he was puſhed on by a diſdaine in that he refuſed to ayde him ſelfe and his brother to returne to *Florence*: And yet he was ſomewhat reteyned by a ſhame that he had to perſecute the Nephew of him, by whoſe meane the Church was riſen to ſuch a greatnes, but much more at the contemplacion of his brother *Iulian*, who, in the time of their exile hauing remeyned many yeares in the Court of *Vrbyn* both with Duke *Guido* & after his death, with the Duke raigning, could not endure to ſee him depriued of the duchie wherein he had receiued enterteinment, fauor, and honor: But *Iulian* was no ſooner dead of a conſuming diſeaſe at *Florence*, and the great ſtirrs of *Cæſar* beeing vaniſhed and turned into ſmoke: then the Pope at the perſwaſion of his Nephew *Lavvrence* and his mother *Alfonſina* thirſting after that eſtate, reſolued to deferre no longer the oppreſſion which he had determined with no leſſe iniurie then infamie: he was not aſhamed to alleage for excuſe of his ingratitude (which many imputed to him for reproach

proache and ſlaunder) not onely the treſpaſſes he had receyued by him, and the penalties whiche the rygour of the lawes impoſe vppon a ſubiect that offendes in contumacie agaynſt his Lorde, or a Capteine who contrarie to his bonde denyeth to leade the men for the whiche he is waged and enterteyned: But alſo he brought in this conſideration, that it was to him a matter very ielouſe and daungerous, to endure in thintralls of his eſtate, a man, who by howe muche more he had begonne alreadye to offende him without all regarde to fayth and honor, by ſo muche more it was certayne that when ſo euer a greater occaſion did offer, he would not be leſſe ready or apte to doo the lyke hereafter confirming his firſt ylles with other examples of lyke nature. The diſcourſe of that warre was this: Aſſone as *Lavvrence* ſhewed him ſelfe vppon the frontiers of the Duchie, and diſplayed his armie compounded vppon the ſouldiors and ſubiectes of the Church and theſtate of *Florence*, The Citie of *Vrbin* with other townes of that iuriſdiction, made a voluntarie rendring to the Pope, the Duke that was then retyred to *Peſera*, giuing them election to ſaue them ſelues, ſince he had no habilitie to defende them: And aſſoone as tharmie drewe neare, *Peſera* followed thexample of *Vrbin*, the cowardiſe of the Duke concurring with his infelicities: for notwithſtanding there was a garriſon of three thouſande footemen, the towne mightie in fortifications, and had the ſea at deuotion, yet the Duke leauing within the Caſtell *Tranquillo Mandolfo* in whom he muche reapoſed, tooke his way to *Mantua*, whither he had ſent before, his wife and ſonnes: ſome ſuppoſed that his retyring thither came vpon a ſuſpected confidence he had in the ſouldiors, of whom the greateſt parte was vnpayed: but ſome are of opinion that his impacience for the abſence of his wife, was the cauſe of his going thither, vnder which pollicie he excuſed his feare with loue. It is a true ſaying that aduerſities haue a ſwifte courſe, and fortune to make her mutabilitie wonderfull, can heape in one day all the chances of a world: for except the caſtles of *Sinigalo, Peſero, S. Leo*, and *Maiuolo*, the whole duchie of *Vrbin* and *Peſero* was reduced in foure dayes to the obedience of the Church: But the Caſtell of *Sinigalo* made no delay to folow the courſe of the victorie, as alſo the ſtrong Caſtell of *Peſero* after it had bene two dayes executed with artilleries, compounded to giue vp if within twentie dayes it were not reskewed, ſo farfoorth as during this time of truce or exſpectation of ſuccours, there were no caſting of rampiers nor other ſort of fortifications: which condition being yll performed, was the cauſe that *Tranquillo* receiuing no reskew within the tyme appoynted, refuſed to deliuer it vp: and beginning a freſh to recontinue the warre, he made new ſallies and actions vpon thenemy without, which made his deſtinie the harder, for that the batterie beginning to play with greater furie, the ſouldiors within the Caſtell preferring their owne ſafetie affore the wyll of *Tranquillo*, drewe into mutinie agaynſt him, and deliuered him vp into the hands of the capteines, who condemned him to be hanged for his promiſe breaking: Not many dayes after was rendred the caſtell of *Maiuola*, a place very neceſſarie to beſiege *S. Leo*, for that it is but a myle diſtance, and hath his ſituation directly oppoſite: And they beſtowed about *S. Leo* two thouſande men to thend to keepe it beſieged: And albeit for the ſtrong ſituation there was no hope to carie it but by the laſte neceſſitie, whiche is hunger: yet it was ſurpriſed within three monethes by an inuention of a maiſter Capenter, who clymbing by nighte by the benefite of a very long Ladder vp to a clyffe or dependant ſuppoſed to be moſt inacceſſible of all that mountayne, he tooke away his ladder, and remayning there all the reſidue of the night, he began at the firſte appearing of the day, to clyme

The Pope taketh the Duchie of Vrbin & giueth it to Lawr. de Medicis his nephew.

higher with certayne faſtning inſtrumentes of yron, and got at laſte with greate aduenture to the top of the mountayne, and ſo diſcending agayne, and with his yron inſtrumentes making eaſie certaine of the places that were of moſt difficultie, he returned the night folowing to the campe by the helpe of the ſame ladder that caryed him vp: he declared to the capteines that the mountayne was acceſſible, and that in the enterpriſe the danger was greater in opinion then in aduenturing, in ſo much as a night was appoynted when he was ſent thither with the ſame ladder that he firſt vſed: And as it was reaſonable that he ſhould be guyde of thaction, that was the firſt author of thinuention, ſo there were committed to him a hundred and fiftie footmen of choyſe, with whome ſtaying vpon the ſayde cliffe or dependant, they began at the opening of the day (for it was impoſſible to climbe higher by night) to mount vp thoſe very harde and ſtraite places, eſteeming nothing of the perill when they conſidered what glorie was in the aduenture: with this labour about thirtie of them ouercame the difficultie of the place, and gotte vp to the toppe of the mountayne with a drumme and ſix enſignes: and hiding them ſelues vpon the ground to exſpect their companions that were a climing, when the watch being then releued eſpyed them as they laye in ambuſhe vpon the earth: The watche gaue the alarme when the ſouldiors being now diſcloſed not tarying for their felows, gaue the ſigne to the army in the camp, who according to good direction tooke knowledge of the ſucceſſe of the climers, and with great ſtore of ladders offred a preſent aſſault to the mountayne in many places: Their chiefeſt reaſon in this aſſault was to drawe away thoſe that were within, who after they had ſomewhat ſerued the places they were apponted vnto, and diſcrying already vpon the playne of the mountaine ſix enſignes aduaunced, they ranne to encloſe themſelues within the Caſtell that was hewed out of the mountayne, hauing now more feare of their lyues, then confidence in the inuincible ſtrength of the place: The reſidue by this time beeing clymed vp to the top of the mountaine, they began to commaunde the whole place opening the way to others that as yet with great payne & difficultie were labouring to winne the top of the hill: But the reſolution of the clymers beeing farre aboue the vallour of the defendantes, in whom alſo the ſodenneſſe of the fortune redoubled their feare, the mountayne became a rewarde to the labours of thoſe that had aduentured to clymbe it, when the Caſtell alſo well prouided of all thinges to holde out ſauing of vallour and fidelitie, yelded the ſeconde day: In ſo much as vpon the conquering of this eſtate, which together with *Peſera* & *Siuigalo* ſeperat members from the Duchie of *Vrbin*, was not worth in reuenue aboue xxv. thouſande duckets. The Pope purſuing the proceſſe he had begon, publiſhed ſentence & depriued *Frauncis Maria*, and in the conſiſtory inueſted his nephew *Lavvrence*: wherin for a more hable and ſufficient cõfirmation of his doings, he annexed to the Bull which he diſpatched for that action, the ſubſcribing of the proper hands of all the Cardinalls, ſauing of *Dominike Grimani* Biſhop of *Vrbin* and an auncient frend to the Duke, who would not be concurrant in ſo manifeſt a wrong, & for that cauſe fearing the Popes indignatiõ, he departed afterwards from *Rome* whether he neuer returned ſo long as he liued.

The french king was diſcõtented with thoppreſſion of the duke of *Vrbin*, the rather for that he ſuffred priuation of his eſtate for being cõfederat with him: But he ſtood much more diſpleaſed for many other things that the Pope did: for *Proſpero Colonno* abiding at *Baſeta* a town of the *Paluoiſins*, at ſuch time as he was returned frõ *Fraũce*, & afterwards being come to *Modona* for feare of the frẽchmen, whither likewiſe was retired *Ier. Morono*, who alſo ſtood in dout of thẽ, for that contrary to their promiſes

they

they had cõmanded him to go into *Fraunce*: There was conſpiracie whileſt *Proſpero* lay at *Modona* & afterwards at *Bologna*, to ſurpriſe ſecretly ſome place of importance in the duchie of *Millan* by the working of ſome of the baniſhed men: In this practiſe was alſo concurrant *Mucio Colonno*, to whom the Pope hauing priuity in theſe actions, had graunted harbour for his bandes of ſouldiors vpon the territories of *Modena*: Moreouer the Pope had perſwaded the king Catholike (for ſo was tharchduke called ſince the death of his grandfather by the mother ſide) to make no newe conuentions with the Frenche king: And on the behalfe of the *Svvizzers*, *Emius* Biſhop of *Verulo* and the Popes *Nuncio*, to whom afterwards euen in his lateſt yeares, was transferred the creation and dignitie of Cardinall, ſtirred vp the fiue Cantons to folow the amitie of *Cæſar*, beſides many other offices diſpleaſing to the king: So that concurring alſo at the ſame time a practiſe betweene *Cæſar* (who remayning betwene *Trent* and *Iſpurch*, terrified the French men more with demonſtrations then with effects) and the king of *Englande*, and the *Svvizzers* to make a newe inuaſion vppon the Duchie of *Millan*: The Frenche king ſuſpected that theſe matters were wrought with the will and priuitie of the Pope, whoſe euill affection alſo appeared in other actions, making many exceptions and difficulties to confirme vnto him the tenth of the benefices of the realme of *Fraunce* which he had promiſed him at *Bologna*: And yet (ſo great is the reſpect and maieſtie of a Pope) the king ſo labored to appeaſe him with offers & offices, that albeit after the departure of *Cæſar* he had determined to moleſt *Mirandula*, *Carpy*, and *Correge*, as townes imperiall, to thende to make ſome leauyes of money of them, yet he forbare from all action, in regarde of the complaynings of the Pope, who had receyued affore into his protection the Lordes of thoſe townes. Moreouer the *Mores* of *Affrica* commaunding the ſea inferior with many veſſels, he offred to ſende him for the ſuretie of thoſe ſeas, his nauie of ſhips which *Peter* of *Nauarre* armed at *Marſeilles* by his conſent for thinuaſion of the ſtreames and creekes of *Barbarie* with a ſtrength of ſix thouſande footemen: But notwithſtanding all theſe offers & obſeruances, the Pope perſeuered in his opinion, and as ſometimes he would vſe deniall, & ſometimes occupie excuſes, yet he would neuer ſo muche as conſent to that demaunde the king had made to him with great inſtance to call out of *Svvizzerlande* the Biſhop of *Verulo*, and much leſſe would he remoue *Mucio Colonno* from the territories of *Modona* (where he fained he remained of his owne authoritie) vntill, by the departure of *Proſpero* from *Bologna* and all that practiſe diſſolued into ſmoke, there was no more neceſſitie of his abiding there: Only the breaking vp from thence was a matter of great aduerſitie to *Mutio*, for that entring afterwardes by night into the towne of *Ferma* with the forces of the *Colonnois* and with certayne bandes of footemen Spaniſh, as he was buſie in ſacking the Citie, he receyued a blowe whereof he dyed within fewe dayes after.

In this eſtate of affayres, and the Senate of *Venice* making inſtance for the recouerie of *Verona*, *Monſr Lavvtrech* with his armie of ſixe thouſand Launceknightes whome the *Venetians* agreed to paye for that enterpriſe, came to the riuer of *Adice*, to thende to paſſe to *Vſolinguo*, and ſo to encampe affore *Verona* together with the *Venetian* armie: But what by the rumour of the comming of the *Svvizzers* nowe redoubled, and the ſuſpicion recontinued of the being of *Proſpero Colonno* at *Modona*, where alſo remayned the Cardinall of *S. Maria in Portico*, he retyred to *Peſquiero*, not without the complaintes of the *Venetians*, making diſtribution of his bandes both on this ſide & beyond the riuer of *Mincia*: And notwithſtanding the ſaid ſuſpicions were ceaſſed, and that from a regiment of two thouſand footmen both Spaniſh and

Launceknightes were gone to the paye of the *Venetians*, and more did go dayly: yet he remayned in that place more then a moneth, exſpecting (as was ſayde) bothe a newe prouiſion of money out of *Fraunce*, and a greater proportion of artillerie, munitions and money from the *Venetians*: But the true cauſe of his temporiſing was, to obſerue what would be the iſſue of the treatie betwene his king and the king Catholike: for the Frenche king knowing howe muche and howe neceſſarily his amitie did import the king Catholike, both to remoue the difficulties of his paſſage into *Spayne*, and to aſſure him of thobedience and iuriſdiction of his kingdomes, he ſeemed not content with the matters that had bene agreed vpon affore at *Paris*, but deuiſed both to impoſe vpon him more harder conditions, and by his working to haue peace with *Cæſar*, which he could not bring to paſſe without rendring *Verona* to the *Venetians*. And touching the Spaniſhe king, whoſe minoritie hauing not aboue fyfteene yeares, was wholly gouerned by *Monſr de Cheures*, he refuſed not to applye his deliberations to the preſent time and neceſſitie of thinges: By reaſon whereof, on the parte of the Frenche king were ſent to *Noyon* the Biſhoppe of *Paris*, the greate maiſter of *Fraunce*, and the Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*: And for the king Catholike were *Monſr de Cheures*, and the great Chauncellor of *Cæſar*: In whiche reſpite or intermiſſion, the rigour of armes and hoſtilitie (as is the cuſtome of warfaring of our tyme) was continually imployed agaynſt the poore paiſantes and countrey men, *Monſr de Lavvtrech* lying ſtill to ſee what woulde come of the negociation: for, by the benefite of a bridge which he had buylded at the village of *Monzarban*, he beganne to cutte downe the corne of the countrey of *Verona*, and gaue libertie to his light horſemen to make incurſions in all places: He ſent alſo one parte of his armie to incampe vppon the landes of the *Mantuans*, making hauocke of the commodities of that countrey with ſo vniuerſall and generall domage, that to redeeme their harmes together with the retyring of ſo daungerous an enemie, the Marquis of *Mantua* was contented to contribute to him twelue thouſande crownes: And the ſouldiors of *Verona* executing dayly hoſtilities vppon the territories of *Vincenſa* and *Padoa*, put to ſacke the wretched Citie of *Vincenſa*. Afterwardes *Monſr de Lavvtrech* bearing compaſſion to the great complayntes of the *Venetians*, paſſed the ryuer of *Adice* by a bridge whiche he cauſed to be ſette vp at *Vſolingua*: and afterwardes hauing made a greate praye of the countrey (for it was neuer thought that tharmie would paſſe on that ſide) he drewe neare to *Verona* to beſiege it, winning *Chiuſa* in the meane whyle by the ayde of the countrey men, to make more harde the paſſage of ſuccours that were to come out of *Germanie*: Neuertheleſſe the ſame daye that he approched to *Verona*, the regimentes of Launceknightes beeing nowe three monethes ſince they had bene enterteined with the money of the *Venetians*, eyther of their voluntarie will and motion, or by the ſecrete ſubornation of *Cæſar*, proteſted openly that they woulde not ſerue at the ſiege of a towne poſſeſſed by *Cæſar*, and wherein the Frenche kinge had no principall intereſt: By whiche mutinie drawing with it a ſuſpicion of greater conſpiracies, *Monſr de Lavvtrech* repaſſed *Adice*, and incamped a myle from the walles of *Verona*, to whome the *Venetian* armie wente to ioyne with him, not ſuppoſing it ſufficient for their ſuretie to remayne on the other ſide the ryuer, thoughe their armie conteyned a ſtrength of fiue hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, and foure thouſande footemen.

About this tyme the deputies of thoſe two kinges paſſed capitulations in this

sorte in the towne of *Noyon*: That there shoulde be a perpetuall peace betweene the French king and the king of *Spayne*, with the like confederation for the defence of their estates agaynst all the worlde: That the French king should giue in mariage to the king Catholike, his daughter being then but one yeare of age, and he to indue her for dowry with the rightes whiche he pretended to apperteine to him in the kingdome of *Naples* according to the partition made afforetime betwene their predecessors: but vnder this couenaunt, that vntyll she bare an age hable to be maried, the king Catholike shoulde paye to the French king an hundred thousand crownes yerely to helpe to defray his exspences: That if she dyed before the mariage, and the king should haue an other daughter, then he to bestowe her likewise vpon the king Catholike with the same conditions: and in case he had no other daughter, then to giue him to wife *Madame Renea*, who had bene promised to him in the capitulation made at *Paris*: That in case any of those wiues died in mariage without children, then that part of the kingdome of *Naples* to reuert to the Crowne of *Fraunce*: That the king Catholike within a certaine time should restore the realme of *Nauarre* to his auncient king, and in not performing it, it should be lawfull to the french king to ayde him to recouer it: but vnder this charge (as the Spaniardes affirmed afterwards) that the king of that state should first cõmunicate with him his rightes: That *Cæsar* might enter into the peace within the tearme of two monethes, and if he dyd enter into it, it should be lawfull to the French king to ayde the *Venetians* to recouer *Verona*: which citie, if *Cæsar* deliuered vp into the hands of the king Catholike with power to giue it frankly and absolutely to the French king within six weekes, to dispose of it as he thought good: that he should pay him an hũdred thousand crownes, and the *Venetians* as much, wherof the one part to be payed vpon the consignation, and the other within six monethes, and also to remaine acquited of three hundred thousande crownes which he had receiued of the king *Lovvis* whyleste they were in confederation together: That in that case there should be truce for xviij. monethes betwene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*: That to *Cæsar* should remayne *Riua de Trenta* and *Rouera* with all that he possessed then in the contrey of *Friull*: and that the *Venetians* should continue to holde the places whiche at that time they helde of *Cæsar* vntill the French and Spanish kings had determined the differences that had bene enterteined betwene them for their confines & limits: for resoluing wherof both the one and the other of the parties named the Pope. Notwithstanding thaccorde made at *Noyon*, the *Venetians* ceassed not to stirre vp *Monsr de Lavvtrech* to besiege *Verona*, desiring to recouer it by armes, both for that they were vncertayne whether *Cæsar* would accept the peace, and also to cut off the proporcion of money whiche they were to paye. But touching the French king, the waye of concorde and peace was more agreable to him then the meane of armes and force, his desire to haue vnitie with *Cæsar* drawing him aboue all other respectes: And yet *Monsr de Lavvtrech* refused not to consent to their will, hauing now no more reason of excuse, bothe for that the *Venetians* had made great leauyes of souldiors, and fulfilled all other prouisions demaunded by him, and also for that the Launceknightes refused no more to go thither together with the others: So that the armies passed seuerally ouer the riuer of *Adice*, the one by the bridge that was buylded aboue the Citie, the other by the benefite of an other bridge set vp for the time beneath the Citie: One parte of thartillerie of the Frenche armie that laye incamped at *Tomba*, was planted before the gate *Santa Luce*, and the other with the Launceknights was bestowed at the gate *S. Maßina*: They made choyse of those places for their artilleries, to thende

Capitulations betwene the French king and king Catholike.

to do execution all together on that parte where the wall betwene the City & Citadell meeteth conioyned with the wall of the towne, by whiche deuise hauing meane at one tyme to make entrie into the Citie and the Citadell, the defendantes within should be constrayned to deuide them selues into two partes for the regarde of the wall in the middest. The *Venetian* armie passed beneath *Verona* in the fielde of *Mars*, and remayned incamped at *S. Michaels* betweene the ryuer and Cannell, bothe to leauie and remoue the defences of that place, and also to beate the gate called the Bishops gate, which was a place of most weaknes & least armed: The two first daies the defences which were of great strength and beat flanking, were beaten downe by thartilleries, but with greater difficulties on the quarter of the *Venetians*, to whom it was no small labor to batter the defences of the three bastillions: But assone as they were battred both parts began to execute the wall with xviij. peeces of great artilleries, and xv. smaller peces of battery, either army hauing throwen down by the third daye twenty fadomes of the wall, not forbearing to batter still to make the breache and entry the larger: And yet the *Venetians* on whose side the wall was most weake, notwithstanding they had almost reuersed all the bastillions & rampiers, had not yet wholly remoued all the defences within that played in flanke, because they laye so lowe and almoste within the ditche, that eyther the boollet went ouer them, or else was grazed in the earth affore it came there. Moreouer at the same time they vndermined the wall, which though they had vnderset & stayed with props, yet it beguyled the deuise of the doers, and fell downe before the time appoynted by the Capteines. There was within *Verona* a strength of eight hundred horsmen, fiue thousand launceknightes, and xv. hundred Spaniards vnder the gouernment of *M. Antho. Colonno*, who had now exchaunged the wages of the Pope for the paye of *Cæsar*: This garrison omitted nothing that might tende to the strengthning and repayring of the rampiers, and standing carefull to do all other thinges for the valiaunt defending of the place, they expressed vniuersally a wonderfull resolution and courage of minde, and particulerly was performed an honorable example and office of *M. Antho.* who receyuing a sleight hurte in his shoulder by a shotte, forbare not for all that to offer his body both day and night to all paynes and daungers. By this time thartilleries planted by the French men in foure places agaynst the towers betwene the gate of the Citadell and the gate of *Santa Luce*, had made so greate and many ruins, that euery breach was hable to receyue souldiours in order: The artilleries of the *Venetians* had aduaunced so muche, and almoste done no lesse execution, and yet *Monsr de Lavvtrech* demaunded newe artilleries to make the breache the greater, embrasing readily all occasions that offred to deferre the action contrarie to the wyll of the *Venetians*, who cryed to giue thassault: He made helping to his delayes this accident, there came to tharmie by the playnes of *Verona*, eyghte hundred barrels of powder together with many other natures of munitions drawne by Cartes, and what by the straiteneſſe and importunitie of the place, and emulation of the dryuers stryuing to enter one affore another, the chafing and violent mouing of the wheeles bredde to a fyre, whose heate embrased the powder and so consumed the Cartes with the cattell that drewe them: Moreouer there was this increase of difficultie to those that were besieged, that in the Citie so many monthes afflicted by thennemies that kepte it alwayes straytely enuironed, the stoare of vittells beganne to diminishe, and no hope to be resupplyed but in very small quantitie, and that by stealth, vsing the pathes of the mountaynes for the commoditie of that poore releefe.

But

But as the affaires of *Verona* ſtoode in theſe tearmes, there came to the reskew of that Citie a regiment of nine thowſand launceknightes ſent by *Cæſar*, who ariuing at *Chiuſa* tooke it by compoſition, and made them ſelues Lords of the caſtell of *Coruaro*, which is a peece ſtanding vpon the next hill to *Adice* drawing towards *Trenta* and cõmaunded many times by both the parties in the warre betwene *Cæſar* & the *Venetians*: *Monſr Lavvtrech* either fearing in deede, or diſſembling to be amazed at the new ſupply of launceknights, leauied his campe againſt the mindes of the *Venetians*, and retyred his armie to *Villefranche* carying with him one parte of the *Venetian* regiments, and the other parte vnder *Iohn Pavvle Manfron* withdrew to *Boſeto* beyond the riuer of *Adice* by a bridge prepared for their paſſage: Inſomuch as the *Venetians* hauing nowe no further confidence to carie *Verona*, ſent all their great artilleries to *Breſſa*: And the launceknights without any impediment incamped at *Tomba*, where the french army was lodged affore, one part of them entring into the City, & the other parte remeyning without, which returned after *Verona* was reuitteled: There remeyned for the gard of *Verona* a ſtrength of ſeuen or eight thowſand launceknights, for that the moſt parte of the ſpaniſhe bandes that could holde no agreement with them, were paſſed to the *Venetian* campe vnder *Cronell Maldonato*: And in common iudgement, that reskew or ſuccours was of ſmall momẽt for that they brought not with them other ſtoare of money then xx. thowſand Florins of the *Rhein* which the king of *England* had ſent, & during the time of their tarying there, they cõſumed ſo much vittells that it was almoſt equall to that quantitie which they had brought with them.

By reaſon of thoſe bands that were retired to *Villefranche* from whence they committed manifeſt hauoke and ſpoyle vpon the partes of *Verona* and *Mantua*, the *Venetians* were compelled leaſt the frenchemen, whome no commaundement that was made to them on the kings behalfe could make to ſtay, ſhould departe to their garriſons, to take order that the Citie of *Breſſa* ſhould wholly furniſh them of neceſſary vittells, an exſpence riſing to aboue a thowſand crownes a day.

At laſt things beganne to incline manifeſtly to peace, for that it was knowen that *Cæſar* (notwithſtanding his former ſolicitacion to his ſonne in law not to compound with the frenche king) preferring the couetouſnes of money affore the hate he bare naturally to the french, & alſo affore his auncient ambicion to make him ſelfe Lord of *Italie*, had not only accepted and ratified the peace, but alſo determined to render *Verona* according to the forme of thoſe conuencions: from this ſucceeded an other matter to the benefit of the frenche king, that all the Cantons of *Svvizzers* ſeeing armes & hoſtilitie depoſed betwene *Cæſar* & the king, were contented to compound with him as the *Griſons* had done before, in which action *Galeas* Viſconte did what he could, who being baniſhed and a rebell proteſted by the king, wonne of him by this meane, libertie to returne into his countrey, reſtitucion to all his goods, and recompenſe of many graces and honors: The compoſicion was, that the king ſhould pay to the *Svvizzers* within three monethes an hundred & fifty thowſand duckats, and from thence forwarde an indument of perpetuall yearely penſions: That the *Svvizzers* ſhould be bounde to deliuer to his pay by publike decree ſo often as he ſhould demaund, a certaine number of footemen, wherin notwithſtanding the proceeding was diuerſe, for that the eight Cantons were bounde to furniſhe that proporcion whenſoeuer he ſhould enter into any enterpriſe to offende the eſtates of an other, and to the fiue Cantons the couenant bare no other obligacion then for the defence of his proper eſtates: That it ſhoulde be in the power of the *Svvizzers* to

render to the french king the castells of *Lugan* and *Lugarno*, which bee passages of great strength and of no lesse importance for the sewertie of the Duchie of *Myllan*: And in case they would make restitucion, the king to paye to them three hundred thowsand duckats: But they rased them to the ground immediatly vpon the making of the composicion: This was the discourse of thinges in *Italy* in the yeare a thowsand fiue hundred and sixteene: But in the beginning of the yeare following, the Bishop of *Trente* who was come to *Verona*, made offer to *Monsr Lavvtrech* to deliuer vp that citie to the french king within six moneths according to the contents of the capitulacion, seeing he held it in the name of the king of *Spaine*: But there remeyned this difficultie whether the tearme should begin from the day of the ratificacion of *Cæsar*, or from the time it was acknowledged that *Verona* was holden by the king catholike: And vpon this albeit there passed a disputacion for certeine dayes: yet for that the garrison of footemen that were within *Verona* drewe to mutinies vpon the demaund of money, the Bishop of *Trente* was constrained to followe those affayres with a greater haste: And therefore taking the beginning from the day that he had receiued commission from *Cæsar*, he agreed to deliuer vp *Verona* the fifteene daye of Ianuary: At which daye he passed the assignement to *Monsr de Lavvtrech* who receiued it in the name of the french king, the said Bishop receiuing of the *Venetians* the first fifty thowsand duckats, together with the fifteene thowsand which by the capitulacion they were bound to pay to the garrison in *Verona*, and also assured fidelitie and promisse of *Monsr de Lavvtrech* to see drawne to *Trente* the artilleries that were within *Verona*: *Monsr Lavvtrech* at the same instant redeliuered the citie ouer in his kinges name to the Senat of *Venice*, *Andrevv Gritty* standing then as Deputie and assigney to that state: great was the gladnes of the nobilitie and whole communaltie of *Venice*, for that after so long and daungerous a warre, drawing with it so many calamities and exspenses, they had reclaymed to the general body of their dominion, so principal a member, esteeming the reward of the warre farre aboue the burden and charges of the same, although by the reapport of such as haue written of their doinges, they consumed during all the warres they made since the league of *Cambray*, fiue myllions of duckats whereof they leauyed fiue hundred thowsand of the sale of offices: lastly the inhabitants of *Verona* reioysed no lesse then the residue together with all other cities and iurisdictions subiect to their common weale, hoping now to be deliuered and dispensed withall from so many afflictions, which so long a warre had throwen vpon them, sometymes by the one armie and sometymes by the other.

The ende of the twvelfth Booke.

The

THE ARGVMENT OF THE THIRTENTH BOOKE.

The Duke of Vrbin makes an enterprise to recouer his estate out of the hands of Pope Leo: the french king makes a league with the Pope: The conspiracie of Cardinall Petrucci against the Pope is discouered: Charles king of Spaine is chosen Emperour: Martine Luther wryteth against the Pope: The Pope puts Iohn Pawle Baillon to death.

THE THIRTEENTH BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

FOrasmuch as all armes and hostilities were now surceassed betwene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, and in the french king all occasiõs restrained to make warre against *Cæsar* or the king Catholike, it seemed that to the regions of *Italie*, afflicted with so many calamities and trauells of warre, was now appointed a time of rest and tranquillitie: wherein these were the reasons that the *Svvizzers* (a mighty instrument to any that sought to innouate and trouble things) seemed now reclaimed to their auncient amity with the french king, and yet bare no mindes estraunged from other Princes: that in thaccord made at *Noyon*, was declared such a hope, that, to establish a greater alliance betwene the two kings, there was working to draw them to an enteruiew at *Cambray*, whether were gone to that end, *Monsr de Cheures*, the great Maister of *Fraunce*, and *Robertet*: Lastly there was expressed no lesse readines on the parte of *Cæsar*, who, besides the rendring of *Verona*, sent two Embassadors to the frenche king, to solemnise and confirme the peace: so that it was a iudgement accompanied with his iust cause & reasons, that by the benefit of peace & concord betwene so mightie Princes, would be dissolued the seedes of all quarrels and disagreements in *Italie*: But as there is no certainty in the councells of mortall men, so is there lesse exspectacion of their worldly euentes: for, men and their doings standing subiect to the law of nature and destiny, haue no other libertie then to deeme and debate, and to God alone is referred all power of disposicion and execucion since he is able to gouerne and commaund all things by the same power wherewith he hath created them of nothing: Insomuch as in this action of *Italie*, either for thinfelicity or destinie of the countrey, or for that the vniuersall iurisdiction was deuided into so many seueral principalities and states, it was almost impossible that it should suffer any dispensacion of miseries, by reason of the diuersity of wills and interests of such as had it in hand: for, scarcely were layd aside armes and hostility betwene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, yea the Citie of *Verona* not yet resigned, when were disclosed tokens and beginnings of new tumults: And of these was the breeder and conspirator *Franciscomaria*, who had practised and drawne to his faction such bands of Spanishe footemen as had serued both within *Verona* and

Beginnings of new troubles.

affore *Verona*: he perſwaded them to follow him to the reconquering of his eſtates, out of the which the Pope had expulſed him the ſame ſommer: A matter wherein he found ſmall difficulties, for that to ſouldiours forreiners and marcenary accuſtomed in the time of warres, to ſacke townes and to make pray and ſpoyle of contreys, there was nothing more contrary then peace, whereunto they ſaw all the affayres & inclinacions of *Italy* diſpoſed at that inſtant.

There drew to him about fiue thowſand ſpaniſh footemen, whereof was chiefe, one *Maldonato*, A man of the ſame nation, and of long experience in many warres: And to this regiment was ioyned a ſtrength of eight hundred light horſemen, led by *Federyk Boſſolo*, *Gaiozo* a *Spanyard*, *Succhar* a *Burgonion*, *Andrevv Bue*, & *Conſtantyn Boccalo Albanoeſies*, al Capteines of name & marke, & eſpecially eſtemed for their knowledge in warres: Amongeſt them he that bare the greateſt reputacion, whether it were for the noblenes of his houſe, or for the honorable degrees in warre which he had borne from his youth, was *Federyk Gonſagno* Lord of *Boſſolo*, who happly was one of the greateſt parties to perſwade this enterpriſe, being no leſſe moued by an ambicion to make greater his merits & prayſes by newe warres, concurring alſo thamity which he had with *Franciſco Maria*, then through an auncient & ſetled hatred which he bare to *Lavvrence de Medicis*, chiefly for that at ſuch time as was transferred to *Lavvrence*, the charge of all the armies of the Church & the *Florentyns*, by reaſon of the ſicknes of *Iulian* his Vncle, he had denied to make him Capteine generall of the footemen, an eſtate which *Iulian* had aſſigned to him affore: This army ſtanding only vpon bodies & numbers, was lame in all other proporcions & prouiſions: for, they had neither reſort of money, aſſiſtance of artilleries, nor any ſtrengh of municions, & except their horſes and armor, they wanted all furnitures accuſtomed to followe armies. Onely they bare eſtimation more by their vertue then through any other abilitie or meanes to ſuſteine the warre: They departed to go to the ſtate of *Vrbyn*, the ſame day that the citie of *Verona* was giuen vppe to the *Venetians*: A matter which troubled not a litle the Pope after he had receiued aduertiſement: for, he conſidered the qualitie of tharmy, which was to be feared, both for the hatred of the Capteines, & vertue & reputacion of the ſpaniſh footemen: And he was not ignorant with what inclinacion the peoples of that Duchie fauored *Franciſco Maria*, hauing long liued vnder the eaſie gouernment of the houſe of *Montfeltro*, the affection whereof they had transferred to him as to one that had bene trained & nouriſhed in that Duchie, & bred of a ſiſter of the Duke *Guido*: Beſides it greeued him not a litle that he was to menteine warre againſt an armie, which hauing nothing to loſe, could leaue nō reward to his victory, And marching onely vpon deſire of pray and pillage, drew with them a miſerable exſpectacion of profit, bringing nothing to the warre, but what they hoped to get by the chaunce and fortune of the warre: he doubted alſo leaſt the ſweete deſire of gayne (which for the moſt parte carieth marcenory ſouldiours to the fight) would draw ſuch others to ioyne to their faction, as by the meane of the peace, were vtterly excluded from action: But the matter that moſte troubled his minde, was a fearefull ſuſpicion that the French king did communicat in this conſpiracie: for, bothe he knewe that the king was diſpleaſed with the warre made againſt *Franciſco Maria*, and was no leſſe touched in his conſcience with the conſideracion of cauſes that he had giuen him to be ill contented of him: he knewe alſo he had not obſerued the confederacion made after the conqueſt of *Myllan*, at the tyme when *Cæſar* diſcended into *Lombardye*: he conſidered that after he was returned to *Rome*, he ſent him a bul touching the collacion of benefices in the Realme of *Fraunce*,

and

and *Myllan*, muche different from the conuencion made at *Bolognia*, which for the ſhortneſſe of the time was not then ſubſigned: This Bull the king would not accept, both for that it bare contradiction agaynſt the agreement, and alſo for the intereſt of his proper dignitie: he remembred the ſecrete negociations interteyned agaynſt him with other Princes, and with the *Svvizzers*: he was not ignoraunt that a litle before, puſhed on by a deſire directly to hinder the recouery of *Verona*, he had ſuffred the regimentes of Spaniſhe footemen comming from *Naples* to the reskew of it, to paſſe in ſeuerall trowpes through the dominions of the Churche, excuſing himſelfe that he would not giue them occaſion to paſſe in one ioynt ſtrength, beeing in that caſe not hable to ſtoppe them: Laſtely he founde in his conſcience that he had not performed his promiſes touching the donation of the tenthes but vnder conditions ſuttle and intangled, nor had obſerued the rendring of the townes to the Duke of *Ferrara*, abuſing the kings exſpectation, and his owne fidelitie. Theſe were right iuſt cauſes to make him doubt of the kings will, whereof alſo his ſuſpicions made him ſeeme to ſee certayne tokens, for that this conſpiracie and leauie of men being bred in the partes of *Verona*, it could not be that *Monſr de Lavvtrech* coulde be without knowledge of it many dayes before, and ſeeing he was ſecret and ſilent in it, it was a manyfeſt preſumption of his priuitie and conſent. To this alſo was added a ielouſie of *Federike Boſſolo*, hauing till then followed the paye of the king, and it was doubtful whether that was true that *Monſr de Lavvtrech* alleaged for his excuſe, that the time of his enterteinment was finiſhed. Moreouer the Pope ſtoode doubtfull of thinclination of the *Venetians*, hauing an opinion that their Cõmiſſioners had made them ſelues parties to this vnion, for that the Senate ſtoode verye muche diſcontented with him aſwell in regarde of things paſte, as for ielouſie of his preſent greatnes, which was ſuche that being ſucceſſor of ſo great a power and reputation of a Popedome, he diſpoſed abſolutely at his deuotion the whole eſtate of the *Florentins*. Theſe conſiderations brought no ſmall amaze to the Pope, to whom alſo was no leſſe reaſon of exſpectation or hope in the confidence or alliance with other Princes, for that, beſides that they were of newe reconciled and confedered with the French king, not one of them helde for acceptable his maner of proceeding with ſecrete councells and ſuttleties, wherein albeit he diſſembled ſometimes to incline on their ſide, yet what betweene the detections that burſt out agaynſt him, & the ſlow execution of his intentions and promiſes, he gaue little or none ſatisfaction to any of them: yea diſcloſing oftentimes a manyfeſt doubt agaynſt them all, he had diſpatched a little before to the king Catholike *Freare Nicholao* an *Almain*, and ſecretorie to the Cardinall *Medicis* to drawe him from thenteruiew and parley whiche was ſolicited with the French king, fearing a contract of greater alliance betweene them, to his preiudice. Thus the Pope waued indifferently betwene doubt & dread betwene feare and ſuſpicion, exſpecting all things to happen to him which his tymerous conſcience did ſuggeſt or faſhion, the ſame being a paſſion that oftentymes tormentes the myndes of yll men, agaynſt whom *Salomon* pronounceth this vexation: that what ſo euer their guyltie mindes do feare in yll, the ſame ſhall aſſuredly happen vnto them: Neuertheleſſe amidde theſe confuſions and ſuſpenſions of minde, he and his nephew *Lavvrence* ceaſſed not to ſende bandes of ſouldiors into *Romagnia*, ſuche as for the moſt parte were leauyed of newe, and the reſidue drawne out of the ſquadrons of the *Florentins* penſioners: his reaſon was in ſending out of this force, that ioyning with *Ranſo de Cero* and *Vitelli*, who laye at *Rauenna* with the regimentes of men at armes, they might giue impediment to the paſſage of thene-

mies: But this expedition was in vayne and theffect thereof, for that tharmie of thenemie, hauing already paſſed the ryuer of *Pavv* at *Oſtia*, and preuenting with their celeritie the preparations of their aduerſaries, were by that time entred vpon the landes of the duke of *Ferrara*, taking the waye to *Cento* and *Burio*, and marching thorowe the countrey of *Bolognia*: In this iourney they ſacked *Granarola*, which is a borowe vpon the territories of *Fauentia*, and from thence they drewe neare to *Faenza*, to proue if they could conſpire any mutation there by the helpe of a young gentleman of the familie of *Manfroy*, who was in that armie: But the inhabitauntes of *Faenza* diſauowing al mutinies, the armie paſſed further, not trying to get any other of the townes of *Romagnia*, for that they were all ſtrong in garriſon eyther of men at armes or of footemen, and for the better ſuretie of *Rimini*, *Ranſo* & *Vitelli* were gone thither by ſea. *Lavvrence* came to *Ceſena* to aſſemble his companies there, and at *Rimini*: but for that thenemies were already paſſed, he ceaſſed not in the meane while to leauie ſouldiors in many places, whereof there flocked to him both more then he needed, and more then he required: for a regiment of two thouſande fiue hundred launceknights that were diſmiſſed by *Monſr de Lavvtrech* to returne into their houſes, and likewiſe certaine colonels of iij. thouſand *Gaſcons*, were reteyned by *Iohn Poppy* ſecretory to *Lavvrence*: wherin he vſed his owne authoritie, being perſwaded that that army of footemen would folowe *Franciſco Maria* if they were not waged by others, or happly he beleeued lightly that with theſe forces there might be opened an eaſie waye to the victorie: In this action he imployed alſo thauthoritie of *Monſr Lavvtrech* (with whom he had remayned many monethes) to perſwade the Capteines, whom with their ſeuerall bandes and regimentes he conuerted immediatly towardes *Bolognia*: But his diligence brought foorth an effect contrarie to his exſpectation and the merite of his trauell, ſince the Pope and *Lavvrence* were diſcontented with that maner of doing, ſuſpecting the kings indignation, and yet they could not refuſe them, for feare leaſt they would ioyne to thenemie being marched ſo farre with mindes and promiſes to be imployed: In the meane while *Franciſco Maria* aduaunced more and more, accompanying his fortune with that diligence and celeritie which leades men of action to the ſucceſſe and felicitie of thenterpriſes they followe: he was no ſooner entred into the Duchie of *Vrbin*, then he was receyued in euery place with great ioye and gladneſſe, he founde no ſouldiors in the townes, for that *Lavvrence* hauing no leyſure to refurniſhe ſo many places, had onely care to defende the Citie of *Vrbin*, the ſanctuarie and capitall place of that Duchie: And for that cauſe was ſent thither by the counſell of *Vitelly*, a ſtrength of two thouſande footemen from *Citta di Caſtello*, and in place of *Vitelly* that refuſed to go to that ſeruice, that charge was committed to *Iacques Roſſetto* of *Citta di Caſtello*, who notwithſtanding he was aduiſed, by reaſon the people of *Vrbin* were holden ſuſpected, to chaſe out of the towne all ſuche bodies as were vnhable to beare armes, yet he forbare to execute any ſuche violence, thinking he ſhould better aſſure himſelfe by clemencie then by crueltie. But *Franciſco Maria* not conuerting his time to the ſeruice of any other place, drew directly to *Vrbin*, where albeit he could do litle at the firſt approche, yet at the ſeconde, *Iacques Roffetto* agreed to deliuer the towne into his handes, his infidelitie being greater then his feare, both for that there were no mutinies nor vproares amongſt the people, and alſo he had no reaſon to be tymerous of the forces of thenemies, hauing neyther artilleries nor other prouiſions ſeruing to the taking of townes: The ſouldiors according to the compoſition went out of the towne, their goods and lyues ſaued, but the Biſhoppe of *Vitelly* remayned

Vrbin returneth to the obedience of the naturall Duke.

ned prisoner, who had bene regent of that estate for the new Duke, and vnder whose gouernment it seemed that nothing had happly succeeded: All the other townes and places of the duchie folowed the example of *Vrbin*, except *S. Leon*, which for the qualitie of his situation, and propertie of the munitions that were there, was easie to be defended, yea with a very small garrison: The citie of *Agobbio* that in the beginning was declared for *Franciscomaria*, and eftsoones returned to the obedience of *Lavvrence*, did nowe as the rest did, beeing caryed not by respect to fayth and alleageance, but by the euent and obseruation of thinges: onely *Pesero*, *Sinigalo*, *Gradaro* and *Mondano*, townes seperate from the Duchie, remayned in the iurisdiction and deuotion of *Lavvrence*. *Franciscomaria* hauing thus recouered *Vrbin*, entred into deuise to make him selfe lorde of some place vpon the sea shoare: And making shewes as though he woulde go to *Pesero*, whither were gone already many bands of souldiors, and to *Sinigalo*, he dissembled his intention & drewe towards *Fano*, a Citie which in all times had caryed more facilitie to be taken, and wherof the aduersary douted least, for that it had bene neuer as yet subiected to his iurisdiction, *Ranso de Cere* that lay at *Pesero*, either douting of the danger which in reason of warre he foresaw, or seeing into his intention, which he could not hide, dispatched thither *Troylo Sauello*, with an hundred men at armes, & six hundred footemen: Neuertheless thenemie made his approches with fiue peces of artillery not great, which they had founde in *Vrbin*, and hauing also wante of powder, they coulde not make so great execution as they would, only they brought downe to the earth xx. fadoms of wall, which notwithstanding was not done without great difficulty, yet they folowed it with an assalt, at which they lost more then an hundred & fifty men: But neyther being amased with that slaughter (for their minds were resolute) nor stāding to exspect and temporise (though they were weake in munitions) they recontinued the charge the day folowing, whē with their vallor they so far vanquished the peril, that they made the breach almost abādoned, yea they had no dout entred the wall, had it not ben for *Fabian de Galleso* liestenant to *Troylo*, who being left vpon the wall with a very smal company of men of warre, made a wonderfull defence, and susteined the charge: The day after they were prepared to giue the third assalt, but vnderstanding by espiall that a strength of fiue hundred men sent from *Pesero*, were entred by night by sea, they leauyed the siege, & retyred to the borow & castell of the mount *Baroco*, which standing vpon a high hill, beareth a very strong situation, his discending being easie towardes *Fossambrun*, and most harde and sharpe towards *Pesero*: They remained in that place, where hauing no further conuenient occasion, they garded the duchie of *Vrbin* which lay vpon their backes. On the other side, those regiments of Launceknightes and *Gascons* that were come to *Rimini* to *Lavvrence de Medicis*, prepared them to march, together with many bands of *Italian* footmen, & an other regiment of xv. hundred Launceknightes, of those that had bene at the seruice of *Verona*: with which strength ioyned to the horsmen of the Popedome and *Florence*, *Lavvrence* marched with his men at armes to *Pesera*: And being wholly gouerned by the counsell of his capteins for the small experience he had to manage an enterprise, he sent his footemen to incampe vppon the mountaynes opposite to thennemies. The Citie of *Pesera* standeth at the entrie of a little valley which comes from *Vrbin*, out of which issueth a ryuer whiche thinhabitantes call *Porto*, for that by thoportunitie of his deepenes the vesselles are broughte vp euen to that place: this ryuer ronnes neare to the Citie on that syde whiche is towardes *Rimini*: The Castell hath his standing towardes the sea, and betwene the riuer and the Citie

Fano besieged.

Description of the Citie of Pesero.

be many ſtore houſes which *Ranſo* cauſed to be reuerſed for the ſurety of the towne: A great part of the citie is enuironed with mountaynes on all partes, which ſtretche not out ſo farre as the ſea, but betwene them and the ſea remayneth a certayne pece of the playne conteyning two myles in largenes on that ſide towardes *Fano*, and vpon the banke riſe two hilles the one right ouer agaynſt the other: that towards the ſea is called *Candelaro*, and *Nugalaro* that which hath his proſpect towardes *Vrbin*: and in the toppe of euery of them is a borowe and a caſtell bearing the ſame name. The Italian footemen were lodged at the caſtell of *Candelaro*, and to the Launce-knights and *Gaſcons* was appoynted *Nugalaro* which lay neareſt to thenemie: which diſpoſing of tharmy in this ſort, was not of intẽtion to fight with thẽ otherwiſe, then by light skirmiſhes to cut them off from ouerrunning the contrey, or to amuſe them for reſoluing to any enterpriſe: for the Popes counſell was not to hazard the battell with thenemies, vnleſſe there were almoſt an aſſured hope of the victory, for that he ſawe what perill it was to fight againſt reſolute men, who by how much greater was thinequalitie of the reward of the victory, by ſo much leſſe would they feare the hazard of their liues: & the battel ſwaying on their ſide, he ſaw the eſtate of the church and the *Florentins* would be abandoned into manifeſt danger: That it were far more aſſured to temporiſe, ſpecially the apparance being great, that for want of mony and vittels, thenemy would draw to ſome diſorder, the pouerty & ſterility of the contrey compelling them thervnto: That his army with reſpite would become better & better, aſwel through experience which much helpeth to the perfection of ſouldiors, as alſo that from moneth to moneth it was refurniſhed with braue & reſolute bodies: Laſtly he had exſpectation that his affaires would dayly take better courſe, ſince that frõ the beginning of this ſtir & action, he had vehemently ſolicited the ſuccors of all Princes, both complayning to their Embaſſadors that laye at *Rome*, and by ſpeciall meſſengers and letters imploring the Princes them ſelues: wherin he wrought not with all in one maner, for, ſignifying to *Cæſar* and the king of *Spayne* that the conſpiracie of *Franciſcomaria* and the Spaniſh footemen, was contriued in the camp of the French king, and with the priuity of his lieftenant: he obiected ſo farre in thoſe particular clauſes of his letters, that it might be eaſily comprehended how farre he ſuſpected the king in the action: And to the french king him himſelfe he alleaged only a ielouſie of *Monſr de Lavvtrech*, and forbare to execute his complaints any further. The matter was diuerſly taken by thoſe Princes, for to *Cæſar* and his nephew it was no ſmall gladnes to heare that the Pope interpreted that iniurie to the French king: Beſides, the auncient hatred of *Cæſar* ioyned to his naturall inconſtancie, had made him already eſtraunged from the French king, and newly become confederate with the king of *England*: He alſo had communed with his nephew neare *Antvvarpe*, and diſſwaded him from hauing conference with the Frenche king, whiche accordingly was at laſt accompliſhed by the conſent of both the one and the other king: And in the king Catholike the confederation that he had with him, did not ſuffice to deface his emulation, ielouſie, and ſuſpicion: So that they made a readie offer to the Pope to ayde him, giuing preſent commaundement to all their ſubiectes to departe from the warre that was made agaynſt the Pope: The kinge Catholike ſente the Count *Potenſo* to the Realme of *Naples*, to thende that vpon the view and mooſter of his men at armes, he ſhoulde leade to his ſuccours foure hundred launces: and for a more full teſtomonie of his will, he depoſed *Franciſcomaria* as diſobedient, from the Duchie of *Sora*, an eſtate lying vppon the confines of *Terra Lauoro* and had bene purchaſed by hys father: but for other reſpectes, were

agreable

agreable the perplexities of the Pope to the Frenche king, as a Prince that had a mind eſtraunged from him:& therefore following his example from the beginning, he determined to enterteine him with vaine hopes, & anſwering that his diſcõtentments brought no litle griefe to him,he promiſed ſo to worke that *Monſr Lavvtrech* ſhould miniſter to his affaires: And yet he forbare not to ſay that the Pope him ſelfe had bene the cauſer of his proper afflictions,for that the *Spaniards* would neuer haue taken that boldneſſe, if their numbers had not bene increaſed by ſuch as vnder his licence,were paſſed from *Naples* to *Verona:* This was the kings intencion at the beginning: But conſidering afterwards that the Pope being left abandoned of him and of his ſuccours,would run with a ready will into the amities of the king Catholike,he determined to aide & fauor him,& according to the eſtate of the time,to draw ſome frute of his neceſſity:Inſomuch as the Pope ſending eſtſoones to demaund ſuccours of him,he tooke order to refurniſh him from *Millan* with three hundred launces,requiring withall to haue a newe league to paſſe betwene thẽ,ſince that that was contracted affore at *Bolognia*, was of no more conſideracion, hauing ſuffred many violacions by the Pope in ſundrie maners:he added many complaints to the offers which he made him:ſomtimes he ſayd he ſuffred wrong in matters wherein the Pope charged him to other Princes: & ſomtimes he held himſelfe iniuried,for that he had excõmunicated *George Sopreſſan* ſoliciting for him with the *Svvizzers*,an actiõ wherin the deſpite of his iniury was ſo much the greater,by how much in the doing of it he expreſſed a deſire to gratifie the Cardinall of *Syon*: Moreouer the Lady Regent mother to the king & of no ſmall authority with him,reprehended without reſpect,the impiety of the Pope, for that not ſatisfied to haue chaſed a Prince out of his proper eſtates and dominions,he had alſo ſubiected him to the cenſures of the Church,and with a mind full of inhumanity, had denied to the old Ducheſſe,the property of her dowrie due vpon thoſe Patrimonies, and alſo had withdrawne from the young Ducheſſe his wife,all ſortes of reliefe & meanes to preſerue & nouriſh her: theſe words finding paſſage euen to the eares and hearing of the Pope, brought matter to redouble the ſuſpicion: Neuertheleſſe the Pope, who in thoſe difficulties deſired the kinges ſuccours not ſo much for theffect and meaning, as for the name and reputacion of them, being not able to diſſemble his ſuſpicion,made ſtay for many dayes of the iij.hundred launces that went from *Millan*,vpon the territories of *Modona* & *Bolognia*:& afterwards *Lavvrence* beſtowed them within *Rimini*,as hauing leſſe meane to annoy him by lying there, for that that city bare a farre diſtance from thenemies. The Pope could not be drawne from his ieloſies and ſuſpicions, notwithſtanding at the ſame time was ſet downe in *Rome*, a concluſion of cõfederacion betwene him & the french king: & albeit before it was ratified,the king obiected many new difficulties for the which the matter remeined many dayes in ſuſpence, yet at laſt the Pope yeelding to many thinges, the king paſt the ratificacion: By the articles of ratificacion the Pope and the king were reciprocally bounde to the defenſe of their eſtates with an equall proporcion of men and ſouldiours, and a charge of twelue thowſand duckats for euery moneth: The ſame bonde was betwene the Frenche king and the *Florentins*, with whome was conioyned the authority of *Lavvrence de Medicis*, and in that article was comprehended the Duchie of *Vrbin*, but with a leſſer number of men, and pay of ſix thowſande duckats monthly: The king was bounde to ayde the Pope whenſoeuer he had any action vpon the ſubiectes and vaſſalls of the Church: The Pope confirmed to the king the nominacion of the benefices, and the tenth, according to his promiſes made at *Bolognia*, vnder this condicion that the moneys

Confederacion betwene the Pope and fr. king.

ſhoulde bee put into the handes of a third man to be employed agaynſt the *Turkes:* This was the cooller of graũting the tenth, but there was ſecretly hope giuen to the king, that after the collection of the whole quantitie, the condicion ſhoulde bee chaunged by an other writ, & his maieſtie to haue libertie to conuert them to what vſe he would: The Pope paſſed a ſeuerall promiſſe to the king vnder his ſignature, neuer to demaunde of him any ayde or ſuccours againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, and conſented withall, that the kinge might take him into his protection: There was long diſpute vppon the rendring of *Reggia*, *Modona*, and *Rubiero*, which albeit the king demaunded with no ſmall inſtance according to the Popes promiſſes at *Bologna*, and the Pope altogether not refuſed it, yet he reſerued the reſtitucion till an other tyme, alleaging that it would bee an action farre vnworthy of him and almoſt a confeſſion of his extreme neceſſitie and compulſion, to redeliuer them at a tyme when he ſtoode oppreſſed with the warre: The king ſtoode ſtill vppon it to haue them rendred preſently, Inſomuch that the Pope making manifeſt ſhowes that he would vtterly eſtraunge him ſelfe from the king if he ſought to conſtrayne him any further, the kinge hauing for declared ennemies thengliſh, and no leſſe ſuſpicion of *Cæſar*, the *Spanyards* and the *Svvyzzers*, accepted the Popes promiſſe vnder his hande, that within ſeuen monethes next following, he woulde put into the handes of the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modona*, *Reggia*, and *Rubiero:* The Pope had this intencion that if the daungers wherein he was, ceaſſed affore, he woulde make no more accompt of his acte vnder his ſignature then of his promiſſe ſimply made at *Bolognia:* And touching the king, ſince he coulde wynne no further of him without the hazarde of his extreame indignation, helde him ſelfe contented, eſteeming it ſomewhat ſufficient, that he had appearing in writing thaſſurance and teſtimony of his word and faith.

During the diſcourſe and action of theſe matters, *Lavvrence* had much increaſed his armie both by many regiments of *Italians* leauyed of newe, and alſo by a thowſand footemen ſpaniſh and a thowſand launceknightes waged by the Pope at *Rome:* with which ſtrength ioyned to thopportunitie and rypenes of the time, he ſawe he ſtood in good eſtate to aſſay to deliuer him ſelfe of ſuch a warre, wherein his onely hope was by the ſtrength & ſituacion of the place where thennemies lay, to compell them to diſcampe for want of vittells: for which cauſe was diſpatched *Camylla Vrſin* with ſeuen hũdred light horſemen, to ouerronne all that contrey which is called the vicariage from whence came the greateſt traffike of their vittells: At this tyme was ſent to *Peſera* from the campe of thennemie, A trompet who required of *Lavvrence* ſaffeconduit for Capteine *Svvaro* a *Spanyard* appoynted by *Franciſcomaria* to come to him: his demaunde was eaſily accepted by *Lavvrence* for that he thought it had bene a Capteine with whome he had interteyned very ſecret intelligence: But there came to him an other Capteine of the ſame name, and with him one *Oracio de Ferma* Secretorie to *Franciſcomaria*, who after they were brought into publike audience, declared, (according to thinſtructions of *Franciſcomaria*) that ſince the quarrells that were betwene them might be decided by ſingular combate of their owne perſons, or with a determinate number of men indifferently agreed vpon by them both, it were better to chuſe the one of thoſe two meanes, then to perſeuere in that courſſe whereby might bee brought to deſtruction ſo many numbers of people on both ſides, no leſſe contrary to all pietie, then euen to the preiudice of whoſoeuer ſhould cary the victory: In which good reſpects, *Franciſcomaria* offred him to make election of whether of theſe ij waies he would: & after he had deliuered this meſſage

Franciſcomaria ſendes to deſie Law. de Medicis.

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by mouth, he would haue red a wryting that he had in his hand, ſauing that he was forbidden: *Lavvrence* aunſwered by the councell of his Capteines, that he willingly accepted this offer, ſo farre forth as *Franciſcomaria* would firſt leaue thoſe peeces which he occupied by force: After which aunſwere (by thincenſing of *Ranſo de Cero*) he cauſed them both to be apprehended priſoners, *Ranſo* mainteyning that they had deſerued puniſhement for performing an action too inſolent: But the other Capteines ſhewing him howe farre he tranſgreſſed the law of armes and the reputacion of his faith and word, he let goe *Svvaro*, & reteined only *Oratio*, excuſing, with falſe colours, thinfamy of his faith breaking, as though it had bene neceſſary in the ſafe-conduit to haue expreſſed ſpecially *Oratio*, who, for his birth & countrey, was a ſubiect of the Church, and for his place, a ſecretary to the enemy: But his reſtraint was chiefly to draw from him the ſecrets of *Franciſcomaria*, but ſpecially by whoſe councell and authoritie he had begonne the warre: Whereuppon being examined with torments, it was publiſhed that in his confeſſion was matter to augment the ſuſpicion conceiued againſt the french king: To the deſire of *Lavvrence*, to cut of from the *Spanyards* the traffike of vittels out of the countrey of the vicariage, was neede to be applied greater forces, both for that by the incurſions of his light horſemen, was done no matter of importance, and withall, his armie was in that eſtate of ſtrength & furniture, that he might boldly make head againſt thenemies: for, beſide a thowſand men at armes and a thowſand light horſemen, he had leauied fiftene thowſand footemen of diuers nations, amongeſt whom was a regiment of two thowſand *Spanyards* muſtered at *Rome*: An armie of footemen of ſpeciall choiſe and ſorte, and of great exerciſe and training in armes for that the warre being in no other place in *Italie*, the Capteines had good meane to exchaunge for better, all ſuch bands of *Italian* footemen as were leauied in haſt: And ſo compounded their whole army vpon the glory and flower of the ſouldiours of all *Italie*: He determined at laſt to goe incampe at *Sorbolonguo*, a borow in the countrey of *Fano* fiue miles from *Foſſambrono*, from whence it was eaſie to him to reſtraine from thenemy all releefe comming out of the *Vicariage*: The city of *Foſſambrono* ſtands vpon the riuer of *Mettro*, which is a riuer of name, by reaſon of a victory which the *Romaines* had againſt *Aſdruball* of *Carthage*, and running thither by a channell reſtrained betwene the mounteynes, it paſſeth *Foſſambrono*, and beginnes to runne thorowe a litle vallie more large, which makes it ſelfe ſo much the larger by how much it approacheth the ſea that is fiftene miles beyond *Foſſambrono*, and there it falleth into *Mettro* neare to *Fano*, but on that ſide towardes *Sinigalo*: On the right hand following the courſe of the riuer, is the countrey which they call the *Vicariage* full of fertill hills, and borowes, and lyeth ſtretched out in great length towardes the ſea: and on the left hand of the riuer are alſo hills, but paſſing further, there are found mounteynes very high and ſharpe, the plaine or vallie whereof extending towards *Fano*, conteyneth more then three miles in largenes: At ſuch time as *Lavvrence* determined to incampe at *Sorbolonguo*, fearing leaſt his enemies, knowing of his remouing would preuent him: he ſent on the morow, affore day *Iohn de Medicis*, *Ioh. Baptiſta Stabbio*, & *Brumalt de Furly* with foure hundred horſemen, to ſurpriſe *Sorbolongo*, and gaue order to the footemen that were at *Candelaro* and *Nugularo*, to croſſe the mounteynes and draw towardes *Mettro*, to ioyne with the others: him ſelfe with the reſidue of tharmie, leauing for the gard of *Peſero*, *Guido Rangon* with an hundred and fifty men at armes, tooke his way at ſunne riſing, from *Peſero* towards *Fano* along the ſea ſhoare, & afterwards turning towards *Foſſambrono* where the vally beginneth, he arriued about noone at a place called our

Scituacion of Foſſambrono.

Ladies myll buylt vppon the ryuer: All the horſemen and the regiments of *Italian* footemen, paſſed the riuer by ford, but the bands of *Gaſcons* and launceknights, were ſo long in paſſing the bridge prepared to that ende, that the armie was not able that day to fetche *Sorbolongo* according to the direction: and therefore they thought it conuenient to incampe at *S. Georges*, *Orciano*, & *Mondano*, borowes bearing diſtance one from an other halfe a myle: The direction that was layd out for the light horſemen, ſucceeded not with much better fortune: for, as they marched, *Ioh. de Medicis*, (in whom in this firſt tryall of ſeruice, appeared thoſe ſignes of vallour that appertained to one of his diſcending) ſeeming by errour to take the longer way, left the reſidue that contemned his councel & entred within *Sorbolongo* long time before night: & the other two Capteines, after they had fetched a long compaſſe, returned at laſt to tharmie, being abuſed (as they ſayd) by their guide: Neither could *Iohn de Medicis* (who had with him onely his regiment) abyde that night within *Sorbolongo*, for that the ſame morning *Franciſcomaria*, had with great celeritie taken the fielde with all his armie, doubting belike of the diſcamping of his enemies, and no leſſe imagining which way they would draw: he found no impediment to paſſe the riuer, but vſing the fauor of a ſtone bridge at *Foſſombrono*, he wonne *Sorbolongo* affore night, & bringing with him matter of feare and aſtoniſhment to *Iohn*, being then of ſufficient abilitie to reſiſt him, he compelled *Iohn* to retyre towardes *Orciano*, whether he was followed in chaſſe by the horſemen of thennemie, who made pray of many of his people and caried them backe in the ſtate and fortune of priſoners: At *Orciano* he went to find *Lavvrence* in his lodging, to whom he complayned with a minde much diſcontented, that either the negligence, or the cowardiſe of *Brunault* & *Iohn Baptiſta Stabbia*, ſtanding then in his preſence, had that day taken out of his hand, the victorie of the warre: he eſteemed the iniury ſo much the greater, by how much the vertue & celeritie of his owne people were leſſe forward to aduaunce his glory, then fortune her ſelfe, who for the moſt part vſeth to hold backe the merit of mens vallour in ſuch actions: But albeit this was the firſt, yet it was not the onely occaſion of good lucke, that the armie of *Lavvrence* did loſe, ſeing afterwards he did not onely omit the honor of enterpriſes of great importāce, but alſo he was followed cōtinually with farre more daungerous diſorders, his ill fortune being alwaies accompanied with ill councels: The borowes of *Orciano* & *Sorbolongo* haue their ſituacion in a place eminent & high, & are diſtant one from the other, ſomwhat more then two miles: the myd way betwene them is ful of litle mounteines and hils, and hath a borow in it called *Barty*, wherein were incamped part of the bands of *Franciſcomaria*; & for that neighbourhood and nearenes of tharmies, all the day following was ſpent in skirmiſhing: Amongeſt the Capteines of *Lavvrence* armie, the councells and opinions were diuers: for, ſome and chiefly they who bare leaſt ſwaigh in the reſolucion of thinges, perſwaded to giue a charge of thennemies, thinking perhaps, by aduauncing vainely valiant councells, they ſhould get the name of valiant men, not waighing in their glorious moodes, how farre the daunger exceeded the attempt: But this councell was impugned by *Ranſo* and *Vitelli*, vpon whoſe aduiſes *Lavvrence* with great confidence, founded all his directions, for, ſayd they, thennemies being lodged in a place of ſtrength and aduauntage, and hauing on their backe the fauour of the borowe, there was no poſſibilitie to execute that enterpriſe, but by a waye troubleſome and too full of annoyance: yea they thought it not good that tharmie ſhoulde continue in thoſe places, beeing a matter no leſſe vnprofitable, then hindering the purpoſſe for the which they were remoued from *Peſero*, for that *Sorbolongo* beeing

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at the deuotion of *Franciscomaria*, it woulde bee harde to restraine the resorte of vittells from the countrey of the Vicareage. These reasons made reiected all other counsels, obteyning what by the authoritie of the same, and by the necessitie of things, that the army should returne: And to thende their retyring should not seeme a manifest flying, their direction was that tharmie should not onely returne to their first lodging place, but also to go sease vpon *Monte Baroccio* and other places left abandoned by thenemies, from whence they might drawe towards *Vrbin*: With this resolution the armie departed the moarning folowing at the appearing of the day: But the maner of their going away helde more of a fleing then of a retraite, whiche growing to an opinion thorow out the campe, it happned that *Franciscomaria* was aduertised by two men at armes, that thenemies were filled full of feare, and were broken vp almoste in disorder and fleing: In so muche as seeming to be almost possessed of the certayne victorie, he aduaunced his armie and marched with great speede, by the waye that leades athwart the mountaynes: he hoped to encounter them at their discending into the playne, beleeuing that they would take the waye that was moste shorte and passible, which if they had taken, neyther the one nor the other armie could haue auoyded the battell: But as oftentimes in warres, effectes and euentes of greatest consequence are both hindred and chaunged by light causes and accidentes: so fortune would, that by the occasion of a Canon left behinde the daye before, for that one of his mounting wheeles was broken, the army of *Lavvrence* went to repasse the ryuer of *Metro* at our Ladyes myll, whiche is foure myles lower then the place wherevnto his short and easie way would haue brought him: All the horsemen and footemen of *Lavvrence* armie passed ouer at the foarde, and as both for their numbers and other impedimentes they made a long passage, so assone as they were ouer, they caste them selues with great celeritie into order, keeping along the playne that draweth towards *Fossambrono*: The army of footmen being passed, and the men at armes and light horsmen marching in the later warde of the campe being vpon their passing, the light horsemen of thenemies, both many in number, & of the most resolute, began to skirmish with them: In which encounter was taken prisoner *Constantin* the sonne of *Iohn Paule Baillon*, whom we might aswell call his nephew as his sonne, since he begat him of one of his owne sisters: not many dayes before the same *Iohn Paule* was come to the armie, and led the vantgarde, but by the yll chaunce of his sonne, striuing to do his best to recouer him, he stayde so long deuising, that from thauauntgarde he became in the areareward, and *Lavvrence* that ledde the battell stepped into the forewarde, as also *Troylus Sauelo* that gouerned the arearegard was set to guyde the battell, for that *Ranso* and *Vitelli* marched before with the footemen: But *Franciscomaria* and his capteines, discerning well that thenemies, by the same measure and numbers wherewith they passed the riuer, turned towards *Fossambrono*, sawe that they remoued not like men that fledde, but with intention to surprise *Montebaroccio*: for which consideration, they forgate their former furie and dispositon to feight, which happly was grounded vpon an imagined feare of thenemies, and leauing abandoned their baggage, they ranne in great haste, and with no lesse disorder, yea casting their ensignes wrapped vpon their shoulders, to get a very strong passage of the ryuer called the passage of *Tauernelle*: At this passage it seemed that nature had made a confused trenche full of cliffes which runneth all along through a plaine place euen vntill the mountaine, which gaue no libertie of passage but by one way which was made for ease and sufferance: To this passage if their bandes had come, who turned from that side alwayes

as they passed ouer, the Spaniards had bene reduced into manifest daunger: And albeit *Lavvrence* and his capteines were aduertised of this by *Lodovvike* the sonne of *Oliuer de Fermo*, who the same day was come to the army with a thousand footmen together with a Spanish sergeant that could well discouer the countrey, yet their espiall was of litle profite, fortune and destinie being stronger then counsell: for notwithstanding in the regimentes of Launceknights and *Gascons* was expressed a wonderfull readinesse and disposition to feight, and the same desired with an vniuersall crye throughout the whole campe, and withall, the will of *Lavvrence* beeing fully concurrant: yet that resolute deuotion of the campe was not executed by the aduise of *Ranso de Cere* and *Vitelly*, who counselled him not to go meete his enemies, but to drawe hit armie to a little hill faste by, from whence in great safetie he might do many greeuances to his enemies with his light horsemen if they attempted to passe the ryuer: And so leauing that place of strength, *Ranso* turned towardes the mountayne, which assone as the Spaniards had brought to their deuotion, they began to salute with the bollet those bandes of launceknightes that laye neareste them, and signified with cryings & other tokens full of reioysing, how out of a danger manifest and desperate, their vallour had made them a way into absolute safety: Thus eyther by indiscression or by cowardise (if we may not allowe destinie to partake in it) did *Lavvrence* loase that day in the iudgement of all men thoccasion of the victorie: The difference of counsells amongst his capteines were very preiudiciall to the glory and successe of this expedition, for they stoode there to consult and debate, where occasion called them on to execute the thing which their fortune had offred them, and then were they leaste fetled in resolution, when they sawe most necessitie of action: That night the armie was lodged in a burrow neare that place called *Saltaro*: but such was the diligence of *Franciscomaria*, that marching with his camp till well of the night, he gate *Montebaroccio*, preuenting a regiment of two thousande footemen which *Lavvrence* sent thither to surprise it: The day after he went and incamped aboue *Saltaro* towards the mountayne, taking a place for the bestowing of his army, that had his prospect vpon *Montebaroccio*, but standing somewhat lower & had his situation vpon the sea shore: These were the places wherin the two armies incamped, bearing no more distance then a myle one from an other, onely there fell to *Lavvrence* greater discommodities by the often want of vittels, for that the traffike lying by sea from *Pesera* to *Fano*, they were driuen vppon the alteration of the winds, to vse the seruice of cariages ouerlande, to the which the light horsemen of *Franciscomaria* gaue no smal impediments by their continuall roades and incursions ouer the whole contrey, hauing espiall by the peisants of euery litle mouing of thennemies. About this time *Franciscomaria* sent a trompet to communicate with the *Gascons* certaine pacquets of letters found amongst the writings of the secretories of *Lavvrence* and taken from him with other of his trashe by the horsemen of thenemie the same day that he departed from the borowe of *Saltaro*: By these letters was discerned that the Pope beeing wearie of the great payes of the *Gascons*, and yet stoode to make immoderate augmentation of them euery moneth, wished that trauell might be made to induce them to returne into *Fraunce*: By whiche occasion there had bene great perill of a tumult the selfe same daye, if *Carbono* their capteine and *Lavvrence de Medicis* had not by good perswasions reclaymed them, making them beleeue that the exhibition of those letters, was but a subborned and fallible stratageme of thennemie: Neuertheless, what by the suspicion of that daunger, the necessitie of vittelles, and the difficulties of the place bearing more mad

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nyfeſt ſignes to loaſe, then any hope at all to wynne, they determined to breake vppe from thence, and to enter into the countrey of the Viccareage on that ſide that is neareſt the ſea, and ſo to marche on, tyll they approched *Foſſambrono*: And albeit it was not without ſhame to retyre ſo often from thenemies, yet the reſolution to departe was allowed through the whole campe, but not without the infamy of *Ranſo* and *Vitelli*, agaynſt whom exclaymed all the regimentes of ſouldiors, charging him that if in the beginning they had put execution to that deuiſe, they had brought vpon thenemies no ſmall wantes and difficulties of vittells: *Lavvrence* him ſelfe reprehended them no leſſe then the others, who accompanying his complaints with reprochefull ſuſpicions, impoſed vpon them, that, eyther to make the warre long for their particular profite, or to hinder his reputation and glorie by armes, fearing happly to their perſons the like effects by his greatnes, which theſtate and ambicion of *Valentinois* had wrought agaynſt their houſes, they had brought ſo many difficulties and ſo many daungers vpon an army ſo mightie and appoynted, and ſo farre aboue thenemies, in force, in fortune, and in diſcipline: But the army marched and incamped before *S. Conſtance*, a borowe apperteining to the countrey of the viccareage, the walles whereof they began with no leſſe ſpeede then violence to batter and execute with their artilleries: And albeit the inhabitantes ſued for parley, and offred to ſubmitte and render it, yet knowing the facilitie to force it, there was giuen to the *Gaſcons* onely a full libertie to aſſaulte it, retyring from the walles all the other ſortes of ſouldiors: ſuche was the deſire to reappeaſe the angry minds of the *Gaſcons* by the ſpoyle and ſacke of that place, whereof the whole profite and riches was transferred to them. From thence the campe marched two myles further, and went the ſame day to *Mandolffe* the beſte and ſtrongeſt borowe of all the Viccareage, and hauing his ſituation vpon a hill and a high place thereof, is alſo inuironed with walls and trenches conuenient, to the which the ſituation of the place ſerueth as a rampier, hauing withall two hundred ſouldiors in garriſon: That night they planted thartilleries on that ſide towards the South, but eyther by negligence or by indiſcreſſion of *Ranſo de Cere*, to whome was appoynted the managing of that charge, they were planted in a place diſcouered and not defended by rampiers: by whiche falte, before the ſunne had diſperſed his brightnes one howre vpon the earth, there were ſlayne by the artilleries from within, eight Cannoniers with many pyoners, and *Antho. Santcroſſe* the capteine of their artillerie, wounded: by reaſon of whiche accident, *Lavvrence* riſing into ſome perturbation of minde, went in perſon to cauſe thartilleries to be rampiered and defended, notwithſtanding all his capteines aduiſed him to forbeare in his owne perſon thexecution of a daunger which he might well recommende to the charge of an other: After he had ſet in hande that labor and well refurniſhed the worke with all things neceſſarie, about the midde of the day he retyred behinde the place to reapoſe him ſelfe vnder the ſhade of certaine trees, thinking the height of the hill to be a ſufficient couer to him agaynſt all daungers: But as he labored in climbing, and the height of the hill diminiſhing by his labor, he diſcouered a ſidelong, the rocke ſituate on that ſide towards the weſt, which he had no ſooner diſcloſed then he had in his eye (ſuche is the ſwiftneſſe of deſtinie) a fyre giuen to a harquebuze layde with full leauill agaynſt him: And as he threwe himſelfe flat on his face to deceyue the blowe, the ſwiftneſſe of the bollet was farre greater then his ſpeede in falling, in ſomuch as before he could fall to the earth, the bollet that otherwiſe had ronne through his body, tooke the toppe of his head, and raſing vppon the boane, paſſed along the brayne panne to-

Lawrence de Medicis hurt.

wardes the necke: This wounding of the generall brought no ſmall greefe to the capteines and vniuerſall multitude of the armie, in whom was kindled a greater deſire of reuenge, by howmuche leſſe worthy were the people by whom they had receiued the deſpite, and that euen in the perſon of the greateſt amongeſt them: And therefore redoubling their reſolution by the remembraunce of the iniurie, and finding that notwithſtanding the battring they had made of the wall, the earth was yet too high behinde, they began to caſte a myne, wherewith entring vnder a towre that leaned to the wall which they had battred, they put fyre to it the v. daye: The powder and other matter vſed in the myne beeing embraſed of the fyre, threwe out ſuche a violence and ſtrength that it brought the tower down to the earth, together with a quarter of the wall ioyning to it: which furious execution of the fyre was followed of the campe with an aſſalte, but with litle order and (as it were) at aduenture, the ſame yeelding no other frute then ſuche as is wont to growe vpon enterpriſes yll diſpoſed and directed: Neuertheleſſe (fortune in ſome actions doth more then eyther power or pollicie) the night drawing on, the ſouldiors that had no exſpectation of ſuccours, for that *Franciſcomaria* had not ſtirred from *Montebaroccio*, eyther not to loaſe the aduauntage of the ſituation of the place, or for other occaſion, yeelded vp the place vnder condition of goodes and lyfe ſaued, leauing in vyle maner the people of the towne as a wretched praye to thenemies: But by reaſon of the hurt of *Lavvrence*, which brought his life in daunger, the Pope ſent as Legate to tharmie, the Cardinall *S. Maria in Portico*, who, yll fortune being already ioyned to yll gouernment, began with very yll ſignes to exerciſe his Legation: for, the daye after he came to tharmie, there happned a quarrell by chaunce betweene an *Italian* and a Launceknight, when ſuche as were neareſt ronning to the fray, and euery one calling vppon the name of his nation, the tumult ſo increaſed through the whole campe, that neyther exſpecting any information of the cauſe, nor ſeeking the due redreſſe and remedie of the ſame, all the bandes of footemen ranne in great mutinie to the lodgings of their fellowes and companions, to arme themſelues: The violence of their diſorder caryed them ſo farre, that whoſoeuer they encountred in the waye of an other language or nation, payed with their lyues the price of their fury: And as ſuche generall calamities drawe with them many diuerſities of diſorders, ſo in this vniuerſall confuſion, whyleſt the bandes of *Italian* footemen were gone in good order towards the place where the tumult began, their lodgings and houſes were ſacked by the *Gaſcons*: No nation, no regiment, no companie was free from this outrage: and in whom was greateſt care to cure the euyll, in him was moſte poſſibilitie of perill and daunger: The innocent found leaſt ſafetie in abſteining moſt from violence: there was no diſpenſation of harmes where was no reſpect to perſon, and leſſe exſpectation of ſafetie where the ſworde bare moſte ſwaye, and that guyded by handes fierie and bloudy: The principall capteines after they had bene in councell to remedie the diſorder, ranne to the fray, to ſee if by their preſence they might do the thing which they were not hable to do by counſell: But finding the daunger of the tumult to be greater then their authoritie, euery one caſt from him the thoughtes and care of the common buſines, and began to looke to their particular ſafetie: they ranne to their lodginges and houſes, and putting in order their men at armes, they retyred for their ſafetie a myle from the campe, drawing with them their particular companies to defende them from the furie of the popular ſouldiors: onely the Legate *Bibieno*, vſing the conſtancie and readines that apperteined to his office and honor, would neuer abandon the common cauſe, but putting

ting him selfe oftentimes with the daũger of his life, amid the presse of their bloody swords and weapons, he did so much with the diligence & labor of other Capteines of the footebandes, that the tumult was at last reappeased, during the furie whereof were slaine in many partes of the campe, more then an hundred launceknights, xx. *Italians*, and some Spanyards: This accident was the cause that they determined for the present to enter into no enterprise, but for a time to keepe the armie separat: for, it was feared, that if the army should keepe together, the souldiers not yet reconciled for the harmes receiued, would recontinue the mutiny for euery light occasion, knowing that by so much greater is the despite of an iniury, and the desire of ruenge more violent, by how much are remeining in presence & memorie the first authors and doers: Therefore the companies of men at armes of the Church, & of the *Florentins* were bestowed in the Citie of *Pesera* together with the regimentes of *Italian* footemen: for, touching the frenche launces, they had not stirred from *Rimini* by reason the difficulties that were betweene the Pope and their king were not yet resolued: The footebands of the *Gascons* were incamped vpon the plaine within halfe a myle of that Citie, and the other companies of footemen were dispersed vppon the mount *Imperialo* aboue *Pesero* and on that side towardes *Rimini*: And suche was the seuerall distribucion of them, that the Spanyards were placed vpon the toppe of the mounteine, the launceknights somewhat lower according to the descending of the mounteine, and the *Corsikans* at the foote of the hill: vpon this mounteine called *Imperialo* standeth a pallace which the auncestors of the familie of *Maletestey* had builded: They continued in this order three and twentie dayes executing no other thing in that respit and intermission of time then certeyne skirmishes of the light horsemen: for, *Franciscomaria*, stirred not what with desire to hold that he had gotten, and that he sawe no hope to breake so great an armie in the plaine fielde, or to take any place so neare thennemies: Neuertheless at last which was the foure and twentie day, departing by night from *Montebaroccio*, he came by the peepe of the morning to the toppe of the mounteine, where the Spanyards lay incamped, with whome either generally or seuerally it was beleued he had some secret intelligence according to the relacion and testimony of the succesſe that followed: for, assoone as he was come thither, his Spanyards beganne to crie vpon the others of their nation, that if they would make care of their owne sauety, they should follow them, a voyce which most parte of them did accept euerie one putting vppon his heade a bough of greene leaues according to the example of the others: Onely their Capteines retyred to *Pesera*, and drew with them about eight hundred footemen: When the Spanyards were thus ioyned into one strength, they went all together to the tents of the launceknights, who kept no great gard on that side for the surety of the neighbourhoode of the Spanyards, and taking the aduantage of their securitie, they fell to execucion and slaughter, in which medley they killed and hurt more then six hundred of them, the residue fled to the campe of the *Corsikaies*, and with them retyred in one strength, towards *Pesera*: The *Gascons* might well discerne the bickering and putting them selues in order, they kept their ground not once mouing from the place where they stoode: *Franciscomaria*, after this slaughter of the launceknightes, and the most parte of the spanishe footebandes allured to his side, went to incampe betwene *Vrbin* and *Pesera* not without great hope to haue to come ioyne with him those *Gascons* and launceknights, who, leauied at that time in the campe of *Monsr de Lavvtretch*, had alwayes marched together, and were for the most parte lodged together, and neuer did any action separate or a parte: There was amongest the

Gascons a Capteine called *Ambro* who bare enuie to the vertue & glory of Capteine *Carbono:* This *Ambro* was young and well disposed, of noble place and discending, kinsman to *Monsr de Lavvtrech*, and with the souldiours bare a greater credit and authoritie then did *Carbono*: he had secretly practised many dayes to passe with his regiment of footemen to the part of *Franciscomaria*, wherein he tooke this occasion, that not satisfied with thimmoderat augmentacion of their payes, they redemaunded insolently greater condicions: Which when they were denied by the Popes ministers, there interposed betwene them *Carbo* and the capteines of the french horsemen, who for the same cause were come from *Rymyny* to *Pesero*, to reduce them to accorde: but fiue or sixe dayes after the discomfiture of the *Spanyards* and *Germanes* in the imperiall hill, *Franciscomaria*, with his whole armie disclosed him selfe neare vnto them: of whome one parte together with *Ambro* beeing saine into araye of battell with sixe peeces of ordinaunce called Sagors, the *Germanes* followed & ioyned them selues also vnto him: *Carbo* in vaine endeuoring to stay them with prayers and most vehement perswasions: with *Carbo* abode seuen Capteines with 1300. footemen, all the reste together with the *Germanes* forsooke him: And as in warlike matters alwaies one mischiefe breeds another: so the *Italian* footemen, perceiuing what need there was of them, the next morning stirred vp a tumult: And to reappease it, when neither greater shamefastnes nor lesser gredines was in the Capteines then in the souldiours, it was necessary in their payes to promisse them more immoderat condicions: And truely it was a matter to be marueled at, that in the armie of *Franciscomaria* in the which no pay was distributed to the souldiours, was so great agreement, discipline, and concord, which no doubt proceeded not (as is sayd of the *Carthaginian Haniball* to his high commendation) so much of the vertue or authoritie of the gouernour, as of the exceeding affection and constancie of the soldiours: But of the contrary, in the armie of the Church, where in times due were not wanting excessiue payes, was seene an vniuersall confusion, disorder, and desire of the souldiours to passe to thennemies campe. The same prouing that oftentimes, concord and discipline in armies are not so easily conserued by money as by other causes: The Legat and others who were present at the councell beeing made astonished with so many accidents, after they had long time debated by what meanes & remedies they might relieue the afflicted estate of thinges: neither were they more discreete or abundant in councells, to forsee that those disorders fell not, then apt to applye due remedies to the mischieues hapned: And therefore beeing moued also with their owne couetous desires & interest perticular, they concluded to perswade the Pope to restore *Bolognia* to the *Bentiuolians* before they beeing imboldened by the late declinacion of thinges, or pushed on by the incitacion of others, they should make some commotion: A matter which howe vnable they were to resist was well expressed in the difficulties they had to sustaine the warres in one onely place: And therefore to giue the greater authoritie to this councell, and for the more iustificacion of all partes in all euents: They sent the same to the Pope by *Robert Buschet* A gentleman of *Modona* set downe in writing, subscribed with the hands of all the capteines and of the Legat and the Archbishop of *Vrsin*, of whom the one was linked to the *Bentiuolians* in auncient amitie, the other ioyned to them in parentage: which aduise the Pope did not onely despise, but also complayned in most bitter tearmes that his owne ministers, and such as had bene enriched by him with many benefits, with daily exspectacion to receiue more, had sette before him with so litle faith and loue a councell or election no lesse pernicious then the very euills which the ennemies

mies did: But chiefly he cryed out agaynſt the Archbiſhop of *Vrſin*, whom happly he iudged to be the chiefe author and inducer of the others to this counſell: vnder thoccaſion of which diſpleaſure it was beleeued that he depriued him of the purple hatte or Cardinalls dignitie which was promiſed in the beginning with an vniuerſall conſent to be transferred to him in the firſt promotion that happned: But *Franciſcomaria* ſeeing his ſtrength ſo increaſed and his enemies forces abated, & making his aduauntage alſo vpon the neceſſitie, rayſed his thoughtes to greater attemptes: for both the footmen which came with him, had bene three whole monethes without pay, and he had no likelyhoode of meane or habilitie to wage thoſe that lately reuolted to him: and alſo the duchie being ſore pilled and harried, and almoſt vtterly ſpoyled, the ſouldiors had not onely no meane of praye and bootie, but alſo with great difficultie could they finde out ſufficient vittells to ſuſteine them: But in chooſing this newe expedition, he was to followe other mens wils, ſo that for the better eſtabliſhing of his eſtate before he would attempt any other matter, he ſought to aſſault afreſhe *Fano* or ſome other peece on the ſea coaſt: Neuertheleſſe by thinclination of the ſouldiors greedie of praye and bootie, he determined to turne into *Tuskane*, where becauſe the region was plentifull of all things, without ſuſpect, and vnredy for defence, he hoped to rayſe ſome great ſpoyle: Furthermore he was caried with a hope to make ſome mutation in *Perugia* and *Siena*, by the meane of *Charles Baglion* and the Burgoes of *Petruccio*, by whiche deuiſe his owne things had bene ſufficiently augmented, together with the moleſtations and perills of the Pope and his nephew: therefore the next day, after he had aſſembled the *Gaſcons*, he remoued his campe towards *Peruſia*: but when he was come to the playne of *Agobina*, he determined to make manyfeſt his ſuſpicion, yea rather the certayne apprehenſion which he had of the treaſon of the Colonell *Maldonato* and others ioyned with him in the ſame cauſe: The matter was bred and brought foorth in this ſort: When the armie marched by *Romagnia*, *Snares* one of the capteines of the Spaniardes, vnder diſſimulation of ſickneſſe dragged behind, and of purpoſe ſuffred himſelf to be taken of his enemies, & being in the ſtate of a priſoner he was cõueyed to *Ceſena* to *Lavvrence*, to whom he declared in the name of *Maldonato* and the two other capteines of the Spaniards, that not for any other cauſe were they conioyned with *Franciſcomaria*, then to haue occaſion to do ſome notable ſeruice to the Pope and to him, ſeeing it was not in their power to let the accident of this commotion, promiſing in all their names, that they would not omit the execution aſſone as thoportunitie was offred: which deuice whereas it was vtterly kept vnknowne from *Franciſcomaria*, yet he quickly tooke ſuſpicion by certayne wordes vnaduiſedly ſpoken of *Ranſo de Cere* to a dromme of the Spaniards: of whom taking occaſion to ieſt with him, he demaunded when thoſe Spaniards would giue vp their Duke priſoner: which voyce making deepe impreſſion in the heart of *Franciſcomaria*, gaue him cauſe diligently to obſerue whether there were any infidelitie or treaſon in the armie, whiche at the length by letters intercepted with the cariages of *Lavvrence*, he did not onely diſcerne, but perceiued that *Maldonato* was the author of ſome dangerous ſtratageame: A matter which hauing diſſimuled vntill then, he thought not good any longer to conceale it: and therefore calling together all the Spaniſhe footemen, ſetting him ſelfe in the middeſt of them, he began to giue them great thankes, with wordes of moſt vehement inſinuation for thoſe things which for his ſake they had vndertaken with ſo great inclination of minde, confeſſing openly that neither in the memorie of theſe latter tymes, nor in hiſtories of auncient writers, had bene any Prince or

Capteine owing ſo great obligations to men of warre, as he acknowledged to owe to them: for that neyther hauing money, nor any meane to rewarde their great merites and ſeruices, and him ſelfe a Prince but of ſmall eſtate though he ſhoulde recouer all his patrimonies, not beeing of their nation and language, nor hauing ſerued with them in the fielde, yet they had with ſo ready a diſpoſition followed him agaynſt ſo mightie a Prince and of ſo great authoritie, and that not for hope or greedynes of ſpoyle, ſince they knewe they were ledde into a barreine and poore region: Which vallour and good ſeruices, as he had no meane to recompence to them but with goodwill and gratification of minde, ſo yet this was his comfort, that not onely amongeſt the regions of *Italie*, but alſo through all the prouinces of *Europe* they had purchaſed perpetuall fame and reputation vnder him: they being but very few in nũber, without money, without artillery, without any warlike furniture, had ſo often conſtrayned to turne their backes an army moſt riche in treaſor and all other prouiſions, with whom were ioyned ſo many warlike people, agaynſt the forces of the Pope and the power of the *Florentins*, with whom the name and authority of the kings of *Fraunce* and *Spayne* was concurrant: and that in regarde to ſupport and preſerue the fayth and honor of men of ſeruice, they had neglected the ſolemne commaundement of their proper princes: Of which things like as he did take exceding pleaſure becauſe of the name and glory of them, ſo on the other ſide, all matters which might obſcure ſo glorious a renowme, would bring vpon him a burden of intollerable greefes: That as he endured with manifeſt dolor the opening of matters which ſhould draw to hurt them or any of that company, to euery particular of whom he had vowed whileſt he drew breath for euer to be dedicated in al affection, in all ſeruice, in all fidelitie, and all office whatſoeuer: So neuertheleſſe, leaſt this euill begonne ſhoulde be increaſed with his ſilence, and leaſt the malice of ſome ſhoulde blemiſhe ſo great a glory gotten by this armie: and beeing alſo conuenient that he ſhould holde a more deare accompt of the fame and honor of them all, then particularly reſpecte the amitie of a fewe: he coulde not conceale longer from them, that there were foure in that armie who went about to betray the glorye and the ſafetie of them all: Touching his owne priuate caſe, neither would he make mention, nor inferre complayntes, ſince hauing bene trauelled in ſo many accidents, and paſſed the rage of fortune for innocencie, he was nowe reduced to this temperaunce and ſtaye of minde, that it was all one with him the deſyre of death or lyfe: But for their parts, neither thobligacions and offices which he ought to them, nor the ſettled affection whiche with ſo greate merite he bare to them, would ſuffer him to keepe longer from them the information and knowledge of their preſent daunger, which was that Colonell *Maldonato*, in whom for his place ought to haue bene a greater care of the ſafetie and glorie of them all, and Capteine *Snares* the firſt contriuer of this fraude by yeelding vnder a counterfeit ſickneſſe to be taken of his enemies in *Romagnia*, together with two other Capteines, had conſpired and promiſed vnder wicked counſels, to betray the lyues of them all to *Lavvrence de Medicis*: And as the effect of thoſe counſels was diſappoynted by his vigilancie, for whiche cauſe he would no ſooner reueale ſo great a treaſon: ſo nowe not thinking to holde any longer eyther the perſon of him ſelfe, or the lyues of others vnder ſo great a daunger, he hath opened vnto them, the thing whiche longe before was knowne to him ſelfe: And the better to induce their mindes, he ſayde that the diſcourſe of thys treaſon was ſette downe in credible fourme in certayne letters autentike founde amongeſt the writings of *Lavvrence*

and

and intercepted by him,beſides many apparant ſignes & coniectures: All which he thought good to lay afore thē,to thend they might be the iudges of ſuch a hainous conſpiracy,and ſo hearing aſwell the crime detected as the iuſtifications of thoffendors,they might procede to iuſtice according to that counſell which ſhould ſtande beſt with equity & order,and eſtabliſh a due ſafety to the whole army: When he had made an end of ſpeaking,he commaunded to be read and interpreted the euidences of the crime obiected agaynſt thē,which being heard with very great attentiō, *Maldonato,Snares,* & the other two capteins not being ſuffred to anſwere,were condēned by the common iudgement of the army as of a matter moſt manifeſtly proued, and forthwith being committed to paſſe the pikes, they were executed after the maner of ſouldiors. Thus the army being purged (as they ſayde) by this puniſhment of all treaſon,they folowed on their iourney towards *Perugia:* into the which was already entred *Iohn Paule Baillon,* being departed from *Peſero* aſſone as he had knowledge of their intention: and there arming his friends with many companies of peiſants leauied in the contrey and confines there,he prepared himſelfe to defende it: to whom the Legate had ſent for ſuccor,*Camillo Vrſin* his ſonne in law,leader of the *Florentins* together with the men at armes of his conduct, and two hundred and fiftie light horſmen: with the which forces it was thought he might ſuſteine the inuaſion of his enemies, the rather for that many deuiſes were made to hinder their proceedings: for *Vitello* with his regiment of men at armes,and *Syſe* with the French launces,who ſtoode now no more ſuſpected,for that betwene the Pope and the French king:was eſtabliſhed a confederation, were marched to the citie of *Caſtell,* & *Lavvrence de Medicis,* who being newly recured of his wound, and alſo lately come from *Ancona* to *Peſero,* was gone in poſt to *Florence* to prepare there things neceſſarie to the conſeruation of that gouernment & the cities adioyning: There he tooke order that the Legate with the reſt of the army, ſhould marche towards the dukedome of *Vrbin,* to thend to counſell *Franciſcomaria* to abandon thexpedicion of *Tuskane,* for the gard wherof was left no other regiments of ſouldiors, then a defence of thinhabitants: *Franſ.* not without the hope of ſome intelligence or conſpiracie,did remoue his army to *Perugia,* where *Ioh.Paule* riding about the city to take view,he was aſſailed in the middeſt of the ſtreete by a peiſant or ſouldior of the countrey, and fayling at that time to ſtrike him to the death, he was ſodenly ſet vpon and ſlayne by the concourſe of thoſe that accompanied *Iohn Paule*: who taking thoportunitie of this tumult,cauſed certayne others whom he ſuſpected to be murdred,and ſo being deliuered from ſnares of conſpiracie,he ſeemed alſo to be deliuered from all perill: for that thenemies who had now many dayes lyen about *Perugia,* had no meane to take it by force: And yet *Iohn Paule* at a tyme when the Pope leaſt exſpected ſuche a matter, alleaging in his iuſtification, that the people of *Perugia* (whoſe furie he had no power to reſiſte) would no longer endure the ſpoyling of their countrey, couenanted with tharmie to paye ten thouſande duckets, to graunt vittels for foure dayes, not to take armes agaynſt *Franciſcomaria* in that warre, and they to iſſue preſently out of the territories of *Perugia:* A matter very greeuous and of no little diſcontentment to the Pope, for that it confyrmed the opinion conceyued of him from the beginning of this warre, in going ſo ſlowely to the armie with the ſuccours he promiſed, and holding for ſuſpected the power of *Lavvrence*, he wyſhed that *Franciſcomaria* ſhould conſerue the Dukedome of *Vrbin:* This alſo aggrauated the greeſe and diſcontentment of *Baillon*, that whileſt he was in the campe with *Lavvrence,Ranſo* and *Vitello* bare greater authoritie then he: the memory of which things

was happly the chiefeſt cauſe of his owne calamities in times following: *Franciſcomaria* hauing made condicionall agreement with the *Perugians*, marched towardes the citie of *Caſtello*, where when he had made certeine incurſions with intention to enter the towne of *Sanſepulcro* in the ſtate of *Florence*, the daunger of his owne ſtate conſtrained him to take other counſel, for that the legate *Bibiena* hauing eftſones leuied certaine bands of footmē *Italians*, folowing the deliberation made at *Peſero*, was remoued with the reſt of his army to *Foſſombrono*, which city being battred with the artillery, the third day was taken and ſacked: This done he led his army to *Pergola*, where the day folowing the erle of *Potenza* with 400. Spaniſh launces ſent from the king of *Spayne* to the ayde of the Pope, did ioyne with the army: within *Pergola* there was not one ſouldior, but only a Spaniſh capteine & many inhabitants of the regiō, who being ſore aſtoniſhed begā to cōmon of yelding, but while they were in parley, the capteine who ſtood vpon the wal being wounded in the face, the ſouldiors made aſſalt, without any order or cōmaundement of their capteins, & wonne the town by force: From *Pergola* they conſulted to bring their army to *Cagli*, but being aduertiſed that *Franciſcomaria* hauing heard of the loſſe of *Foſſombrono*, was returned into that region with moſt great celerity, they determined to retyre themſelues: wherfore the ſame night in the which the Legate receiued that intelligence, they departed from *Pergola*, & hauing traueled to *Montlion*, when knowing that there they might lodge, they began to lay out the ground according to incāping, being aduertiſed by other meſſengers that the celerity of the enemy was far aboue perſwaſion, and that he ſent before him 1000. horſmen, euery one carying a footeman in croope, to thende that they being conſtrained to trauel with more leiſure, time might be giuen to the army to ouertake them: they marched vij. miles to a place called *Boſco*, from whēce departing the morning folowing before day, they came in the euening to *Fano*, hauing almoſt vpon their backes the horſmen of thenemies which came with ſo great celeritie, that if they had onely departed foure houres later, they had hardly eſcaped the neceſſitie of the fight.

At this time the affayres of the Pope in other actions, proceeded with no better felicitie, then in the accidentes and euentes of the warre: for that *Alphonſo* the Cardinall of *Sienna* diſdayning much the life of the Pope, lay in wayte to betray him, the rather for that the Pope hauing forgotten the trauels and daungers which *Pandolpho Petruccio* his father had endured to reſtore him and his brethren to the gouernment of *Florence*, together with the operations whiche he with other young Cardinalls had wrought in the conſiſtory to aduaunce him to the Popedome: In recompence of ſo many benefits he had cauſed to be thruſt out of *Sienna*, *Borgheſe* his brother and him: By which occaſion, beeing alſo ſpoyled of his fathers eſtates, he coulde not maynteine the dignitie of the purple hatte with that glorie which he was accuſtomed: and therefore being caried with hatred, and reduced almoſt to diſpayre, he began to deuiſe by a young counſell to murder him with violent handes, whom his hatefull hart coulde not brooke to loue: but reſtrayned with the perill and difficulty of the fact, more then with the example and common infamie that throughout all Chriſtendome would ronne, if any Cardinall ſhould with his owne hands take away the life of a Pope, he chaunged aduiſe, and turned all his thoughts to take him away with poyſon, by the miniſtration of *Baptiſta Vercelly* a famous Surgion, and very familiar with him: of which counſayle (if ſo wicked a furie be worthy ſuch name) this ſhould haue bene the order, that ſith that he could not finde any other meane, the Surgion ſhould by ſetting foorth with ſinguler prayſes his vertues, make ſuche in-

ſinuation

ſinuation into him, that the Pope hauing a Fiſtula vnder his fundiment, for the which he vſed dayly the trauell of men of his profeſſion, would by ſuche impreſſion call him to his cure: But the impatience of *Alfonſo* reduced the action of this deuiſe to a deſperate hope, ſince as thexecution drewe with it ſome long tract of tyme depending vpon many obſeruations and circumſtances, ſo *Alfonſo* who could not conteine himſelfe from cõplayning agaynſt thingratitude of the Pope, being euery day more hatefull, and ſuſpecting leaſt he would conſpire ſome thing againſt his eſtate, was at laſt as it were conſtrained for his own ſafety to depart from *Rome*, leauing neuertheles behind him *Antho. Nino* his ſecretorie: Betwene them there was a continuall paſſage of letters, whereof certaine being intercepted, the Pope diſcerned manifeſt treaſon to be practiſed agaynſt his life: therefore vnder coolor to make ſome prouiſion for thaffaires of *Alfonſo*, he called him to *Rome*, ſending him ſafeconduit, ioyned to his worde & fayth giuen beſides to the Spaniſh embaſſador, not to touch him preiudicially: Vnder which aſſurance, notwithſtanding the priuity & teſtimony of his conſcience to ſo apparant treaſon, he went vnwiſely to the Pope, who immediatly cauſed him to be apprehended together with *Badinello* Cardinall *Savvily* a *Genovvay*, a great furtherer of *Leo* to the Popedome, but ſo conioyned with *Alfonſo* in ſtraite friendſhip & familiaritie, that he was thought partaker with him in all things: Their firſt apprehending was in the Popes chamber and in his preſence, and from thence were conueyed as priſoners to the Caſtell *S. Angelo*: There was alſo preſent direction giuen that *Baptiſta Vercelli*, who then was following his arte at *Florence*, ſhould be made priſoner and ſent to *Rome*. The Spaniſhe Embaſſador labored with vehement complaints and proteſtations, to haue *Alfonſo* ſet at liberty, alleaging that the Popes fayth giuen to him as the kings Embaſſador, ought to be obſerued with the ſame fidelitie as if it had bene giuen to the king him ſelfe: But the Pope aunſwered that there was no ſafeconduit howe ample ſoeuer it was with clauſes ſtrong and ſpeciall, that caryed anye ſewertie in crymes conſpired agaynſt the lyfe of the Pope, without peculiar and ſpeciall nomination: And that the ſame exception and prerogatiue followed alſo the cryme of poyſoning, an offence ſo greatly abhorred by the diuine and humaine lawes, and ſo hatefull to the ſences of all men, that they haue reſerued no ſafeconduit or aſſurance for thoffendors that waye, but vnder particular and ſpeciall mencion. The Pope preferred to examine them, *Mario Peruſco* the procurer of the fiske, who following the matter vpon them with ſeueritie and rigour, they confeſſed the treaſon conſpired with the priuitie of *Bandinello*: The confeſſion was verified by the Surgion, and confirmed by *Po. Bagnacanallo*, who vnder *Pandolfo* his father, and *Borgheſe* his brother, had long bene capteine of the garriſon of *Sienna*, and for this offence were nowe publikely quartered: After this confeſſion, in the next ſitting of the conſiſtorie, was apprehended and caryed to the Caſtell, *Raphael Riario* Cardinall *Saint George* chiefe chamberleine to the ſea Apoſtolike, who for his wealth and riches, for the magnificencie of his Court, and for his long time and continuaunce in that dignitie, was become bothe in truthe and name, the principall Cardinall of all the Colleage: he confeſſed that albeit neyther the treaſon nor the counſayle thereof had beene imparted to him, by the whiche he iuſtified his innocencie, yet he had heard oftentymes the Cardinall of *Sienna* bothe lament and vſe threates to the Pope vnder ſuche wordes and ſpeeches, as he coulde not but comprehende that he bare in him a mynde to doo ſome violence agaynſt hys perſonne when occaſion offered: The Pope after thys contynued hys complayntes in an other Conſiſtorie, wherein

the Cardinalls not accuſtomed to be violated, fell into no ſmall aſtoniſhment and greefe of minde, that with ſuche crueltie and iniquitie, the Popes life ſhould be betrayed by thoſe, who for their place and dignitie which made them principall members of the ſea Apoſtolike, ſtoode more then all others iuſtly bounde to defende it: He complayned with great compaſſion agaynſt thaccident and thunthankfulneſſe thereof, to returne to him ſuche a recompence for his infinite benefites and liberalities beſtowed vpon all ſortes, yea not without blame and imputation of ſome: But the thing that made him burſt out into more vehemencie of paſſion, was that other Cardinals were intangled with conſpiracie, who neuertheles, if afore the conſiſtorie were diſſolued, they would frankly confeſſe their offence, they ſhould finde him prepared to clemencie & to giue pardon, but if they deferred tyll the Conſiſtorie were broken vp, he would turne his clemencie into ſeueritie of iuſtice, and call into proſcription aſwell the acceſſories as chiefe offendors: Which wordes working bothe pietie and ſubmiſſion in the mindes of *Adriano* Cardinall *Cornetto*, and *Fran. Soderini* Cardinall of *Volterra*, they humbled themſelues vpon their knees affore the feete of the Pope, confeſſing that the Cardinall of *Sienna* had vſed the ſame ſpeeches to them, which the Cardinal *Saint George* had expreſſed. Aſſone as theſe examinations and the euidences incident, were publiſhed in the conſiſtorie, *Alfonſo* and *Bandinello* by ſentence of the generall Conſiſtorie, were degraded of the dignitie of the purple hatte and holy orders, and deliuered ouer to the ſecular Court and Iudges of criminall offences: The night following *Alfonſo* was ſecretly ſtrangled in priſon, but the ſentence of *Bandinello* by the Popes grace, was chaunged into perpetuall impriſonment, from the which neuertheleſſe he was not long afterwards deliuered vnder a raunſome of money, and eftſones reſtored to the dignitie of Cardinall, notwithſtanding he had iuſter cauſe of indignation agaynſt him for the many benefites and graces he had beſtowed vpon him: And yet he was become eſtraunged from him for no other cauſe then for the amitie he had with *Alfonſo*, adding withall a diſdayne that the Cardinall *Meditis* was preferred affore him in the ſuites of certayne benefices: And there were not wanting malicious interpretors, who iudged that affore he was deliuered out of priſon there was giuen to him by the Popes commaundement, a pocion confected with that kinde of poyſon whiche killeth not ſodenly, but worketh by ſuttle operations vntill by times it hath waſted the life of him that receiueth it. And touching the Cardinall *Saint George*, albeit the lawes ordeined by Princes for the ſecuritie of their ſtates, commaunde that in the cryme of high treaſon aſwel the acceſſarie as the principall be paſt vnder extreme puniſhment: yet, what by the ſtate of his fal being in a cõdition inferior to the others, & what for the reſpect of his age and authoritie which tyme had made reuerent in him, and laſtely, what for the lawe of friendſhip which had indifferently ronne betwene them affore his aſcending to the Popedome, he proceeded with him with more clemencie and fauor: In ſo muche as like as for thauthoritie and reputation of iuſtice, he was by ſentence depriued of the Cardinalls dignitie, ſo he was immediatly by grace bought with a great ſumme of money, reſtored to his former condition in all things, ſauing in the authoritie and priuileage of his voyce actiue and paſſiue, which grace neuertheleſſe within the reuolution of a yeare was fully reſtored to him agayne. There was no other vexation impoſed vpon *Adrian* and *Volterra*, ſauing a ſecret exaction of great ſummes of money: But ſeeing there was no ſurety to eyther of them to abyde in *Rome* with conuenient dignity, *Volterra* with the Popes licence went to *Fondy*, where vnder the wings of *Proſper Colonno* he remayned tyll the Popes death: And *Adrian*

departed

departed secretly out of *Rome*, but what destenie fell vpon him, it is hard to reapport, seeing there are none that euer coulde giue any informacion of him since his going away: The bitternes of this accident drewe the Pope to consider for the creacion of newe Cardinalls, knowing that the whole presence of the colledge, astonished by this punishment, and gelous of other occasions, were of mindes muche estraunged from him: In which action he proceded so immoderatly that in one morning in the consistorie, the colledge consenting more for feare then of will, he pronounced one and thirtie Cardinalls, and in that abundance & plentie of numbers, as he had good meane to satisfie many ends, and to make his election of euery quality of men, so he preferred two sonnes of his sister, with some others, who, sauing for the seruices they had done him, and had bene acceptable to the Cardinall *Medicis* by many offices, were in other reasons neither capable nor worthie so high dignities: In the calling of some, he obserued the humors of great Princes, creating them at their instance: some he raised by simonie and corruption of money, to relieue his treasor being much consumed: some he called were verie famous by thopinion and credit of their learning, amongest whome were three Generalls (that appellacion is of the highest degree) of the order of *S. Augustin*, *S. Dominik*, & *S. Frauncis*: And in this creation he left this most rare tradicion, that to one function, in one promocion, and at one time, he preferred two of the familie of *Triuulco*, taking his inducement for the one, to recompence his seruice for that he had bene his chamberlaine, & also vpon a desire to satisfie *Iohn Iacques*, and touching the other, he was caried with the fame of his learning accompanied with some quantitie of money: But that which bred matter of greatest admiracion, was the election of *Francisco Vrsin*, and *Pompey Colonno* with other fiue *Romains* of the principall houses, such as were followers of all factions with councells altogether contrary to the resolucion of his predecessor: Neuertheless it was reputed an action not the least discreete and yet it drewe no great happines in the end to his frendes and kindred: for whereas, the greatnes of the Barons of *Rome* being alwaies the suppression and vexacion of the Popes, and where in default of the auncient Cardinalls of those families, whome *Alexander* the sixt had bitterly persecuted to make a pray of their goodes, *Iulio* would neuer suffer that dignity to be reinuested in any of them: *Leo*, with great immoderacion did the contrarie, not that it could be sayd he was drawne with the merit of the men, for that as *Francisco* was taken from the profession of armes, and created Cardinall, so for *Pompey* the memorie of his doings past, ought to be obiected against his preferrement, for that though he was a Bishop, yet vsing thoccasion of Pope *Iulioes* sickenesse, he had labored to seduce to tumult, the people of *Rome* against the gouernment of Priests, for which cause Pope *Iulio* depriued him iustly of the dignity of Bishop: But in this time *Franciscomaria*, albeit by the retyring or rather manifest flying of thenemies, could haue no meane to fight, his army being made mightie in men and valour by the continuall resort of newe souldiers running after the fame of the Capteyne, & partely caried with hope of praye, entred into *Marca*, where *Fabriano* and many other townes compounded with him, redeeming with ready money, the perill of sacking and robbing their houses: But others standing destitute of that humanitie, he committed to the mercie of the souldiers, amongst the which the citie ranne a hard fortune, since during the parley and negociacion of accord, it was entred and spoyled in the vnbridled insolency of the souldiers: he drew from thence to *Ancona* for the defending of the which, the Legat had sent a crewe of souldiers: he remeyned about it many dayes, to the great hinderaunce of his affaires by the losse of time

which he ſuffered,not in fighting with the defendants of the place, but in temporiſing to compownd with them: At laſt becauſe they would not with the harmes of the warre,ſuffer alſo the loſſe of their harueſt, they made him a raunſome of eyght thowſand duckats,not ſwaruing in other ſort from their accuſtomed fidelitie to the Church: afterwards he inuaded the citie of *Oſim* with very ill ſucceſſe: And at laſt he planted his campe affore the towne of *Coriualdo*, wherein were two hundred footemen forreyners,by whom together with the vallour of the towneſmen,it was ſo valiantly defended,that after he had conſumed xxij daies about it,he leauied his ſeege, his deſpaire being greater then his hope to cary it. This did greatly diminiſh the terror & feare that was had of that armie,the rather for that he had not made conqueſt of any thoſe townes that refuſed to compownd with him: A matter which no way could proceede of the vnskilfulnes of the Capteine to diſpoſe,nor of want of vallour in the ſouldiours to execute: but the true reaſon was,for that they had but very few and thoſe very ſmall field peeces, lacking withall many thinges to put them to ſeruice: Beſides,touching thoſe townes which would not yeeld to him,it was neceſſary they ſhould make demonſtracion of their conſtancy and vallour, for that the Capteines of the Church armie,amongeſt whom Count *Potenza* was chiefe, had ſent trowpes of their men of warre to bridle and make pillage of the contry euen to the walls of *Vrbyn*: And *Siſe* being returned from *Citta de Caſtello* in *Romagnia*,and afterwards entred into *Montfeltro*, and had ſubdued by force *Secchiano* with certeine other ſmall townes, was reduced to remeyne incamped within fiue myles of *Pezero*, with intencion not to miniſter ſuccors to any place, nor once to ſtirre onleſſe neceſſitie moued them to retyre: For,where,in the tymes when they were ſuperior in forces and ſtrength,their affayres had falne out ſo vnhappely, now,being made inferior in numbers by the diminucion of their footemen, they had not the courage to ſuſteine the fame of their enemies approching, and much leſſe to abide any other perill: In which reſolucion made according to the Popes mind, they were confirmed by a hope of the comming of ſix thowſand *Svvizzers*,whom the Pope by the councell of the french king,had ſent to leauy and wage: for,the french king after the confederacion made, deſired the victory of the Pope,and yet at the ſame tyme he reteined the ſame ſuſpicion of him that he did before: he was continued in this ſuſpicion by the relacions of *Galeas Viſcount* and *Mark. Anth.Colonno*, of whom the one being reuoked to his contry from baniſhment, and the other not thinking his ſeruices and merits well recompenſed by *Cæſar*,and both transferred with honorable condicions to the pay of the french king,they had reaported that the Pope had cõſpyred greatly with *Cæſar* and the *Svvyzzers* againſt him: But much more was the french king moued,for that the Pope had contracted ſecretly a newe confederacion with *Cæſar*, with the king of *Spayne*,and thEngliſh, which albeit was lawfull for him to doe, for that it bare only for their defenſe, yet both the matter & maner of it troubled not a litle the thoughts of his mind: he was induced through feare to be deliuered of the warres,leaſt the Pope not finding his aydes and ſuccours ready would not enter into a greater coniunction with other Princes againſt him: And beſides that,he beganne to take greefe & ſuſpicion of the armie of *Vrbyn*, whoſe ſtrength was compownded of footemen ſpaniſh and launceknightes: Therefore beſides that he had aduiſed the Pope to make him ſelfe ſtronge with the footemen of *Svvyzzers*, he offered to ſend him of new,three hundred launces vnder *Thomas de Foix* brother to *Odet*, alleaging that beſides the reputacion and vallour of the man,he would be a conuenient inſtrument to embeaſell from the armie of *Franciſcomaria*, the bandes of *Gaſcoins*, with whom

thoſe brothers and race of *Foix* beeing diſcended of the nobleſt blood in *Gaſcoigne*, had great authoritie: The Pope accepted this offer, but with a minde very ſuſpicious, for that he ſtoode doubtfull as he did before, of the kings will, wherein he ſuffred his ſuſpicion to take encreaſing by the withdrawing of the *Gaſcoins*, fearing leaſt that action had priuily proceeded of the operation of *Lavvtrech*: And he that in thoſe times had made obſeruation of the dooings of Princes, might apparantly diſcerne, that no benefite, no office, no coniunction, was ſufficient to remoue out of their heartes the diſtruſtes and iealouſies which they had one of an other: for, the ſuſpicion was not onely reciprocall betwene the Pope and French king, but alſo the king of *Spayne* hearing of the leauyes of the *Svvizzers*, and the preparation of *Thomas de Foix*, was not without his feare that the Pope and the French ioyned together would not deuiſe to diſpoyle him of the kingdome of *Naples*: Theſe ſuſpicions were thought to profite thaffayres of the Pope, ſince both of them leaſt they ſhould giue him cauſe or matter to eſtraunge himſelfe from them, labored to confirme him and aſſure him with benefites and with aydes.

Nowe *Franciſcomaria* departing from *Corinaldo*, returned vpon the ſtate of *Vrbin* to giue defence and protection to his people for the getting in of their harueſt: and reteyning with an encreaſe of ambition his auncient deſire to get *Peſero* which was garded by the Count *Potenza* and his ſouldiors, he brought his armie to the borders thereof, and obiecting all impedimentes to cut off the reſort of vittels, he put to the ſea certayne ſhippes: But agaynſt that force they of *Rimini* rigged out ſixteene veſſells, ſome barkes, and ſome brigantins, and ſome of other nature agreable to the ſeruice of thoſe times, which being armed and manned, and ſent to accompanie and aſſure other ſhippes loaden with vittells for *Peſero*, they encountred the nauie of *Franciſcomaria*, of whom they ſunke to the bottome the Admirall, and tooke all the reſidue: by which accident diſpayring of the enterpriſe of *Peſero*, he leauied his forces and departed. In this meane while *Monſr de Foix* aduaunced with his three hundred launces, but the *Svvizzers* made ſlowe preparation, for that the Cantons denyed their conſent vnleſſe they were firſt ſatisfied of their olde penſions: from which obſtinacie the king being not hable to remoue them, and in the Pope no habilitie to make them ſatisfied for the intollerable defrayments he had exſpended, his Agentes hauing conſumed in that ſolicitation many dayes, enterteyned and waged without common priuitie, two thouſand particulars of that nation, and foure thouſande other *Germains* and *Griſons*: whiche leauyes beeing diſcended and beſtowed in the confines and ſuburbes of *Rimini*, and they being deuided by the riuer from the reſidue of the Citie, are enuironed and fetched in with walls, *Franciſcomaria* was entred by night by the valtes and arches of that notable bridge of Marble which tyeth the ſuburbes with the Citie, but he could not paſſe ouer, the ryuer being ſwelled by the inundation of the ſea: There grewe a ſtrong feight betweene his ſouldiors and the footebandes beſtowed in the ſuburbes, in whiche was ſlayne *Iaſper* Capteine of the Popes garde, who had conducted them thither: But greater was the loſſe of thenemies by the death of *Balaſtichino* and *Vinea* Spaniſhe capteines, and *Federike Boſſolo* and *Franciſcomaria* beeing wounded in the body with a bullet. After this encounter he turned his army towards *Tuskane*, being caryed more by neceſſitie then by hope, for that in a region ſo muche conſumed, ſo great an army coulde not be noriſhed: He remayned certayne dayes in *Tuskane* amongs the populars of *S. Stephano*, the borowe of *S. Sepulchro*, and *Angbiari* townes of the dominion of *Florence*, where he tooke *Montedoglio*, a place very weake and of little importance: he gaue a

long assault to *Anghiari*, a towne more strong by the fidelity and vallour of the inhabitants, then by fortificacion of warres, or other kindes of munitions: But being not hable for his owne weakenes and wantes, to carie it, he retyred his armie vnder the *Appenin*, betwene *S. Sepulchro* and *Ciuita di Castello*, and causing to be drawne thither frō *Mercatello* foure peeces of artilleries he incamped within lesse then halfe a myle of the towne, vpon that way that leadeth to *Vrbin*: There he seemed to stand irresolute and doutfull what course to take, seeing that as his enemies were passed behind him into *Tuskane*, and many *Italian* bands entred into *S. Sepulchro*, and *Vitello* with a great strength was got into *Citta di Castello*: So within *Anghiari*, within the plaine of *S. Stephano*, & within the other townes conioyning, were entred the bands of footemen of the *Germaines*, the *Grisons*, and the *Svvizzers*: *Lavvrence de Medicis* came also from *Florence* but somwhtat late, to *S. Sepulchro*, where *Franciscomaria* had lyen with his campe many dayes idelly: And for that he beganne to finde in these places many discommodities of vittells, and lesse hope to be hable to bring forth any good effect, and withall for that the souldiours of his armie who were driuen to defende their liues, by praye and pillage, were now of equall terror to his frends and to his enemies, he began not to discerne any good expedicion or ende for his affaires: And the bands of footemen who had so long followed him, seeing no pay ministred, and no more hope remeyning to liue by discression becawse they had no munition of qualitie to force townes, and noting withall that to their calamitie of want of vittells, was ioyned an increase of the force & reputacion of their enemies by the grace of many Princes disclosed in their fauor, they beganne to be weary with the longnes of the warre, the rather also for that they could hope for no good issue or successe, neither by the oportunity of present battell, nor by the benefit of longer time: The Pope for his parte felt likewise the same perplexities and afflictions, for, he was both made naked of wealth and treasor, and no habilitie of him selfe to continue the prouisions of his campe, and also he stoode more doutfull then euer of the fidelity of other Princes, but chiefly of the french king, who with great slownes and negligence, did prouide for the reliefe of money which he was bound vnto by the capitulacion: And for that *Monsr de Foix*, hauing by the Popes direction remeyned in *Romagna* refused to send parte of his launces into *Tuskane*, alleaging that he would not deuide his strength, before the armies were passed the *Appenin*: there arose many arguments and perswasions of accord betwene the Legat and *Franciscomaria* & his Capteines: In which good inclinacion to peace, there interposed betwene them *Monsr de Foix* and *Don Hugo da Moncado*, and for that effect also the *Viceroy* of *Sicilia* was sent by the king Catholike: But vntill that day nothing succeded for the hard condicions which *Franciscomaria* vrged: At length, the bands of spanishe footemen, induced both by the difficulties that appeared, and also by the solicitacion & instance of *Don Hugo*, who ioyning threates to the authoritie of his place, and satisfying them that suche was precisely the will of the king of *Spaine*, they were brought to incline and embrace peace: which, with a very hard consent of *Franciscomaria*, and the negociacion of the Bishoppe of *Auellino* sent thither for the Pope by the Legat, was contracted in this sorte, concurring also the consent of the bands of *Gascoine* footemen by the interposing of *Monsr de Foix*: That the Pope should pay to the spanish footmen fiue and forty thowsand duckats for the full satisfying of foure monethes paye, and to the *Gascoines*, & *Germaines* ioyned with them, three score thowsand duckats: That they should all departe within eight dayes out of the state of the Churche, the iurisdiction of *Florence*, and the territories of *Vrbin*: That *Franciscomaria* leauing

abandoned

abandoned all that he poſſeſſed in that ſtate, might paſſe in ſecuritie to *Mantua:* That he might cary with him his artilleries, his houſhold ſtuffe, and namely that famous librarye which with ſo greate charge and diligence had beene erected of *Federik* his grandfather by the mothers ſide: A Capteine for leading of an armie, of moſte renowme of all the Capteines of his time, but moſt famous amongeſt all other his vertues for his patronage of good learning: That the Pope ſhoulde abſolue him of all cenſures, and giue remiſſion to all the ſubiects of the gouernment of *Vrbyn*, and to all others that had riſen againſt him in this warre: But whileſt they were reducing the ſubſtance of theſe capitulacions into articles and writing, *Franciſcomaria* ſought to haue inſerted in ſpeciall wordes, that the Spanyards were they who promiſed to deliuer vp to the Pope, the ſtate of *Vrbyn:* A matter which they refuſed for the regard of their honor, whereuppon they came to contencion, when *Franciſcomaria* ſuſpecting leaſt they would ſell him to the Pope, went ſuddeinly to *Seſtina* leading with him part of the light horſemen, with the footemen Italyans, Gaſcons, & Germains, and foure peeces of artilleries: Aſſoone as perfection was giuen to the peace, & the Spanyards receiued their payes, they went into the Realme of *Naples*, conteining at their departure a ſtrength of ſix hundred horſemen, and foure thowſand footemen: by their example, the other bands of footemen departed after they had receiued the reward of their diſloyaltie: Onely to th Italians, nothing was neither giuen nor promiſed, And touching *Franciſcomaria* ouer whoſe ſauetie it ſeemed *Monſr de Foix* had a care particular, ſeeing him ſelfe now abandoned, challenged the benefit of the firſte peace, and went thorowe *Romagnia* and the country of *Bolognia* to *Mantua*, being accompanied with *Federik de Boſſolo*, an hundred horſe and ſix hundred footemen: In this ſort did ende the warre of *Vrbyn*, continued eyght monethes with great exſpenſes and ignominie to the Victors: on the Popes part were exſpended eyght hundred thowſand duckats, the greateſt maſſe whereof was drawne out of the common weale of *Florence*, for the authoritie he bare there at that time: And touching the Capteines to whom was referred the adminiſtracion of thoſe warres, there was heaped againſt them, great imputacion of cowardiſe, & of diſordered gouernment, adioyning to it want of ſinceritie or ſownd intencion: for that in the beginning of the warre when the forces of *Lavvrence* were mighty, and the power of thennemies in great weakenes, they neuer could vſe any occaſion, neither by apparant vallour, nor by their induſtrie, and much leſſe by their prouidence or forecaſt: To which beginnings drawing with them loſſe of their reputacion, negligence in diſcipline, and diſobedience of tharmie, were adioyned in the proceedings and further courſſe of the warre, want of many prouiſions in the campe: And at laſt fortune ſeeming to take her ſport and pleaſure vpon their errours, did by her working ſo heape calamities vppon their diſorders, that the affayres of the warres were reduced to theſe tearmes, that the Pope detecting the ſnares that were layd againſt his life, and being much ſhaked in the gouernment of the Church, and eftſoones fearing the eſtate of *Florence*, was conſtrained with peticions and new obligacions, to implore the aydes of all men: And yet he could not be deliuered from thoſe calamities, but by defraying of his owne treaſor vpon the armie of his enemies, And ſuch as either were the originall mouers of the warre, or els being enterteyned in his paye, had vilely reuolted againſt him, after they had vexed him with many extorcions.

In this yeare and almoſt in the end of the yeare, the king of *Spayne*, went with proſperous nauigacion, to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms: he had obteyned before of the french king (betweene whome and him went many demonſtracions of amitie,

both of them couering the ſecret intention of their minds) aſſurance that he would forbeare for ſix monethes, the firſt payment of an hundred thouſand duckets which he was bound to pay in by the articles of the laſte accord contracted betwene them: The *Venetians* alſo made a reconfirmation for two yeares, of the league defenſiue which they had with the French king, with whom as they ſtoode moſt firmely conioyned in the lawe of league and fidelitie, ſo in regarde of him they made ſmall accompt of the amitie of all other Princes: In ſo muche as they omitted to ſende Embaſſadors to preſent their obedience to the Pope, who hauing ſent Legat to *Venice*, *Allobello* Biſhop of *Pola*, it was imputed agaynſt him as a matter vnworthye his maieſtie.

There followeth nowe the yere a thouſande fiue hundred and eightene, in which the regions of *Italie*, contrarie the precedent of many yeares before, felt not the leaſt impreſſion or mocion of warre, yea there appeared the ſelfe ſame diſpoſition in all other Princes of Chriſtendome, betweene whome by the operation of the Pope, though happly more with fayre reaſons, then with ſubſtanciall counſels, was ſolicited an vniuerſall expedicion of all Chriſtendome agaynſt the pride of *Selim* prince of the *Turkes*, who the yeare before, had ſo enlarged and extended his greatnes, that comparing with his power, his ambicion to be greater, puſhed on with many helps of nature, it was worthily to be doubted that if he were not preuented by the inuaſions of the Chriſtians, he woulde in his pride lifte vp his victorious hande agaynſt them: For *Selim* diſcerning that *Baiſeth* his father, reduced to extreame olde age, ſought to eſtabliſhe the ſucceſſion of thempire in the perſon of *Acomath* his elder brother, drewe into rebellion agaynſt him, and by force of armes, concurring the corruption of the ſouldiors of his garde, conſtrayned him to reſigne vp to him the authoritie of the gouernment: And not ſuffring his ambition to ſtay there, it was beleeued of all men, that for his more abſolute aſſurance he tooke awaye his lyfe by poyſon: And afterwards giuing an ouerthrowe to his brother in an encounter of a battell, he confirmed fully the ſeate of his Empire, by depriuing him of his life in publike ſhowe, exerciſing the like rage of crueltie vpon *Corcu* the youngeſt brother of all: And being not ſatisfied according to the tyrannie of the houſe of *Ottomanni*, with the blood and ſlaughter of all his Nephewes, or any others that remayned of that line and ſtocke, he was in thought oftentimes (by the rage and furie of his diſpoſition) to take away the life of *Solyman* his onely ſonne. Of theſe beginnings breeding one warre vppon an other, after he had ſubdued the *Aduliti* a people of the Mountaynes, he paſſed ouer into *Perſia* agaynſt the *Sophi*, to whom he gaue battell and ouerthrewe him, and in that felicitie of warre he tooke the citie of *Tauris* the ſoueraigne ſeate of that ſtate, together with the greateſt parte of *Perſia*, whiche he was conſtrayned to abandon, not through the vallor of his enemies, who for their diſhabilitie to ſupport their army, were retyred into the mountaines and places deſert, but for the vniuerſall dearth and barennes of that yere, he fell into an extreame want of vittayles: He returned ſoone after this expedition to *Conſtantinople*, where after he had done execution vpon certayne ſouldiors ſedicious, and for certayne monethes had refreſhed his armie, he gaue out that he would eftſoones returne to make warre vppon *Perſia*, but in deede he turned his forces againſt the *Soldan* king of *Soria* and *Egypt*, a prince not onely of moſt auncient reuerence and dignitie for that religion, but moſte mightie for the amplitude of dominion, moſte riche in tributes, and very glorious by the diſcipline of the *Mammeluckes*, of whoſe armes and forces that ſtate was poſſeſſed with great reputation, three hundred yeares: for that

Empire

Empire,being ruled of the *Soldans*, they not by succeſſion but by election,aſcended to it, and to the ſupreme ſeate of gouernment were not preferred but men of manifeſt vertue, and confirmed by all the degrees of warre, in the adminiſtration of prouinces and armies,and alſo the ſinewes and ſtrength of their forces,ſtoode not vpon ſouldiors mercenarie and forreine, but of men elected, who taken of children in the prouinces adioyning, and trayned vp by ſucceſſion of yeares in hardnes of fare, in ſuffring of labour and toyle, and in thexerciſe of armes and all cuſtomes apperteining to the diſcipline and lawe of warre, they aſcribed and enrolled them in the order of the *Mammelukes*: There ſucceded from hand to hand in this order, not the ſonnes of the *Mammelukes* that were dead, but others, who beeing taken of children for ſlaues, had their ryſing by the ſame diſcipline, and by the ſame induſtrie and artes, by the which their predeceſſors had paſſed from hande to hande: Theſe not being in number aboue ſeuenteene or eighteene thouſande, helde ſubiected vnder a moſte heauy yoke,all the people of *Egypt* and *Soria*,whom they ſpoyled of the vſe of all armes, and practiſe to manage horſes: yea ſuche was their fierceneſſe and vallour, that oftentimes they made warre of them ſelues, for that of their numbers and by their election were choſen the *Soldans*, and in their power reſted all authoritie to diſtribute the honors, offices, and profites of that moſt riche Empire: By the oportunitie of which, hauing ſubdued many nations adioyning,and reduced to obedience the *Arabians*,and mainteined many warres with the Turkes,they were many times victorious, but very ſeldome or neuer vanquiſhed of others: Agaynſt theſe people did *Selim* conuert his forces,whō he ouerthrew in many battels fought in playne fielde, wherein was ſlayne the *Soldane*,and afterwards in an other battell was taken priſoner the other *Soldane* his ſucceſſor, whom he cauſed to be publikely murdered with an vnworthy kinde of torment: Thus hauing ſatisfied his bloody humor with theſe great ſlaughters,and almoſt waſted the name of the *Mammelukes*, he proceeded to the inuaſion of *Cairo* a moſt populous citie, wherein were reſident the *Soldans*, and in ſhort time ſubdued vnder his iuriſdiction all *Soria* and all *Egypt*: The ſame drawing vnto him ſo great an increaſe of imperie, ſuche amplification of tribute & reuenue,and remouing the impedimēts of ſo mightie enemies & of ſo great reputation, that with great reaſon he was to bee feared of the Chriſtians: A feare whiche tooke his degrees of increaſing by this conſideration, that to ſo greate a power and vallour was ioyned a ſettled impreſſion of ambicion to beare rule, and by many victories, to make glorious his name to all poſterities: wherein reading oftentimes the Legendes and actions of the great *Alexander* and *Iulius Cæſar*,he ſeemed to ſuffer griefe and perplexitie of mind,that his actions and exploytes of warre coulde in no wyſe holde compariſon with ſo many great triumphes and victories: In which humor,refuriſhing continually his armies, and buylding of newe a great number of ſhippes,and leauying all prouiſions neceſſarie for the warre,it was feared when his preparacions were accompliſhed, that he woulde inuade *Rhodes*, the bulwarke of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt partes, or els the kingdome of *Hungaria* made fearefull by the vallour of thinhabitantes to the nation of Turkes, whiche at that tyme was in diuiſion amongeſt them ſelues, and made weake by the minoritie of their king, who was gouerned by Prieſtes and the Barons of the Realme: Others were of opinion that he had addreſſed all his thoughtes to thinuaſion of *Italie*, taking his encouragement vpon the diſcord of the Potentates and naturall princes, whom he knewe to be muche ſhaken with the long warres of thoſe regions: To this was ioyned the memorie of *Mahomet* his grandfather, who with a power

farre leſſe then his, and with a ſmall Nauie ſente vppon the coaſtes of the Realme of *Naples*, had wonne by aſſault the Citie of *Otronto*: and, ſauing (he was preuented by death) had bothe opened the waye and eſtabliſhed the meane to perſecute the regions of *Italie* with continuall vexacions: So that the Pope together with the whole Courte of *Rome* beeing made aſtoniſhed with ſo greate ſucceſſe, and no leſſe prouident to eſchewe ſo great a daunger, making their firſte recourſe to the ayde and ſuccour of God, cauſed to bee celebrated through *Rome* moſte deuoute inuocations, whiche he dyd aſſiſte in preſence bare foote: And afterwardes calling vppon the helpe of men, he wroate letters to all Chriſtian Princes, bothe admoniſhing them of the perill, and perſwading them to laye aſyde all ciuill diſcordes and contentions, and attende ſpeedily to the defence of religion and their common ſafetie, whiche he affirmed woulde more and more take encreaſe of moſt grieuous daunger, if with the vnitie of mindes, and concordances of forces, they ſought not to transferre the warre into thempire of the Turkes, and inuade theyr enemie in his owne countrey: Vpon this aduiſe and admonition, was taken the examinacion and opinion of men of warre, and perſons skilfull in the diſcouerie of countreys, the diſpoſing of prouinces, and of the nature and vſage of the forces and weapons of that kingdome, and therevpon a reſolucion being ſet downe to make great leauyes of money by voluntarie contribucions of Princes, and vniuerſall impoſtes of all people of Chriſtendome, it was thought neceſſarie that Cæſar accompanied with the horſemen of *Hungaria* and *Pollonia*, Nations warlike, and practiſed in continuall warres agaynſt the Turke, and alſo with the footmen of *Germanie*, ſhould ſayle along *Danubi* into *Boſsina* called aunciently *Miſia*, and from thence to *Thracia*, and ſo to drawe neare *Conſtantinople*, the ſeate of the Empire of the *Ottomanes*: That the Frenche king with all the forces of his kingdome, the *Venetians*, and the other potentates of *Italie*, accompanied with the infanterie of *Swvizzerlande*, ſhould paſſe from the port of *Brindiſi* in *Albania* a paſſage very eaſie and ſhort, to inuade *Greece*, a contrey full of Chriſtian inhabitantes, and for the intollerable yoke of the Turkes, moſte ready to rebell: That the kings of *Spayne*, of *Englande*, and *Portugall*, aſſembling their forces together in *Cartagenia* and the portes thereaboutes, ſhould take their courſe with two hundred ſhippes full of Spaniſhe footemen and other ſouldiors, to the ſtraite of *Galipoli*, to make roades vp to *Conſtantinople*, hauing firſt ſubdued the Caſtles and fortes ſtanding vpon the mouth of the ſtraite: And the Pope to take the ſame courſe, embarking at *Ancona* with an hundred ſhippes armed: With theſe preparacions, ſeeming ſufficient to couer the lande and ouerſpread the ſea, it was thought that of a warre ſo full of deuocion and pyetie, there coulde not be but hoped a happie ende, ſpecially adding the inuocation of God, and ſo many ſeuerall inuaſions made at one tyme agaynſt the Turkes, who make their principall fundacion of defence, to fight in the playne fielde: Theſe matters were ſolicited with no ſmall induſtrie, and to ſtoppe all matter of imputacion agaynſt thoffice of the Pope, the mindes of Princes were throughly ſounded, and an vniuerſal truce for fiue yeres betwene all the Princes of Chriſtendome, publiſhed in the conſiſtory, vpon payne of moſt grieuous cenſure to ſuche as ſhould impugne it: So that the negociacion cõtinuing for all things apperteining to ſo great an enterpriſe, he aſſigned Embaſſadors to all Princes: to the Emperour he ſent the Cardinall *S. Siſto*, to the Frenche king he diſpatched the Cardinall of *S. Maria in Portico*, the Cardinall *Giles* to the king of *Spayne*, and the Cardinall *Campeius* to the king of *Englande*: All Cardinalles of authoritie, eyther for their experience in affayres, or for

opinion

opinion of their doctrine, or for their familiaritie with the Pope: All which things albeit they were begonne with greate hope and exſpectacion, And the vniuerſall truce accepted of all men, And all men with no litle oſtentacion and brauerie of words, made ſhewe of their readines with their forces to aduaunce ſo good a cauſe: yet, what with the conſideracion of the perill eſteemed vncerteine and farre of, and extending more to one Prince then to an other, And what by the difficulties & long tract of time that appeared, to introduce a zeale and vnion ſo vniuerſall, priuat intereſts and reſpects perticular ſeemed to preuayle more, then the pietie of the expedicion: Inſomuch as the negociacion ſtoode not onely naked of all hope and yſſue, but alſo it was followed very lightly and as it were by ceremonie, this beeing one propertie in the nature of men, that thoſe things which in their beginnings appeare fearefull, doe daily take ſuch degrees of diminucion and vaniſhing, that onles the firſt feares be reuiued by new accidents, they leade men in proceſſe of tyme to ſecuritie: which propertie of negligence, both touching the affayres publike, & affection of priuate and perticular men, was well confirmed by the death that ſucceeded not longe after to *Selym*, who, hauing by a longe maladie ſuſpended the preparacions of the warre, was in the ende conſumed by the paſſions of his diſeaſe, and ſo paſſed into the other life, leauing ſo greate an Empire to *Solyman* his ſonne, young in yeares, and iudged to beare a witte and minde not ſo diſpoſed to the warres, although afterwardes theffectes declared the contrarie. At this tyme, appeared betweene the Pope and the Frenche kinge, A moſte greate and ſtrayght coniunction: for, the kinge gaue to wife to *Lavvrence*, his Nephewe, the Ladye *Magdaleyne* noblye deſcended of the bludde and houſe of *Bolognia*, with a yearely reuenue of tenne thowſande crownes, whereof parte was of the kinges gifte, and the reſidue riſing of her owne patrimonye: Beſides, the kinge hauing borne to him a ſonne, the Pope requyred that in his Baptiſme, he woulde impoſe vppon him his name: By which occaſion *Lavvrence* making preparacions to goe to marye his newe wife, for his more ſpeede, performed his iorney by poſte into *Fraunce*, where he was receiued with many amities and much honor of the king, to whom he became very gracious & of deare accompt, the rather for that beſides other general reſpects, he made a dedication of him ſelfe wholly to the king, with promiſe to follow in all accidents, his fortune: he brought alſo to the king a writ or warrant from the Pope, by the which he graunted to him, that till the moneyes collected of the tenthes and by other meanes of contribucion, were expended vppon the holy warre againſt the *Turkes*, he might diſpoſe it to his owne vſes, ſo farre forth as he would make promiſe to reſtore it whenſoeuer occaſion & neceſſitie would call him to defray it to that end it was gathered for: his warrant boare alſo to deliuer to *Lavvrence* of the ſame treaſure, fifty thouſand crownes: And whereas the king till that day had diſſembled not to execute the Popes promiſe made to him vnder writing for the reſtoring of *Modena* and *Reggia* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, notwithſtanding the tearme of ſeuen moneths were paſt, And knowing withall that he could not offer to the Pope a thing more greuous, then to vrge him to that reſtitucion, he redeliuered into the hands of *Lavvrence*, the ſaid writ of promiſe, making a greater reckoning (as it often hapneth amõgeſt mortall men) of the ſtronger then of the weaker. About the ſame time, the *Venetians* by the operacion of the French king, prolonged the truce they had with *Cæſar* for fiue yeares, with condicion to paye for euery one of the fiue yeares twentye thowſande crownes, and to euery one of the exiles that had followed *Cæſar*, the fourth parte of their goods yearely beeing rated at the value of fiue thowſande

crownes: it was ſuppoſed that *Cæſar* would haue bene induced to haue made peace with them, if they would haue gratified him with a greater ſumme of money.

But this truce was not a litle agreeable to the french king, for that the *Venetians* not ſtanding fully aſſured, had the greater reaſon to make deare accompt of his amitie, and that to *Cæſar* was giuen no power, with the money he had of them, to dreſſe any innouacion: Inſomuch as matters on all ſides, tending to peace and concord, the differences betwene the French and Engliſh were alſo reconciled: And for the more ſtabilitie of which agreement, it was confirmed with a contract of parentage & allyance, wherein the king of *England* promiſed to giue his onely Daughter, to whom hauing no ſonnes, there was hope of the diſcending and ſucceſſion of the kingdom, to the *Dolphyn* the eldeſt ſonne of the crowne of *Fraunce*, Adding for a porcion foure hundred thowſand duckats: Both the one and the other boare yet ſo tender age, that infinit accidents might happen, before perfection of yeares woulde make them able to eſtabliſh matrimony: There was made betwene them a league defenſiue, wherein were comprehended *Cæſar* and the king of *Spayne* in caſe they would ratifie it in a certeine tyme: The king of *England* bownd him ſelfe to reſtore *Tornay*, receiuing preſently for defrayments exſpended vppon that towne, two hundred and lx. thowſande duckats, and three hundred thowſande to be defalked of the porcion, and to paye three hundred thowſand more in the ſpace of twelue yeares: The French king alſo was bownd that if the peace and the parentage followed not, to render vppe agayne into the handes of thEngliſh, the towne of *Tornay*: Many Embaſſadors were ſent from both the Realmes to negociat this league, and to receiue the ratificacions and othes, by whome in the Courts of both the kinges the actes of thaccorde were diſpatched with greate ſolemnitie and ceremonie, with a reſolucion of an enteruiewe of bothe the kinges betweene *Callice* and *Bolleyne*, immediatly after the reſtitucion of *Tornay*. About the ſame tyme, the Daughter of the French king appoynted to bee maryed to the king of *Spayne*, beeing deade, the former peace and capitulacion was eftſoones reconfirmed betweene them, wherein was promiſed the mariage of the ſeconde Daughter of *Fraunce*: Both the kinges celebrated this coniunction with moſte greate demonſtracions of perfect amitie: for, the king of *Spayne*, hauing payed in at *Lyons* an hundred thowſand duckats, ware publikely the order of *Saint Michaell* vppon the daye of the celebracion of the ſame, and in recompenſe of that honour, the Frenche kinge, vppon the daye dedicated to *Saint Andrewe*, was honorably attyred in the robes and couller of the golden fleeſe.

Thus the affayres of *Italy* ſtanding in good eſtate of tranquillitie, there remeyned onely diſcontented and in ill diſpoſicion, *Iohn Ia. Triuulce*, whom neither his olde age reduced almoſt to the laſt time, nor his vertue ſo oftentimes expreſſed in the ſeruice of the houſe of *Fraunce*, could any way aide or comfort: for, as in him ſelfe were bred ſome occaſions, partly by his ambicion, which was ſuſpected, and partly through his impaciencie, which the condicion of olde age might reaſonably excuſe: So he was croſſed by the ſuttle humors of ſuche as did enuye him, but chiefly and vehemently quarrelled withall in many thinges by *Monſr Lawtrech*, by whoſe inſtigacion, the king was drawne into ſuſpicion of him, that not onely his owne perſon but alſo the whole famulie and houſe, were too much agreeable to the *Venetians*: Wherein they tooke the conſideracion of their ſuſpicion, not onely for thintereſt of the faction of the *Guelffes*, and many other actions and tradicions of times paſt to kepe him enterteined in the grace of the *Venetians*, but alſo for that *Theoder Triuulce* was become

Ielouſie againſt Iohn Ia. Tryuulce.

their

their gouernor, and *Rene* a member of their family, was newly receiued into the pay of that ſtate: By reaſon of which, after *Galeas Viſcount* by the death of *Fr. Barnardin Viſcount*, was become chiefe of the *Gebelin* faction, the king indued him with thorder of *S. Michaell* and allowance of penſiõ, to thend to oppoſe him againſt *Triuulce* with a greater authority, hauing withall the ready hand of *Lavvtrech* to puſh on his reputacion & credit as often as occaſions occurred to doe any thing to the diſaduantage of *Triuulce*: The paſſage of which things as they brought no litle diminucion to the authority of the old *Triuulce*, ſo, hauing no pacience to diſſemble the wrongs which he knew he had not deſerued, he made his daily cõplaints, & was ſo much the more hated & ſuſpected: *Lavvtrech* with his other aduerſaries made this no litle occaſion to reproch him and accuſe him to the king, that he had made him ſelfe a burgeis inrolled with the *Svvizzers*, as though he woulde vſe their meane to be ſupported againſt the king, & happly aſpire to greater things: ſo apt is enuy to ſubborne ſuggeſtions, & ſo ready to enforce them daungerouſly to the ruine of thoſe againſt whom ſhe contendeth: and as *Triuulce*, notwithſtanding his old age which was now in theſtate decrepit, & thinfirmities of a body broken which draweth after it diſpenſacion from trauel, was gone into *Fraunce* to iuſtefie himſelfe: ſo, *Monſr Lavvtrech* after his departure, reſtrained vnder reaſonable gard by the kings directiõ at *Vigeuena*, his wife & grãdchild borne of the Count of *Muſocque* his only ſonne deceaſed, which degree of rigor or hard dealing, was wel expreſſed vpon himſelf at his cõming into *Fraunce*, for that muche leſſe that he was receiued of the king with the ſame aſpect, countenance, & honor that he was wont, ſeeing of the cõtrary he reproched to his face, his amity & correſpondency with the *Svvizzers*, aſſuring him that no other thing held him from puniſhing him as he had deſerued, then the conſideracion of thuniuerſall renowme that ran (though not true in many partes) of the merits & ſeruices he had done to the crowne of *Fraunce*: vpon the kings diſpleaſure which cõmonly worketh many daungerous impreſſions in the mindes of men, he renounced & diſclaimed al ſociety & introduction with the *Svvizzers*: and not many dayes after, following the court, he fell ſicke at *Chartres*, where he gaue vp to the king, his innocency and complaintes, and made to God the laſt reckoning of his aged daies: he was a man in the iudgement of many, & cõfirmed by ſundrie experiẽces, of ſingular vallour in the diſcipline of warre, & ran a race alwayes oppoſed to thinconſtancy of fortune, who according to her mutability, made him feele thoperaciõ of both her humors, ſomtimes reioiſing in her fauor, & earſt again finding her ſower & of bitter taſt: By his cõmaũdement were written vpon his tombe, theſe words not diſagreable to the condicion & courſe of his life: *I find the reſt vvithin my graue, vvhich in my life I could not haue.*

The death of Ioh. Ia. Triuulce.

About this time, *Cæſar* deſiring after his death to eſtabliſhe the ſucceſſion of the *Romaine* Empire in the perſon of one of his grandchildren, treated with the electors to chooſe one of them king of *Romains*, a dignity which draweth with it an immediat ſucceſſion to the Empire after thEmperours death, without other election or confirmacion: And bicauſe none can aſpire to ſuche election, vntill thEmperour elect haue obteyned the Crowne Imperiall, he made inſtance to the Pope that by a newe example, he woulde accompliſhe his Cronacion in *Germanie* by the handes and deputacion of certeyne Cardinalls Legats Apoſtolyke for that action: And albeit *Cæſar* had affore wiſhed that that dignitie might be transferred to *Ferdinand* his grandchilde as a degree to ſupporte him, the elder hauing diuolued to him ſo greate a puiſſance of eſtates, and albeit he iudged that for the better continuaunce of his houſe in fame and honor and to meete with all ill accidentes that

runne vpon the eldeſt,it were better that two perſonages were great then one alone: yet what by the operacion of many his Courtiers,and by the perpetuall labor of the Cardinall of *Syon*, and laſtly by the ſuborned importunities of ſuche as feared and hated the puiſance of *Fraunce*, he reiected the firſt councell, and diſpoſed all his meanes to haue the king of *Spayne* elected to that dignity: wherein he was perſwaded that it would be farre more profitable for the houſe of *Auſtrich*, to aſſemble and draw into one alone, all power and greatnes, then in canuaſing and deuiding it into many partes, to make that family leſſe mighty to obteine the iſſue of their purpoſes: That the fundacions of the greatnes of *Charles* were ſuche & ſo mighty, that adding the dignity Imperiall, there was great hope, that he might reduce into one monarchie all *Italie* and a great parte of Chriſtendom: An action not onely apperteyning to the greatnes of his progeny and deſcendants, but alſo agreable to the tranquilitie of his ſubiects, and for the regard of the infidells, moſt conformable to the benefite of the common weale of Chriſtendom: That it belonged to him in office & equity to lay for thaugmentacion & exaltacion of the dignity Imperiall which had bene ſo many yeares inueſted in his perſon and his houſe of *Auſtrich*, and which till that day, both by his weakenes and infirmitie of his predeceſſors, had bene greater in title and name then in ſubſtance and effects: That there was no hope of the riſing of that dignity, or to reinueſt in it his auncient renowme, then by tranſporting it into the perſon of *Charles* and annexing it to his power: That ſeeing the humor of the time preſented to him thoccaſion, wherein alſo did concurre the order of nature and of fortune, it ought to be farre from him to ſtop or hinder the courſe of ſo many helps, to aduaunce & lift vp the greatnes of his houſe: That it was ſeene by examples and tradicions of auncient Emperours, that *Cæſar* *Auguſtus* and many of his ſucceſſors, for want of ſonnes or other iſſue of their line, haue ſearched by meane of adoption for ſucceſſors very farre remoued from their alliance, yea ſuch as touched them nothng in blood and kinred wherin they were caried by a naturall gelouſie lineally diſcending from one to an other, that the dignitie which had bene ſo long reſident in their perſons, ſhould not be ſeparate or decline to diminucion: That the example was familiar of the king Catholike, who albeit he loued as his ſonne, *Ferdinand* who had bene alwayes trayned vp about him, and neuer ſeeing *Charles*, but found him in his laſt age, very diſobedient to his commaundements: yet without hauing compaſſion of the pouertie of him whom he loued as his ſonne, he neuer imparted with him any one of thoſe eſtates which he helde, nor of ſuch as he might diſpoſe by the right & prerogatiue of conqueſt, but left all to him whom he ſcarcely knew but as a ſtraũger: That he would remember how the ſame king would alwayes vrge him to purchaſe new eſtats for *Ferdinand*, but to leaue the dignity Imperiall to *Charles*: & that it was ſeene that for thaugmentacion of the greatnes of his ſucceſſor, he had, perhaps with a councel reproued of many & happily vniuſt, deueſted frõ the kingdom of *Aragon*, his proper houſe, & conſented againſt the common deſire of moſt men, that the name of his houſe ſo noble and renowned, ſhould fall into obſcurity & perdicion. Againſt this inſtance of *Cæſar*, the french king oppoſed him ſelfe with all induſtrie and meanes poſſible, taking not a litle diſpleaſure and enuie that to ſo many kingdoms and great eſtates holden by the ſpaniſh, there ſhould be added the dignitie Imperiall, which reſuming a certaine vigor and ſtrength for ſo great a puiſance, might ſubdue all others vnder his feare and iuriſdiction: he made ſecret ſolicitacion to all the electors, to ſtoppe the effect of ſuch an ambicion: he ſtoode vpon inſtance to the Pope not to ſend with an example new and daungerous, the Crowne to *Maximilian:*

The french aſpireth to be Emperour.

milian: And he sent Embassadors to the *Venetians*, to induce them to hinder it with the Pope, whom he admonished of the perills that might fall vpon them both by the course of suche a greatnes: But the Electors for the moste parte were already drawne to the opinion of Cæsar, and no lesse assured of the summes of money promised thē for that election by the king of *Spayne*, who for that purpose had sent into *Germanie* two hundred thousande duckets: Neither could they in reason, nor happly without daunger of slaunder in regarde of thexamples paste, denie him suche a demaunde: Besides, it was not to be beleeued that the Pope (notwithstanding it was discontenting to him) would refuse to agree that Cæsar should receiue in *Germany* by the ministration of Legates Apostolike, the Crowne imperiall in his name, seing that to make a voyage to *Rome* to be crowned, albeit it brought a greater authoritie to the sea Apostolike, yet in all other regardes, it was a matter rather ceremonious then substanciall. With these impressions and with these accidentes, ended the yere a thousande fiue hundred and eightene, and as the Electors had not yet resolued and established the deliberation, so it was made both more doubtfull and full of difficulties, by the death of Cæsar which happned in the first beginning of the yere following: he dyed at *Liuz* a towne vpon the marches of *Austriche*, where he remay- 1519
ned for the delight and pleasure in hunting the wilde Boare and other chases of the fielde: He liued alwayes vnder one condition of fortune, who many times fauored him in offring him many fayre occasions, and as often wrought agaynst him in not suffering him to take the fruite and effect of them: He was by nature inconstant and remouable, and had conceites and impressions very yll disposed and different from the iudgement of other men, ioyned to an excessiue prodigalitie and dissipacion of money: Matters which cut off from him theffects and successe of al occasions, being otherwise a prince most perfect and instructed in the ordering of warre, secrete to laye and dispose a plotte, diligent to followe it, of body hable and suffring, of minde affable and easie, and replenished with many other excellent giftes and ornaments. Assone as he was dead, the French king and the king of *Spayne*, began manifestly to aspire to thempire, the purchase whereof albeit was a matter of right great importance, and no lesse the emulacion ronning betwene two so mighty Princes, yet they ordered their ambicion with great modestie, neyther vsing wordes of iniurie nor threates of armes, but eyther one laboring by his authoritie and by his meanes, to drawe on his side the Electors: The Frenche king sundry times reasoned touching thelection with great comelynesse with the Spanishe Embassadors, to whome he sayde it was a matter both agreable and conuenient, that eyther of them seuerally should seke by honest meanes to encrease the honor of his house by so great a dignitie: which for that in tymes before had bene transferred into the famulies of their predecessors, there was now the lesse occasion to breede betwene them two, matter of iniurie, nor diminution of their amitie and goodwill: But rather he wished that in the action of thempire they might followe thexample and order of two young louers, who albeit they followe the queste of one Lady, and eyther one laboreth by his industrie to cary her, yet they forbeare to come to contention: The king of *Spayne* alluded with good right that thempire apperteined to him, as hauing continued by a long succession of time in the house of *Austriche*, and that it had not bene the custome of the Electors to depriue the issue of themperour without manifest cause of their dishabilitie, neither was there any in *Germanie* of that puissance and authoritie to make him equall to stande competitor with him in that election: And east of all did he holde it iuste or likely that the Electors would transport to a for-

reine or ſtraunge Prince, ſo great a dignitie continued by ſo many ages in the nation of *Germanie*: And albeit ſome particuler amongſt them, eyther through the inſinuation of money, or other propertie of corruption, might be allured to an other intention, yet he hoped to ſtoppe him with force prepared in time conuenient, not douting alſo but the other Electors would oppoſe agaynſt him, and the princes and free townes of *Germanie* would not endure ſo vniuerſall an infamie, ſpecially to ſuffer it to be layde vpon the perſon of the French king, which would be no other thing then to make great the puiſſance of a king enemie to their nation, and from whome there was no ſurety that thimperiall dignitie would euer returne into *Germanie*: he thought it would be an action eaſie to obteine and reduce to perfection, that which had bene ſolicited by his grandfather, who had already compounded for recompenſes and donations, and other diuidentes for euery of the Electors. On the other ſide, the deſire of the French king was as great, and no leſſe were his hopes, whiche tooke their principall fundation vpon an opinion he had to corrupt the voyces of the Electors with his huge ſummes of mony, eſpecially for that there were amongſt them both penſionaries to him, and otherwiſe aſſured by many good offices, who incouraging him with the facilitie of thenterpriſe, puſhed him on to embrace it: And for his parte, as mortall men are apt to beleeue the thing they deſire, ſo he noriſhed that hope with reaſons rather apparant then true: he knewe that commonly it was a matter grieuous to the Princes of *Germanie* to haue themperours mightie, being ielouſe that in ſo great a puiſſance, they would not eyther in part or in all, quarrell the iuriſdictions and authorities imperiall occupied by many of them: In which reaſon he perſwaded himſelfe, that they would in no ſort conſent to thelection of the *Spaniard*, and ſo of them ſelues to ſubiect themſelues to an Emperor more mightie then had bene ſince a long diſcent and race of Emperours: A matter which in his perſon ſeemed to be qualified, for that hauing neyther eſtates nor auncient alliances in *Germanie*, they had no occaſion of ſuſpicion of his greatnes: The ſame reaſon alſo made him beleue wel of the cõformitie of the free townes, in whõ much leſſe that the regarde of the glorie of the nation would carie it from him, ſeeing it would helpe to peize the ballance on his ſide, for that with moſte men the mocions of proper and priuate intereſt may do more, then the reſpect of publike and generall profite: He knewe it was not a little greeuous to many noble houſes of *Germanie*, pretending to be capable of ſuche a dignitie, to ſee thempire continue ſo long time in one houſe, but muche more did it diſcontent them to ſuffer that ſo great an eſtate which of right ought ſometimes to be giuen to one of them, and ſometimes to paſſe to an other, ſhould become a perpetuall diſcent and ſucceſſion in one line: In ſo muche as they might call inheritance and ſucceſſion that election, whiche durſt not leaue the lyne of themperours: That in that ſort thempire was tranſlated from *Albert d'Auſtriche* to *Federike* his brother, and from *Federike* to *Maximilian* his ſonne, and nowe there was deuiſe to paſſe it from *Maximilian* to the perſon of *Charles* his grandchilde. By theſe humors and indignations of the Princes of *Germanie* he tooke hope that the diſcordes and ielouſies amongeſt themſelues mighte helpe on his cauſe, the rather for that it often happneth in the contentions of men, that he that is excluded, or the partie whom he fauoreth, ronneth with a naturall raſhnes rather to call in and aduaunce a thirde, then to giue place to him that hath oppoſed agaynſt his intention: Moreouer the Frenche king was not without hys hopes in the fauor of the Pope, both in regarde of thamitie and alliance newly paſt betwene them, and alſo for that he was not ignorant howe inconuenient it woulde

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be to the sea Apostolike to haue thimperiall Crowne inuested in *Charles*, nor so muche for his owne greatnes, as for that by the oportunitie and neighborhood of the realme of *Naples* to thestate of the Churche, and the adherencie of the Barons of the *Gebelins*, he had a playne and open passage to ronne vp to the gates of *Rome*: But in that discourse he considered not that the same reason whiche he iudged true agaynst *Charles*, was also agaynst himselfe, for that thempire being ioyned to his person, he was no lesse to be feared of the Pope and all others, then *Charles*, for that though the one of them possessed happly more realmes and states, yet the other was not to be lesse esteemed, hauing his power not dispersed nor seperate in many places, but was Prince of a realme entierly assembled and vnited, where the obedience and fidelitie of his subiectes was no lesse wonderfull, then his treasor and riches infinite: Neuertheless not knowing in himselfe that which he considered in an other, he had recourse to the Pope, and implored his fauor vnder the offer and protestation of his person and kingdomes, with all other deuotions of a louing sonne. The matter of this election pressed muche the Pope, to whom it was not a litle grieuous, both for the suretie of the sea Apostolike, and tranquillitie of *Italie*, that eyther of those two kings should be elected Emperor: And as his authoritie with the Electors was not suche as he might hope to drawe them muche to his purpose, so he iudged it necessarie to take a wyse course, and to vse industrie in a matter that drewe so great consequence: He perswaded him selfe that the French king being abused by some of the electors, would haue litle part in the election, and that the corruptions in men salable would not be sufficient to transport thempire from the *Germaine* nation to the house of *Fraunce*: But he supposed the action would be easie to the king of *Spayne*, both for the conformitie of language and nation, and for the practises and solicitations begon with *Maximilian*, and for many other regards, yea he thought he might easily leade on his intention, if he obiected no impediment: A matter which he sawe he could not worke in other sort, then to labor the Frenche king to turne vpon the person of one of the selfe electors the same fauors and distributions of money, which he aduaunced to procure his owne election: But he esteemed it a matter impossible to induce the kings minde to take that course, so long as he stoode caryed with the vehement humor of vayne hopes: And as he hoped that by howe muche more earnestly he should embarke him selfe into that practise, by so muche more easily should he drawe the French king to fauor the election of a third, with no lesse affection then he had sought to aduaunce his owne: so he doubted not that vnder that dealing he might not winne so muche with the king as to bring him to receyue and heare his authoritie and counsell, especially hauing insinuated in him a credence certayne to be his friend, and to haue with him the same desire to aduaunce his election: Besides, he thought that in fauoring at the beginning the affayres of the French king, the king of *Spayne* finding difficultie to obteine his desire, and fearing least the French would winne some aduauntage, woulde in like sorte dispose him selfe to elect a thirde: For which reasons he did not onely signifie to the French king with what affection he wished he were lifted to thempire, but he counselled him with many reasons to proceede resolutely in thenterprise, promising him vnder large wordes, to fauor him with the whole authoritie of the sea Apostolike: And as he thought he could not in better sort imprint in the kinges minde the sincerite of his intention, then to vse for that purpose an instrument whom the French king would thinke depended more vpon him then of any other, he gaue present direction to his *Nuncio* in *Germanie* called *Robert Vrsin* Archbishop

of *Reggia*, and of great confidence with the king, that both seuerally and ioyntly with the French Agents there, he should make the best labor he could to solicite the electors: But he diminished the libertie of this commission by secrete aduertisement, that the *Nuncio* should proceede eyther more or lesse moderately, according as he founde in *Germanie* the Electors disposed, and the affayres aduaunced. These actions discretly discoursed by the Pope, and no lesse couered with a wonderful simulation, stoode in neede, aswell for the person of the king as in his Agents in *Germanie*, of a greater wisedome and secretie, and in the Popes ministers a more fidelitie and grauitie.

But whyleſt theſe matters tooke their proceedings by practiſes and by armes, the French king gaue direction to *Peter* of *Nauarre* to go to the sea with a Nauie of xx. gallies and other vessells fraughted with a thousande souldiors: his commission was to lye to impeache the piracies and inrodes of the *Mores*, who hauing with their foystes ronne into oure seas without impediment, became more harmefull this yeare then at anye time before: His commission bare also to inuade the *Mores* of *Affrika* if the Pope thought it so good: But the principall respect and intention of this expedition was, to take away from the Pope (who was wholly for him in the chalenge of thempire) all occasion not to feare the forces of the king Catholike, who more for feare to be troubled in his owne estates, then for desire to vex any other, leauyed with great preparations an army by sea, to sende it out for the garding of the realme of *Naples*. And yet notwithstanding, amidde these distrustes and suspicions, both the kings continuing in demonstrations and fayre semblances of amitie, there was sent from them seuerally and in particular, to *Montpellier*, the greate maister of *Fraunce* & the lorde of *Cheures*, in the seuerall persons of whom consisted almoste all the counsells and intentions of their kinges: Their negociation tended partly to confirme the mariage of the seconde daughter of *Fraunce* with the king of *Spayne*, and partly to resolue the affayres of the kingdome of *Naples*, the restitucion of which albeit being promised to thauncient king in thaccorde made at *Noyon*, though much solicited by the French king, was tyll that day deferred by the king of *Spayne*, with diuerse cunning excuses: But this entercouncell and meeting was dashed, by the accident of death happning to the great Maister, who was taken away affore they assembled.

Death of Lavv. de Medicis.

In this time dyed *Lavvrence Medicis*, who had languished in a continuall sicknes euer since his returne from *Fraunce*, where he had consummated his mariage with a wretched prediction by the death of his wife, who not many dayes before, and after her deliuery of childe, was reuoked out of this worlde, leauing him behinde to take warning of his mortall ende by her going before to prepare his waye: By the death of *Lavvrence*, the Pope standing desirous to keepe conioyned so long as he lyued, the power of the *Florentins* with the estate of the Churche, woulde take no counsell of certayne his familiar friendes, who aduised him, that since of the line Masculine there remayned no more (except himselfe) of the lawfull descendantes of *Cosmo de Medicis* the first founder of that greatnes, he would reenlarge and restore the lybertie of his countrey: But with a counsell singular and particular, he preferred the Cardinall *Medicis* to thadministration of that estate, eyther in an ambicious humor to perpetuate the name of his house, or for a reuenging hatred norished by his exile agaynst the name of that common weale: And iudging that the Duchie of *Vrbin*, for the vniuersall loue which the people bare to their auncient Duke, would hardly be holden vnder the name of the onely daughter remayning of *Lavvrence*, who was

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comprehended in the inueſtiture of her father, he rendred it together with *Pezero* & *Sinigalo*, to the ſea apoſtolike: which ſeeming not ſufficient to repreſſe the vehement affection of the peoples, he threw downe to the earth, the walls of the city of *Vrbin* & the other principal places of that Duchy, except *Agobbio*: a city which, for the geloufie it had ouer the city of *Vrbin*, bore no great inclination to *Franciſcomaria*, he fauored, & reſtored it to reputaciō, induing it with a chiefe iuriſdiction & principallity ouer all that Duchy: And to weaken it ſo much the more, he gaue to the *Florentins* in recompenſe of the money exſpended by him in the warre of *Vrbin* for the which he before had reduced the chamber Apoſtolike, as detter to the ſtate of *Florence*, the fortreſſe of *S. Leo* with all *Montfeltro* and the pariſhes of *Seſtine* which were alwaies of the demaine of *Seſena*: The *Florentins* were not wel contented with this maner of ſatisfaction, and yet they had no meane to oppoſe againſt his authoritie and will.

Let vs eftſones returne to the chalenge or ſute for the Empire, which holding all Chriſtendom in ſuſpenſe, was purſued by both the kings with more ambition then euer: The french king was beguiled more and more vnder the inducements & great promiſes of the Marquis of *Branderburg*, one of the electors, who was allured with no ſmall offers of money and happly ſome round ſumme in preſt, for the which he did not only bind him ſelfe with ſecret capitulacions, to giue him his voyce, but alſo to make for him and on his ſide his brother th Archbiſhoppe of *Magence*, one of the three prelate electors: The king in like ſorte promiſed him ſelfe muche of an other parte of the electors, and in caſe it came to an equalitie of voyces, he hoped not a litle in the voice of the king of *Boheme*, by the voice of whom the controuerſie was to be decided if the ſix electors whereof iij. be eccleſiaſtike & iij. ſecular, were diſcordant: Therefore the frenche king ſent to th Admirall, who was gone before into *Germanie* to ſolicite the action, a great quantity of money to be diſtributed amongeſt the electors: And as he vnderſtand that many of the free townes together with the Duke of *VVittemberg* gaue out threates againſt thoſe that ſought to tranſport the dignitie of the Empire into the perſon of ſtraungers, for the which they made leauies of men of warre: ſo he forgat not to collect great prouiſions of money and treaſor, to thende that both with corruption & armes, he might oppoſe againſt ſuch as put the electors in feare to make choice of him: But great was th inclination of the people of *Germanie* to keepe reteined the Imperial maieſty within the compaſſe of that nation, yea it concerned & ran euen amongſt the cōmunities of the *Svvizzers*, who for the loue they bare to their common contrie of *Germanie*, beſought the Pope, that in the election, he would not beare fauor to any that were not of the natural language of *Germanie*: Neuertheleſſe the Pope perſeuered to puſh on the french king, hoping that for thoſe degrees & demonſtracions of his affection towards him, he would at leaſt be brought to heare & take councel of him with greater credit & faith: vnder which councell followed with other reaſons, he labored in the ende to perſwade the king, that ſhaking of all hope from him ſelfe to be elected, he would worke with the ſame inſtance & importunity, to transferre the election to the perſon of ſome other of the Princes of *Germanie*: A councell that ſerued to ſmall purpoſe, for that th Admirall & *Robert Vrſin*, being cūningly caried ouer with the promiſes of ſuch, as, to make them ſelues rich with the money of *Fraunce*, fedde them with intencions very certeine and pleaſing, the one being of a french nature & the kings ſeruant, & the other bearing a light & vnſtayed condicion, and deſirous to win grace with the king: conſumed him dayly more and more with vaine aduertiſements increaſing his hope to cary the election: with theſe practiſes and operacions of money & ſiniſter meanes, the Princes,

to whom not more by antiquitie of custome or well grounded reason, then through permission and priuileage, or rather dispensacion of Pope *Gregorie* the fift a *Germain* of nation, belongeth the power to elect themperor of *Rome*, went according to that auncient vsage, to *Franckfort* a towne of lowe *Germanie*, where, as they contended vpon many poyntes and differences touching the proceding to the election in time due, obseruing their ordinances: They were aduertised of an army put already to the fielde by the king of *Spayne*, who was more carefull to wage souldiours with money, then to exspende his treasor in symonie and corruption vppon the electors: This armie approching neare the towne of *Franckfort*, vnder title to bridle all such as should offer force to the action of election, brought no small encouragement to those Electors who fauoured his cause, reduced to his parte those that stoode doubtfull, and so astonished the Marquis of *Brandenberg*, who was for the French king, that both dispayring of the concurrance of other Electors, and also glad to auoyde the hatred and vniuersall infamie of the whole nation, he had no hart to discouer his intention: So that comming at last to the act of election *Charles d'Austriche* king of *Spayne* was elected Emperour the xxviij. of Iune by the full voyces of these foure electors, the Archbishop of *Maience*, tharchbishop of *Colleine*, the Count *Palatine*, and the duke of *Saxon*: The Archbishop of *Treues* chooseth the Marquis of *Brandenberg*, who was also concurrant in the election of him selfe: But touching *Charles* it is not to be doubted, that if by equalitie of voyces the election had bene passed ouer to the gratification of the seuenth elector, that he had not bene also called, for that *Levvis* the king of *Boheme* who was also king of *Hungrie*, had promised his voyce to *Charles*.

Charles the fift chosen Emperour.

This election pulled downe marueilously the hart of the French king, and no lesse abated the reputation of all those that in *Italie* had their exspectation and dependancie of him: And on the other side, it rayseth into courage and stomacke all such as were occupied with hopes and thoughtes contrarie, seeing transferred and conioyned so great a power, in the person of one onely prince, whose youth and other apparances made showe of great effectes of ambicion in him, besides that there was promised and propheseid vpon him by many predictions, a right great & large empire, together with many worldly fortunes and felicities: And albeit he was not so riche in treasor and money as was the French king, yet it was noted in him a matter of right great importance, to be hable to furnishe his armies with footemen of *Svvizzers*, *Germains*, and *Spaniards*, people for their vallour, of great glorie and reputation through the world: A matter wherein he had a singular aduantage of the French king, who for that he had not in his kingdome a strength of footmen to oppose agaynst the vertue of these, had no meane to make strong warre, but by drawing with great expences and intollerable difficulties, bandes of footemen out of forreine contreis: A necessity which cõstrained him to enterteine with great charge and diligence, the nation of *Svvizzers*, and to endure of them many iniuries, and yet he neuer stoode fully assured neyther of their constancie nor of their fidelitie. Moreouer it was not to be doubted that betwene these two Princes of equall youth and ambicion, and hauing indifferent reasons and occasions of ielousie and contencion, would not in the ende arise a great and daungerous warre: for the French king was not without a burning desire to recouer the kingdome of *Naples*, to the whiche he aspired and pretended iust title: and he tooke greatly to hart the restoring of king *Iohn* to the realme of *Nauarre*, touching the which he nowe discerned that he had bene fed with vaine hopes. It troubled the Emperour to pay the hundred thousande

Occasions of contention betwene the fr. king and themperor.

ducketes

duckets promiſed in the accord of *Noyon*, and he interpreted agaynſt the king that in reiecting thaccord made before at *Paris*, and vſing immoderatly thoccaſion when he was to paſſe into *Spayne*, he had almoſt forced him to make a new accorde: Beſides, the cauſe of the duke of *Gueldres* was greene and freſh betwene them, A matter of it ſelfe without any other concurrancie, ſufficient to ſtirre them vp to warre & armes, for that as the French king on the one ſide had taken him into his protection, ſo on the other ſide he was holden by the people of *Flaunders*, a ſeuere and bitter enemie: But aboue all other quarrels the Duchie of *Burgondie* wrought in the mind of themperour no ſmall emulacion: which duchie being poſſeſſed by *Levvis* the eleuenth by reaſon of the death of *Charles* duke of *Burgondie* grandfather by the mothers ſide to themperours father, hath euer ſince tormented the minds of his ſucceſſors: Laſtly there wanted no matter or occaſions of ſtrife and warre for the duchie of *Millan*, of which the king raigning had not ſince the death of *Levvis* the twelfth, neither demaunded nor obteined the inueſtiture: Beſides, there was pretended to the rightes which had bene gotten to him by the inueſtiture which had bene made to his predeceſſor, many chalenges & exceptions aſwell touching the inualiditie, as the loſſe of thoſe rights, which was matter ſufficient to ſtirre them vp to quarrell: Neuertheleſſe neither the time ronning, nor the oportunitie preſent (which are the guiders of actions) conſented as then that they ſhould enter into any innouacion: for, beſides that themperour of neceſſitie was to repaſſe firſt into *Germanie*, to receiue at *Aix* the crown of thempire according to the cuſtome of thoſe that are elected: yet they were either of them ſo puiſſant & mightie in their particular, that the difficultie to offend one another kept them reſtrayned from all inuaſion vntill they had perfect informacion of the intencion & diſpoſicion of other Princes, but ſpecially of the Pope, in caſe the warre were to begin in *Italie*: his intencions & inclinacion were ſo obſcured & couered with artificial & faire ſemblãces, that much leſſe that they were knowen to others, ſeing happly at ſometimes they held no reſolucion in himſelf, notwithſtãding he had diſpẽſed with *Charles* for thacceptatiõ of thelection made in his perſon, contrarie to the tenor of thinueſtiture of the realme of *Naples*, wherin (being made according to the auncient forme of inueſtitures) he was expreſly forbidden ſuche a matter: But what ſoeuer he did in that action, proceded not ſo much of good will, as for that he had no occaſion to refuſe it to him, without offending him greatly.

The Popes enterpriſe vpon Ferrara.

So that the regions of *Italie*, for theſe reaſons, ſtoode in good eſtate of peace and tranquilitie, notwithſtãding in the end of the ſame yere, the Pope ſought to poſſeſſe the citie of *Ferrara*, not with manifeſt armes, but by ſecret ambuſh and deuiſe: for albeit it might haue bene beleeued, that for the death of his Nephewe *Lavvrence de Medicis*, eſpecially for that there wanted in his houſe rather men then eſtates, he would haue ſhaked of all thoughtes & ambicion to occupie *Ferrara* to the which he had alwayes aſpired before: yet whether he was puſhed on by a hatred conceiued agaynſt that Duke, or by a deſire to make himſelfe equal, or at leaſt to come as neare as he could, to the glory of *Iulio*, he had not, neither for the death of his brother, nor for the loſing of his nephew, diminiſhed any part of that burning ambiciõ: by which experience it maye be eaſily diſcerned that the ambicion of Prieſtes taketh of nothing ſo great norriture, as of it ſelfe: But the qualitie of the time and the ſituacion and fortreſſe of that Citie whiche *Alfonſo* with great diligence had reduced to good rampiers & fortifications, would not agree that he ſhould make his enterpriſe with forces open and diſcouered, ſeing withal he had prouided an infinit quantity of faire artilleries & munitions, & improuing to thuttermoſt his reuenues, & limiting al his

exſpences, impoſing newe taxacions and tributes, and laſtely expreſſing in all things the minde of a marchant more then of a prince, it was beleeued he had gathered together a huge maſſe of money and treaſor: In ſo much that if the condicions of the time changed not, there remayned to the Pope no other hope to cary it, then by the way of ſecret conſpiracie and practiſe: wherof as he had in vayne made experience in times paſt with *Nicho. d'Eſte* and many others: And *Alfonſo* for that he knewe not that he followed any more thoſe practiſes, helde himſelfe almoſt aſſured, not of his will, but of his conſpiracies and ambuſhes: So it ſeemed to the Pope, for the meanes that were offred to him, and for that *Alfonſo* by thoppreſſion of a long maladie was reduced to thoſe deſperate tearmes that there was almoſt no hope of his recouerie, and withall for that his brother the Cardinall, becauſe he would not remayne in the Court of *Rome* with diſgrace, was gone into *Hungrie*, that the time conſented to execute ſome plot layde and preferred by ſome exiles of *Ferrara*, and by their working, by *Alexander Fregoſo* Biſhop of *Vintemille* who was then at *Bolognia*, for that aſpiring to be Duke as his father the Cardinall had bene, he was ſuſpected of *Octauian Fregoſo*: The ſame Biſhop hauing had ill ſpeede in the traffikes and practiſes whiche he managed to bring him agayne into his owne countrey, promiſed to him ſelfe a better courſe and more happie ſucceſſe in the driftes which he ſhould driue for an other in a ſtraunge countrey: So that after he had ſecretly receiued of the Pope ten thouſande duckets, he leauyed vnder cooller to reenter *Genes* by force, a power of two thouſand footemen partly in the countreys of *Rome*, and partly within the iuriſdiction of *Lunigiane*: By the brute and rumor of which muſtering, *Octauian Fregoſa* fearing to be ſurpriſed by him, made him ſelfe ſtrong both by ſea and lande: But the Biſhop making as though by the diſcloſing of his driftes, he were falne from all hope to be hable at that tyme to alter theſtate of *Genes*, gaue aduertiſement to *Federike de Boſſolo* with whoſe ayde the towne of *Concorda* was chiefly maynteined agaynſt Count *Iohn Frauncis* of *Mirandola*, that he might vſe the ſeruice of his forces vntill the expiracion of their paye which yet continued almoſt a moneth: And after he had paſſed the *Appenin*, he diſcended into the countrey of *Corregio*, taking the waye by ſlowe marchinges to *Concorda*: The fundacion of this treatiſe or ſolicitation was to paſſe the ryuer of *Pavv*, for which effect certayne ſeruauntes of *Albert Carpi* conſenting to thexpedicion, had vnder cooller to be marchauntes of corne, hyered many barkes ryding at the mouth of the ryuer of *Secchio*, and paſſing in them the ryuer of *Pavv*, the Biſhoppe layde hys pretence to approache vppon the ſuddayne neare to *Ferrara*, where for that he had beene not many monethes before, he had carefullye ſurueyed one parte of the towne vppon the ryuer ſide, where fortie faddomes of the wall were downe to the earth, whiche was a breach ſufficient enough to enter: This breache or ruine of wall, for that it was but lately falne, was not reenforced and made vp agayne ſo ſpeedily as apperteyned, both for that the neighborhood of the ryuer and the priuacion of feare, had noriſhed ſecuritie and negligence in ſuche as ought to haue prouided and repayred ſuche diſorders: But when the rumor ranne through the countrey that the Biſhoppe of *Vintemille* was paſſed the *Appenin* with his ſouldiours, the Marquis of *Mantua*, though for no particular ſuſpicion, yet following his aunciente cuſtome to take awaye all meanes from forreine bandes to paſſe the ryuers, retyred to *Mantua* all the barkes that laye in the mouth of *Secchio*: By whiche accident the Biſhoppe loſte the oportunitie and ſeruice of thoſe barkes whiche were hyered, and leſſe meane to recouer other ſo ſoone as the neceſſitie of the expedicion required,

quired, for that the officers for the Churche that were neareſt that place, were not made priuie to the practiſe, or at leaſt if they had any ynkling, they were without Commiſſion to deale in it: In ſo muche that whyleſt he ſearcheth with the Agents of *Albert* ſome remedie, and reapoſeth his people about the confines of *Corregia*, where, by indiſcreſſion he diſcloſeth to ſome the particularities of his purpoſe: the Marquis of *Mantua* ſendeth one of his men to imparte the intencion and diſcourſe of the enterpriſe to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who doubted ſo litle of any ſuche matter, that he was hardly induced to beleeue it: Neuertheleſſe looking with better eyes into the ſtate of his daunger, that parte of the wall that was ruinate mouing him more then any other thing, he beganne to wage men of warre: And making as though he had no ſuſpicion of the Pope, he aduertiſed him of the ambuſhes dreſſed againſt him by the Biſhop of *Vintemille*, beſeeching him to giue direction to the gouernors thereaboutes to miniſter ſuccours to him if neede required: A requeſt which was readily graunted and executed by the Pope by writtes and letters in his fauour, notwithſtanding he diſpatched ſecretlye at the ſame tyme Commiſſions to the contrarie. The rumor that ranne of the preparacions whiche were made at *Ferrara*, ioyned to the difficulties to paſſe the ryuer of *Pavv*, tooke from the Biſhop all hope to accompliſhe his enterpriſe, by reaſon whereof he drewe with his armie towards *Concorda*: And whyleſt he treated with thoſe that were within (who were alreadie entred into ſuſpicion againſt him) to inuade *Mirandola*, he preſented him ſelfe ſodenly in the night before the walls of *Concorda* and gaue thaſſalt, to thend to induce a perſwaſion that he was come into thoſe places not to go to *Ferrara*, but to impatroniſe him ſelfe vpon *Concorda*: But this aſſault as it was in vayne, ſo the reſidue of the expedicion drewe with it a light effect, for that afterwards he diſmiſſed the moſte parte of his ſouldiors: he left many men in opinion, and euen *Alfonſo* him ſelfe, that if the meane to paſſe the ryuer of *Pavv*, had not bene taken from him, the breache or ruine of the wall that was reuerſed, had miniſtred to him a great commoditie to take *Ferrara*, wherein was not one bande nor regiment of men of warre, the Duke extreamely diſeaſed, and the vniuerſall people in ſuche diſcontentment of him, that in an accident ſo ſodayne and vnprouided, there were fewe that would haue ſought their remedie by armes, or offred their bodies to be oppoſed againſt ſuche a danger.

Nowe followeth the yere a thouſand fiue hundred and twentie, wherin the peace of *Italie*, for the ſame reaſons and occaſions by the which it had bene preſerued the yeare before, tooke continuacion and helde good: But newe doctrines beganne to ſpreade and increaſe, firſt againſt the authoritie of the Churche of *Rome*, and afterwardes againſt the courſe of Chriſtian religion: This doctrine tooke beginning in *Germanie* in the countrey of *Saxonie*, by the preachinges of *Martin Luther* ſometimes of the order of *Saint Auguſtine*, who renewed at the firſt for the moſte parte, the auncient errours of the *Bohemiens*, whiche beeing reproued by the vniuerſall councell of the Churche holden at *Conſtance*, by whoſe authoritie were burned *Iohn Hus* and *Ierome a Prage* two heades of thoſe hereſies, had lyen of long tyme conteyned within the limittes of *Bohemia*: The cauſe that newely ſtirred vp theſe opinions in *Germanie* was a contempte of the authoritie of the ſea Apoſtolike, which Pope *Leo* abuſed too licēciouſly: he folowing toomuch the counſel of *Lavvrence Puccio* cardinal of the title of foure Saints touching the adminiſtraciō of graces which the court of *Rome* diſtributeth vpō things ſpiritual & beneficiall, had diſperſed throughout the world without diſtinction of times or places, moſt ample indulgences, whervnto he had ioyned a power to helpe not onely thoſe that were yet in this

1520. *Martin Luther agaynſt the Pope.*

life, but also to deliuer the soules of the dead out of the paynes of purgatorie: And because it was manifestly knowen that those indulgences were graunted onely to drawe money from men, and the same impudently demaunded by the Commissaries deputed for that exaction, who had bought of the Popes officers power to exercise and distribute by sale the sayde indulgences: they had bread in many places a great indignation and many slaunders, and especially in *Germanie*, where were detected many of his ministers selling for a small price, or set vpon a game at tables in a Tauerne, the power to redeeme the soules of dead men out of Purgatorie: This indignacion tooke also increasing by an other degree of abuse in the Pope, who for the facilitie of his nature managing in many things the office of Pope with verye litle maiestie, made donacion to his sister *Magdalene*, of the profite and exaction of the indulgences in many quarters of *Germanie*, and she assigned her commissarie Bishoppe *Arembauld*, a minister worthy suche a commission, which he executed with no litle auarice and extorcion: And forasmuche as it was knowne notoriously through all *Germanie*, that the money that was drawen by these indulgences, were not payed ouer to the Pope nor the Apostolike chamber, who happlye might haue exspended some parte of it in good vses, but was transferred indirectly to satisfie the infinite couetousnesse of a frayle woman, not onely the exaction became detestable and the officers of the same, but also the name and authoritie of him who with so little discression graunted it. Vnder this occasion *Luther* entred into his controuersie, and beganne not onely to contemne those indulgences, but also in them to taxe and reprehende the authoritie of the Pope: and drawing to him euery daye greate numbers of Auditors who ranne to heare a matter so well receyued of the eares of the people, he beganne to denie and quarrell more openly the authoritie of the Pope.

Of these beginninges happlye honest of them selues, or at least excusable in the greatest parte, he nourished his occasion and auowed it to be iuste: And beeing further caryed with ambicion and popular inclinacion ioyned to the speciall fauour of the Duke of *Saxon*, he went on not onely to taxe the power of the Popes and the authoritie of the Churche of *Rome*, but also standing styll vppon the errours of the *Bohemiens*, he beganne with tyme to batter the Images of Churches, to depriue places Ecclesiastike of their goodes, and to permit mariages to Monkes and Nunnes professed, confirming his opinion not onely with authoritie and with argumentes, but also with the example of him selfe: He denyed that the power of the Pope was extended out of the Bishopricke of *Rome*, and maynteined that euerye other Bishoppe had as muche authoritie and power in his particular Dioceese, as the Pope had within the Bishopricke of *Rome*: He reiected all matters determined in Councells, all traditions written by those that are called Doctors of the Church, and all Cannons and decrees of Popes, and reduced him selfe onely to the olde Testament, to the booke of the Gospels, to the Actes of the Apostles, to all that is comprehended vnder the name of the newe Testament, and to the Epistles of *Saint Paule*: Onely he gaue to all these a newe sence and interpretacion doubtfull, suche as neuer had beene hearde of before. But the follye of *Luther* and hys adherentes stayed not onely there, but beeing in effecte followed of all *Germanie*, and running dayly into errours more detestable and daungerous, he came at last to deale with the Sacramentes of the Church, and to despise fastings, penances, and confessions, yea some of his followers (suche as some waye differed from his opinion) spake matter of blasphemie agaynst the *Eucharist*: All which thinges being

being originally reproued by the authoritie of councels and holy doctors, haue giuen an entry to all newe and peruerse inuencions and interpretations, and going on encreasing and amplifying in many places out of the bounds of *Germanie*, for that they conteine such propertie of doctrine, that deliuering men from many cõmaundementes established for their safety by the generall Councels of the Church, by the decrees of Popes, by thauthoritie of Cannons, and by the sound interpretations of holy doctors, they bring men backe to a maner of lyfe more full of libertie, yea euen according to their owne fancie and luste. The Pope laboured in the beginning to quench this pestiferous doctrine, and yet he forbare to vse remedies and medicines proper and conuenient to cure so great a maladie: for he cited to *Rome Martin Luther*, he forbad him to preache, and afterwardes for his disobedience, he imposed vpon him the censures of the Church: But he absteined not from the action of many things of yll example, and suche as beeing reasonably reproued and blamed by *Luther*, became very intollerable to all men: for proceding agaynst him in his intemperancie, with armes spirituall and ecclesiastike, muche lesse that he did diminishe, but did augment in the mindes of the people, the reputacion of *Martin*, as though those persecutions had taken their beginning of the innocencie of his lyfe and of his sounde doctrine, rather then vpon any other occasion: The Pope sent into *Germanie* many religious men to preache agaynst him, and countenanced them with many letters & writtes of credence to princes and prelates: But neither that course nor any other meanes which he vsed to represse him, serued to nothing, by reason of the vniuersall inclination of the people, and the speciall protection and fauor of the Duke of *Saxon* being within his iurisdiction: In so muche as the cause of *Luther* began to seeme euery day in the court of *Rome* to carye greater importaunce, and to augment a feare amongest them that there grewe not of it some great domage touching the greatnesse of Popes, the profites of the Court of *Rome*, and the vnion of Christian religion: for which occasion in that yere were sommoned many consistories at *Rome*, and many consultations assembled in the chamber of the Pope, and many disputacions amongest the Cardinalls and diuines specially deputed, to deuise a remedie for suche an euill whiche tooke increasing dayly: And albeit there were some amongst thē in this solemne Councell, that failed not to reduce to the Popes memorie, that the persecutions whiche had bene executed agaynst *Luther*, since they were not accompanied with a correction of things damnable in them selues, had increased his reputation and goodwill with the people, and that it had beene a lesse euill to dissemble the knowledge of suche a matter whiche perhaps woulde haue dissolued of it selfe, then by blowing at the brande to make the fyre burne more and caste a greater flame: yet (suche is the nature of mortall men to proceede with remedies fierce and violent) the persecutions were not only redoubled agaynst him and his followers commonly called *Lutherans*, but also a wonderfull writte of threatning monicion thundred oute agaynst the Duke of *Saxon*, by the whiche being so muche the more incensed and kindled, he became with a greater affection the protector of his cause: whiche, for the space of many yeares went multiplying so farre, that there was great daunger least the residue of Christendome were not infected with the contagion: But there is nothing that so muche hath restrayned his course, as the knowledge that men tooke that the followers of his doctrine, did no lesse impugne the imperie and power of Princes temporall, then were moste ennemies to the authoritie of the Popes of *Rome*, A reason whiche hath moued manye Princes, for their proper interestes, to labour wyth studie and

seueritie to keepe out of their realmes and principalities, that contagion: And of the contrarie, albeit those errours haue beene many tymes at the poynt to confounde and fall, both for the immoderate intemperancie of their heades and chieftayns, and for the diuersitie & contrarietie of opinions amongest their disciples, yet there is no one thing that so much hath enterteined and continued the obstinacion of them, as the licencious libertie whiche the people haue gotten in their maner of liuing, together with the couetousnesse of great men, who would not suffer the depriuation of those porcions of goods which they occupied of the Churches.

There happned nothing this yeare worthy of memorie, sauing that *Iohn Paule Baillon* and *Gentill* one of the same famulie, beeing at *Perousa*, fell at quarrel betwene them selues, for that *Iohn Paule* being not content that he had the greatest parte and authoritie in the gouernment, sought to subiect the whole, in whiche ambicion he chased *Gentill* out of *Perousa*: for which violence the Pope being not a litle grieued, cited him to appeare personally at *Rome*, but fearing some daunger to his person, he forbare to go thither, but sent *Malatesta* his sonne with his iustifications and to protest his ready obedience to the Pope and all his commaundementes: Neuertheless the Pope insisting still vpon his personal appearance, after the passion of many douts and perplexities, he was resolued at last to go to *Rome*, being caried partly with confidence in his auncient merites and seruices done in all times to his house, and partly ouerruled by the perswasions of *Camilla Vrsin* his sonne in lawe with other his friends, who bothe extended their authoritie and applyed all other meanes they could to the Pope for his safety: of whom they obteined promise vnder his fidelitie and expresse assurance (though not set downe in writing, but pronounced with the Popes mouth with great arte) vnder confidence whereof he willed them to encourage him to appeare, which they accomplished vnder warrant of assurance from them that he might do it in safetie: But when he was come to *Rome*, he founde the Pope vnder coollur of his recreation according to his custome, gone a fewe dayes before, to the Castell *S. Angelo*, whither *Iohn Paule* going the morning following to present himselfe to him, he was before he came there, made prisoner by the capteine of the Castell: Afterwards he was rigorously examined by iudges assigned, to whom in this miserie he confessed that he had committed manye grieuous faultes aswell for the conseruation of tyrannie as to continue his disordered pleasures, and to obserue his other interesse particular: for the which, after he had bene prisoner more then two monethes, he was beheaded according to the ordinance and sentence of the lawe: it was beleeued that the Pope was induced to this punishment, for that he discerned in the warre of *Vrbin* by many signes, that *Iohn Paule* bare a minde estraunged from him, that he had enterteined conspiracies with *Francisco maria*, and that he coulde not in all accidentes assure him selfe of him, and consequently so long as he was at *Perousa*, he coulde make no fundacion of that estate. The children of *Iohn Paule*, assoone as they heard of the restrayning of their father, stedde from the malice of the Pope, who to readresse the gouernment of *Perousa* according to his fancie, gaue that Legacion to *Siluio* Cardinall of *Cortono*, his seruaunte and of his auncient bringing vppe: He restored *Gentill* into *Perousa*, to whome he gaue the goodes whiche *Iohn Pavvle* had possessed, and so resting vppon a foundacion and subiect verye weake, he conuerted into him all greateneesse and reputacion. In lyke sorte this yeare, the Pope, who attributed more to fortune or wante of discression then to any other operacion, the losse and miscarying of the Bishoppe of *Vintemillo*, began to enforce newe ambushes agaynst the

The Pope executeth Io. Paule Baillon.

Duke

Duke of *Ferrara*, by the meane and working of *Hubert Gambaro* the Apostolike pronotory: To him, one *Rodolphe* Capteine of certeine bandes of launceknights which *Alfonso* held for his gard, had promised to put into his hāds at his pleasure, the entry of the gate of the castell *Tialto*, whether the souldiours that were to be sent from *Bolognia* and *Modona*, hauing meane to come without passing the riuer of *Pavv* but by the wodden bridge which is before that gate: direction was giuen to *Guido Rangon* and the gouernor of *Modena* to assemble a certeine crewe of souldiours vnder some other cooller, and to go make a surprise of that gate, and to defend it vntill were ariued the others that were to come from *Bolognia* and *Modena*: But the day to execute thenterprise was no sooner determined vppon, then it was discouered that *Rodolphe* to whom by the Popes ordenance were giuen about two thowsand duckats by *Hubert Gambaro*, had from the beginning communicated all the conspiracie to *Alfonso*, who, after he was well informed and assured of the Popes intencion & his purposes, stopped the further course and passage of things, and reuealed to all men the deceit of *Rodolphe*.

In this yeare thEmprour passed by sea out of *Spaine* into *Flaunders*, and making his course by the shoares of *England*, he discended and tooke land there, not by necessity as his father did, but voluntarily to haue conference with the king of *England*, with whom he found good agreement: from *Flaunders* he went into *Germany*, where he receiued in the moneth of October, at *Aix* being a citie of fame and renowme for the auncient residencie and sepulcher of *Charlamaine*, the first crowne, which is as men say the selfe same crowne with the which *Charlamaine* was celebrated: it was deliuered to him according to olde obseruacion, by the authoritie of the Princes of *Germany*: But that felicitie was troubled with new accidents hapning in *Spaine* which grew vpon this occasion: The populars and vniuersall multitudes of that kingdom, were not a litle agreeued with his promocion to thEmpire, as knowing that to the great incommoditie and harme of them all, he should for sundry occasions be constrayned to spend the most part of his tyme out of *Spaine*: But the principall cause of that discontentment and stirre, was the generall hatred they had conceiued against the couetousnes of such as gouerned him, especially against *Monsr de Cheures*, who expressing desires insatiable, had raked together by many meanes, A great masse of treasor: By whose example the other *Flemmings* were caried by humors couetous and getting to sell for ready mony to straungers, those offices & Magistracies which were wont to be bestowed vppon *Spanyards*, and made vendible all other graces, priuileages, fauors and expedicions of Court: Insomuch as all mens mindes being inflamed against the name of the *Flemmings*, the people of the vale of *Olyt* beganne to draw into rebellion, at such tyme as thEmprour departed: And immediatly after he was gonne out of *Spaine*, all the peoples of any prouince whatsoeuer gathered into commocion, not against their king as they protested, but to suppresse the couetousnes of his wicked gouernors: And after they had communicated together their councels, they would no more obey the kings Officers, but of them selues set downe a forme of gouernment dressed by the vniuersall councell of the multitude, which they called *La santa ginuta*: such is the name they giue to the vniuersall councell of the popular sort: The Capteines and kings Officers tooke armes against them, and so thinges being reduced to a manifest warre, the disorders encreased by so many degrees, that thEmprour held amongest them a very small authoritie: The same being the cause that aswell in *Italy* as out of *Italie*, the hope of those encreased who desired the diminucion of suche a greatnes: Neuertheless as his armie by sea had wonne

Th Emprour in England.

Commocions in Spaine.

vpon the *Moares* the Ile of *Gerbes*, so in *Germanie* the reputacion of the frenche king had bene somewhat embased: for, the king, to nourrish the troubles of *Germanie*, fauored in that prouince, the Duke of *VVittemberg*, who was disagreeing from the league of *Suaue*, which thing, his peoples finding and feeling to their damage and harme, they chassed him by force out of his estate, and after they had wonne his liuing vpon him, they sold it to thEmperour whom they knew to be desirous to pull downe the factioners of the frenche king: thEmperour bounde him selfe to defende them in all oppressions whatsoeuer, insomuch as the Duke seeing him selfe reduced to hope in the succours of the frenche, was constrained to haue his recourse to the clemencie of thEmperour, and to receiue of him such lawes as was his pleasure to assigne, not being for all that restored to the possession of his Dukedom.

Towards the end of this yeare, a regiment of three thowsand spanishe footemen hauing no mindes to returne into *Spaine*, according to a cõmaundment which they receiued of thEmperour, and litle esteeming thauthority of their Capteynes, passed to *Reggia* in *Calabria*: And from thence, committing many insolencies as they past, they drew towards the territories of the Church: A matter which put the Pope (in whose minde was fixed the memorie of thaccidents of *Vrbin*) in great feare, least being either stirred vp by other Princes, or ioyning them selues with *Franciscomaria*, or with the sonnes of *Iohn Pavvle Baillon*, or some other enemies of the Churche, they were not the cause of some great emocion: This feare was made greater in the Pope, for that the souldiers refused the offers made to them by him & the *Viceroy* of *Naples* to enterteyne parte of them in paye, and to distribute money to the residue: But these offers raised them so much the more into corage, & made them to march towards the riuer of *Tronto*, not keeping the straite way of *Capinai*, but spreading ouer the large way of *Povvilla*: The resorte of other souldiers ioyning with them daily, together with certeine companies of horsemen encreased more & more the humor of this feare: In men timerous feare is a readie impression, and for the time carieth the minde in contemplacions of perill and daunger: Neuertheless this emocion tooke ende both with more expedicion and more facilitie then was exspected, since assoone as they had passed *Tronto* to enter into the marke of *Ancona* whether the Pope had sent strength of souldiers, & incamping before *Ripatransono*, they were compelled to retire for the great losse of men they had susteined in a fierce assault they gaue to the souldiers within *Ripatransono*: an accident so preiudiciall to their vallour and reputacion, that they accepted willingly of thEmperours officers, condicions of farre lesser quality then such as they had reiected before.

The ende of the thirtenth Booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE FOVRETENTH BOOKE.

POPE Leo is the cauſe that the peace continueth not in Italy: He ioyneth in league with th Emprour againſt the French king: The French king loſeth the Duchie of Myllan: Pope Leo dyeth: Adrian the ſixt is created Pope: Frauncis Sforce reentreth vppon the Duchie of Myllan: Warre is made in Tuskane by Ranſe de Cere.

THE FOVRETEENTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

ABout the beginning of the yeare 1521. was reappeaſed that former litle ſtirre, touching the which mens mindes ſuffered more feare by a freſhe recordacion and memorie of thoſe bands of ſpaniſh footemen that inuaded the ſtate of *Vrbin*, then for any other cauſe bearing either reaſon, likelihood, or probabilitie of terrour: But as one warre draweth on an other like to diſeaſes that redouble in bodies il diſpoſed, ſo, not many moneths after, *Italy* began eftſoones to be vexed with warres of greater perill, of longer continuance, and of more importance, then were all the other quarrells that had paſſed affore: Wherein the ambicion of two moſt mighty kings puffed vp with mutuall ielowſies, hatreds, and deepe ſuſpicions, drew them on to make exerciſe of all their power and forces in the partes and bowels of *Italy*, which hauing skarcely breathed three yeres in peace (and yet alwayes full of doubt and ſuſpicion) it ſeemed that in the powers of heauen, deſtinye, and fortune, was layed vp either a manifeſt enuie of their tranquillitie, or els a ſuperſticious feare that vnder the benefit of reſt and concorde, thoſe regions woulde eftſoones returne to their auncient felicitie and greatnes.

Such perſonages were the beginners of theſe new emotions, as albeit they had farre more intereſt then all others to procure the preſeruacion of the peace, yet generally and ſeuerally they troubled it more then any others, and by their induſtrie & authoritie, ſought to kindle the fire, which they ought to haue quenched with their propper blood, if other remedies had not ſufficed.

For, notwithſtanding the hard moodes and inclinacions betwene Cæſar and the French king grew increaſing continually, yet there was no cauſe at all to puſh them on ſo faſt to make preſent warre, neither did the one ſo farre exceede the other in *Italy*, either with force or friendes, or any other propertie of ayde, that they were able to offend one an other without the fauors, oportunities, and meanes of the *Italian* Princes: for that as the French king had no reaſon to feare any vexacion of Cæſar, neither touching the kingdom of *Naples*, nor for any quarrel of *Germany*, both hauing the *Venetians* conioyned with him for the defenſe of *Myllan*, and in the *Svvizzers*

remayning no more readynes to make warres in their owne names, but ſtoode only diſpoſed to ſerue as ſouldiors to who ſo euer would miniſter paye to them: ſo alſo he had no meane to offende Cæſar in the realme of *Naples*, vnleſſe the Pope were concurrant with him in the action, who ſtoode ſolicited by them both by many offers and meanes to be their friende: In ſo muche as it was beleeued, that if the Pope continuing indifferent betweene them, were carefull to temper and raunge with his high authoritie, and fidelitie of a newter, their diſdaynes and quarrells, and to cut of and ſtop the paſſage of their troubleſome councells, the peace would eaſily be preſerued without violacion: And there was not diſcerned any apparant cauſe why he ſhould ſeeke to incenſe the warre, both for that he had with yll ſpeede broken out into armes before, and withall, conſidering the greatneſſe of thoſe two Princes, it ſtoode him vpon to keepe an indifferent feare of the victorie of eyther of them, ſince it was euidently ſeene into that whether of them ſoeuer preuayled in that warre, could not be ſtayed from ſubduing and ſubiecting to his obedience all the regions of *Italie*: The Pope poſſeſſed in peace and great obedience the large eſtate of the Churche and of *Rome*, and his whole Court floriſhed wonderfully vnder him in plentifull happines and felicitie: He had full authoritie ouer the ſtate of *Florence*, which in thoſe times was a ſtate mightie in people, policie, and riches: He was naturally inclined to eaſe and pleaſures, and therefore made it an offence to his libertie and greatnes to heare ſpeake of ſutes and affayres: His cuſtome was to conſume the day in hearing of Muſike, in ſeeing ſtage playes, and trifling with ſkoffers and ieſters: ſo that being more effeminate then was eyther conuenient or comely, it ſeemed he ſhould be altogether eſtraunged from the warre: Beſides, as he was full of gracious liberalities and magnificencie, ſuche as might bee tearmed wonderfull though he had diſcended by long ſucceſſion from great kings, ſo he had not onely by his incredible prodigalities and diſtribucions without diſcreſſion or diſtinction conſumed the treaſors gathered by *Iulio*, but alſo hauing exacted an infinite quantitie of money of the expedicions of the Court and many newe ſortes of offices inuented to rayſe gayne, he had waſted all ſo exceſſiuely, that he was ſtill conſtrayned to ſtudie meanes and deuiſes to interteine thoſe immoderate exſpences which grewe increaſing with the vanitie of his diſpoſition: He had no deuocion to rayſe or make great any of his houſe or kinred: and though he was poſſeſſed with a vehement deſire to recouer *Parma* and *Plaiſanca*, and no leſſe ambicion to reduce to him the ſtate of *Ferrara*, yet he thought them not cauſes ſufficient to remoue him from his pleaſures, nor to reuerſe the peaſible condition of things, but in his delightes and ſecuritie he helde it better to temporiſe and exſpect oportunities and occaſions.

But right truely is it ſpoken, that there is no greater enemie to great men then too great proſperitie, for that it takes from them all rule of them ſelues, it makes them full of libertie, it giues them boldnes to do euill, aud it breedes in them a deſire and aptnes to trouble their proper weale and benefite by innouacions and newe things.

Pope Leo is the cauſe of the warre.

Leo being thus lifted to ſo high eſtate, ſuffred to be bred in him many conſiderations: ſometimes he ſawe what infamie it brought to him to loaſe *Parma* and *Plaiſanca* gotten by *Iulio* with ſo great glorie, and to that moode was ioyned his burning deſire to aduaunce thaction of *Ferrara*: ſometimes he ſeemed to ſee that if he dyed without doing ſome thing of importance, the memorie of his pontificacie woulde remayne diſhonored: ſometimes he feared leaſt thoſe two kings (they both beeing excluded out of hope to haue him on their ſide, and therefore leſſe hable to offende

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one an other) would grow at last to contract betwene them selues some league preiudiciall tending to the ruine of the Church and the residue of *Italie*: sometimes he hoped(as I haue heard the Cardinal *de Medicis* say who knew all his secrets)that the frenchmen being chassed out of *Genes* and *Millan*,he might the more easely expulse *Cæsar* out of the kingdom of *Naples*, and so appropriate to him selfe the glorie of the libertie of *Italie*, to the which his predecessor had manifestly aspired: An enterprise which by howe muche lesse he thought he was hable to accomplishe by his proper forces, by so much more did he hope,by appeasing somwhat the mind of the french king, either by thelection of some Cardinall whom he would preferre,or by his readines to gratifie him in some other matters,to draw him to giue him succors against Cæsar, as though it were a satisfaction to the king to see that as muche was done to Cæsar as to him: These were his concepcions,such were the discourses of his mind, & in these variacions did he fashion the image of things: But which soeuer of these causes moued him, whether one,or more, or all together, he tooke vnto him newe impressions, and turned all his thoughtes to the warre, and to ioyne him selfe with one of these two Princes, to thende that being allied with the one, he might moue warre in *Italie* against the other: And for a declaracion of his readines to the matter, as also not to be oppressed in the meane while by either of them: whileſt he negociated with them both,but more straitly and particularly with the french king,he sent into *Svvizzerland Antho.Puccio* Bishop of *Pistoyo* and afterwards Cardinal,to leauie and lead to the seruice of the Church, six thowsand *Svvizzers*: An armie, which, being deliuered to him without difficultie by the Cantons vnder the fauor of the confederacion which since the warre of *Vrbin* he had renewed with them,& hauing likewise got libertie of passage through the estate of *Millan*, was conducted vppon the lands and dominions of the Church,where he enterteined them many moneths as well in *Romagnia* as in *la Marqua*: Many were vncerteine to what endes he made so great & chargeable a leauie of men and not to employ them, seeing there was no stirre or alteracion in *Italie*: And albeit he assured the regions and potentacies of the same that he had armed them for his proper suerty,for that he knewe well that the rebells of the Church conspired some violent action against him: yet, the murmure of the people being not satisfied, for that his reasons bare small resemblance with trueth, men discoursed seuerally vppon it according to their seuerall fancies: some supposed that he called in those forces for feare of the frenche king, others beleued that he would employ them against *Ferrara*, and some thought that he would turne them against Cæsar to chasse him out of the kingdom of *Naples*: But the practise that was secret betwene him & the frēch king,was,that they should with their ioynt forces inuade the kingdom of *Naples*, vnder this condicion that *Caietta* and all that stoode betwene the riuer of *Garillan* and the confines of theccleſiastike state, should be for the Church,& the residue of the realme to reuert to the second sonne of *Fraunce*, who, vntill he came to the age of maiority should be gouerned,together with the kingdom by a Legat Apostolicall that should lye resident at *Naples*: Moreouer, it was an article in the capitulacion that the king should aide him against the subiects and freholders of the sea Apostolike, which was a condicion affixed for the better assuring of that which the Church helde already, and no lesse tending to the desire which the Pope had to get *Ferrara*.

In these times and in very good season for those practises,the french king, no lesse taking thoccasion of the tumultes of *Spaine*, then obseruing the perswasions of the Pope (which he afterwards assured by complaintes)sent out an army into the king-

dom of *Nauarre* vnder *Monsr d'Asperot* brother to *Lavvtrech*, to raunge that kingdom & reduce it to his auncient king, requiring at the same instant *Robert de la Marche* and the Duke of *Gueldres*, to breake out and vexe the confyns of *Flaunders*: The sedicions of *Spaine* were the cause that *Monsr d'Asperot* made an easie conquest of the kingdom of *Nauarre*, both beeing destitute of succours, and also not without a great memory and deuocion to their originall and auncient king: for, after he had forced with his artilleries the castel of *Pampeluna*, he entred the frontyers of the kingdom of *Catelognia* and tooke *Fontarabye*, ronning vp euen to *Logrogma*: of this enterprise it hapned, as oftentimes commeth to passe in humane thinges, that that which men thought would haue brought preiudice and harme to Cæsar, turned greatly to his seruice and benefit: for the matters of *Spaine* beeing trauelled till that time with diuers aduentures and fortunes, were nowe reduced into very great perplexities and troubles, for that on the one side, the multitude and popular sorte were bandyd together, and on the other side many Nobles and Barons had taken armes for the seruice of *Cæsar*: They, for thintereste of their estates, feared the popular libertie being nowe come to a manifest rebellion, and the rather to haue it gouerned by a head of authoritie, they had drawne out of the castell of *Sciatyua* the Duke of *Calabria*, whose fidelitie made him refuse to come out of prison because he woulde not beare armes against *Cæsar*: But such is the affection and conscience of men towards their naturall contrey, and such the perpetuall custome of contrey men when they see inuasions made by forreine forces, that ciuill quarrells can not take from them the feeling of common and forreine daungers: for, when the *Spanyards* sawe the armies of *Fraunce* make slaughter and hostilitie vpon their contrey, notwithstanding they had suffered the losse of the Realme of *Nauarre* beeing a member of their dominions by the vniting which the king Catholike made, they felt them selues so touched in conscience and affection, that partly for those regards, and partly for a happy encownter which the armie of Cæsar had made, they became men conuerted and returned to the obedience of their king, leauing suppressed and forgotten, their domesticall hatreds & contencions.

Fontarabye taken by the french.

After this easie conquest of the Realme of *Nauarre*, there happened to the king a farre greater successe if he could haue vsed thoccasion: for, as both he & Cæsar had their Embassadors with the *Svvizzers*, soliciting seuerally that nation to stand with them, so the Cantons did not onely refuse (contrary to thopinion of many, and against the hope that was giuen) the friendship and offers of Cæsar, but also embrased thallyance of the French king, binding them selues to furnish for his seruice so many footemen as he would, and for what enterprise it pleased him, and not to suffer any leauies of souldiers for any other against him.

There rested the execucion of the capitulacion made at *Rome* betwene the Pope and the king, who, when he was required to ratifie it, began to temporise and dwell in suspense, being aduertised by many that there was no exspectacion of sewertie in the Pope, in whom was no opinion of fidelity and confidence, and who, since he was possessed of the dignitie and place of Pope, had alwayes made declaration of small friendship towards the french: That it was to be feared that his doings were intangled with suttletie and deceite, since there was no congruencie of reason that the Pope should desire the diuoluing of the realme of *Naples* into his power or to thinheritance of his sonne, for that by howe muche more iurisdiction the french should haue in the kingdom of *Naples* and the Duchie of *Myllan*, by so much lesse would be the sewertie of the Pope amid a power so mighty and redowted: That so greate a

show

shewe of amitie breaking out vpon suche a sodayne, could not be without misterie: That the tokens of deceite that appeared warned him to take heede, that vnder the practise to conquer the kingdome of *Naples*, he fell not into the snares layde for him to loase the Duchie of *Millan*: for that to sende his armie into *Naples* was none other thing then to giue power and oportunitie to the Pope with his sixe thousande *Svvizzers* to breake it and put all to extreame hazarde, which beeing ouerthrowen there remayned no defence for the duchy of *Millan*: An estate which as he knew the Pope had fayled to take from him by armes and warre, so it was to be feared that he would assaye to depriue him of it by trecherie & deceit: These reasons so wrought with the king, that they made him doubtfull to ratifie the capitulation, and therfore exspecting happly an aunswere of some other practises, he sent no dispatche of the ratificacion to *Rome*, but left the Popes embassadors in suspēce. But for that the Pope eyther in deede (notwithstanding his shewes & semblances) had his mind estranged from the king, or (for that all the tearmes and dates to answere being past) he began to suspect a truthe: or happly for that he feared least the king woulde discouer to Cæsar his practises, & so some alliance to passe betwene them to his preiudice: or it might be he was pushed on by a vehement ambicion to recouer *Parma* & *Plaisanca*, and to do some thing worthy of memory: or lastly perhaps he might take to displeasure thinsolencie of *Monsr de Lavvtrech* and the Bishop of *Tarba* his minister, who contemning his commaundementes in the state of *Millan*, and reiecting some ecclesiasticall edictes, disdayned him with very prowde and insolent words: for some of these causes he determined to enter league agaynst the French king with Cæsar, who also for his parte, beeing kindled for the warre of *Nauarre*, and pushed on by many of the exiles of *Millan*, and lastly induced by some of his counsell desiring to embase the greatnes of *Monsr de Cheures*, who had alwayes perswaded him not to seperate him selfe from the French king, resolued to ioyne confederacion with the Pope agaynst the king: which he was thought to hasten the more, vnder a hope that with the Popes authoritie & his owne, he should eyther diminish or dissolue the alliance made with the *Svvizzers*, affore it were confirmed by bondes and other offices of gratification. Moreouer the Pope tooke greater occasion of confidence in this, that Cæsar, who had heard *Martin Luther* in the Parliament of *VVormes*, whither he was come vnder his safconduit, and hauing passed him to be examined by many diuines who made report that his doctrine was erroneous & dangerous for Christendome, had banished him to gratify the Pope: Only at last there was cōtracted betwene Cæsar & the Pope a confederacion for their cōmon defence, including also the famulie of *Medicis* and the state of *Florence*: This league was resolued without the priuitie of *Monsr de Cheures*, who til that time had borne with him right great place and authoritie, and dyed almost euen at the same time: There were also these addicions to the contract, that they should rayse warre agaynst the state of *Millan* at such time and in such maner as should be resolued vpon betwene them, and if it were subdued and conquered, then *Parma* and *Plaisanca* to reuert to the Church vnder the same rights and tytles with the which it had holden them before: That *Frauncis Sforce* who had beene chased out of *Millan* and remayned then at *Trente*, shoulde be eftsoones restored to the possession of that state, as hauing righte therevnto by thinuestiture of his father and by the renunciation of his brother: That the confederates shoulde bee bounde to defende hym in hys tytle: That the Duchie of *Millan* shoulde vse no other Saltes nor Saltpittes then those of *Cerua*: That it shoulde not onely bee lawfull to the Pope to proceede agaynst hys subiectes and freeholders,

Martin Luther.

Confederation betwene the Pope and th Emperour agaynst the Fr. king.

but also Cæsar to be bound (after the conqueſt of *Millan*) to ioyne with him againſt them, and namely for the recouerie of *Ferrara*. The tribute of the realme of *Naples* was increaſed, and there was promiſed to the Cardinall of *Medicis* a penſion of ten thouſande duckets out of the Archbiſhoprike of *Tolledo* which was newly voyde: And to *Alexander de Medicis* baſtard ſonne to *Lavvrence* & lately duke of *Vrbin*, was promiſed an eſtate in the dominion of *Naples* of ten thouſande duckets of reuenue.

The titles of thempire to the duchie of Millan.

For the more playne informacion & opening of theſe things, it is not out of purpoſe to ſet downe in briefe what were the rightes that Cæsar pretended thempire to haue vpon the duchie of *Millan* in thoſe times: The Lawyers of thempire alleaged that the auncient rightes of the Dukes of *Orleance* were of no conſideracion, for that what ſoeuer had bene accorded touching the ſucceſſion of *Madame Valentina*, was not confirmed with thauthoritie imperiall: And that for the preſent, that Duchie apperteined immediatly to thempire, becauſe thinueſtiture made to *Lodovvike Sforce* for him and his ſonnes, was reuoked by *Maximilian* grandfather to *Charles*, & that with ſo many & ample clauſes that the reuocacion had iudicially his effecte to the preiudice chiefly of his ſonnes, who neuer poſſeſſing it, their right & title was in hope, and not in effect: Therfore thinueſtiture was auaylable that was made to king *Lovvis*, for him and for his daughter *Clavvda*, in caſe ſhe were maried to *Charles*, and with condition that the mariage not going forward without that there were fault in *Charles*, it ſhould be nothing, and that the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould paſſe directly to *Charles*, who in that caſe was inueſted of it in the preſence of his father *Phillip*: That it followed therevpon that the ſeconde inueſtiture made to the ſame king *Lovvis*, for him and for the ſame Lady *Clavvda*, and for *Frauncis* Lorde of *Angouleſme*, was nothing worthe, as being made to the preiudice of *Charles* then an infante and vnder the tutorſhip of *Maximilian*: So that as the king then reigning could make no fundacion of that, ſo he could leſſe alleage intereſt in that duchie by new rightes or titles, for that much leſſe that he had obteined inueſtiture from themperour, ſeeing he had not ſo muche as demaunded it, as alſo it was manyfeſt that the ceſſion made to him by *Maximilian* at ſuche time as he rendred to him the Caſtell of *Millan*, could not helpe him: for that a chiefe aliened of proper authoritie, reuerteth immediatly to the ſupreame Lorde: And laſtely, for that *Maximilian Sforce*, notwithſtanding he had bene admitted by the conſent of themperor, and dying in that eſtate without hauing euer receiued thinueſtiture, he coulde not tranſport to an other the rightes that apperteined not to him ſelfe. Thus aſſone as the confederation was paſſed betwene the Pope & Cæsar againſt the french king, & that as ſecretly as might be: they cõſulted together (afore they entred publikely into armes) to procede by ambuſhes & practiſes, & by the meane of the exiles, to aſſaile at one time by ſoden inuaſion, the duchie of *Millan* and *Genes*: In which coũcel it was ſet down, that Cæsars gallies which were at *Naples*, and the Popes gallies armed with 2000. Spaniſhe footemen, ſhould fal at vnwares into the port of *Genes*, & hauing with thẽ *Iero. Adorno*, by whoſe authority and traine of folowers thoſe of the riuers which were of their faction drawing into cõmocion, they hoped that that citie would eaſily fall into tumult. On the other ſide *Frauncis Sforce* & *Ier. Moron* who was with him at *Trent* with many of the beſt ſort of the exiles, had conſulted that the French bandes that were within *Parma*, *Plaiſanca*, & *Cremona*, ſhould be charged at vnwares: That the like inuaſion ſhould be made at *Millan* by *Manfrei Paluoiſin* & *Matto de Brinzi* a chief cõmander in thoſe moũtaines, who ſhould leade thither by the lake of *Coma* certein launceknights, & ſo to execute that city wher they were aſſured to haue ſecret intelligẽce:

Practiſes againſt the fr. king.

More-

Moreouer if thoſe enterpriſes tooke good ſucceſſe, or any of them being of moſt importance, then thexiles of *Myllan* who were many gentlemē & they to be conueyed ſecretly to *Reggia* where ſhould meete them *Ieronimo Moron* at the day appoynted, ſhould draw into a ſtrength and riſe to enter into that ſtate, leauying with all poſſible diligence a campe of three thowſand footemen: for the better effect and expedicion of thoſe actions, the Pope ſent to *Frauncis Guicciardin* an auncient gouernor of *Modona* and *Reggia*, ten thowſand duckats, to be deliuered ouer to *Moron* for thinterteyning of footemen to be ready vpon the euent of thinges, to whom *Guicciardin* was commaunded to ſhew fauor, but ſecretly and in ſuch manner that the French king ſhould take no occaſion either to complayne of the actions of his Officers, or euill interpret the Pope.

Fraūcis Guicciardin the writer of this hiſtory.

But ſo vnperfect are the councells and deuiſes of man, and ſo naturally ſubiected to a prouidence infallible and immutable, that there is left no certeinty of their reſolucions and leſſe ſewertie in their mortall doings, them ſelues being no other thing then bodies compownded of imperfection, errour and frailtie: not one of theſe deuiſes ſucceded either to purpoſe or to profit: for, the army by ſea that went to *Genes* which was compownded of ſeuen gallies, foure Brigantyns and certein ſhippes of other nature, made a vaine ſhow affore the poart, for that Duke *Fregoſa*, doubting belike of their comming, had well manned and refurniſhed the towne: Inſomuch as they croſſed ſayle and retyred into the riuer of *Leuant*, after they found no mutinies nor any other thing well diſpoſed on their behalfe: And touching *Lombardye*, many of the exiles hauing ſpeciall priuitie with the negociacion there, together with the voice that *Ierom Moron* was to come to *Reggia*, *Federyk de Boſſolo* hauing intelligence of it, went to *Myllan* to giue ſignification to *Monſr d'Eſcud*, ſupplying the place of his brother who a litle before was gon into *Fraunce*: By reaſon of theſe aduertiſements, he mooſtered and drewe together the bands of men at armes that lay diſperſed in diuers places, and after he had giuen order that *Federyk* ſhould leade thether a thowſand footemen of his ſubiects, he went ſuddeinly to *Parma* with foure hundred launces: In the way he was from time to time made more certeine of thoſe thinges which *Federyk* had reaported to him, the rather for that the baniſhed men, not obſeruing the order that was giuen them to make their aſſemblies ſecret, were in an open force withdrawn to *Reggia*: They required in al places bands of ſouldiers, & gaue out in publike & manifeſt rumors that they would immediatly attēpt ſome new enterpriſe: in whoſe example & maner of proceding, cōtinued *Ierom Moron* that came after them, puſhed on perhaps with this reaſon, that by how much they did diſcloſe them ſelues and their enterpriſe, by ſo much would it breede hatred & enimitie betwene the Pope and the French king.

But the vanitie of theſe deuiſes and enterpriſes declared it ſelfe manifeſtly to all men: And yet *Monſr de l'Eſcud* being arriued at *Parma*, determined the morning following (a day ſolemne for the natiuitie of *S. Iohn Baptiſt*) to preſent him ſelf affore the gates of *Reggia*: he hoped in this manner of action to finde occaſion to take eyther all or parte of the exiles, and that eyther as they fled out of the towne through the feare and aſtoniſhment of his comming, or els there beeing no ſtrength of forreine ſouldiours, the feare of the gouernor (A perſonage eſtranged from the profeſſion of war) would put thē priſoners into his hands: or laſtly he hoped that vnder the terror which the townesmen would haue of his forces & ſuddein comming, the occaſion & fauor of the time would giue him leaue to enter without difficultye: The gouernor made ſome dout of the matter, & albeit (the aſſailing of *Genes* being not yet come to

his knowledge) he thought it not likely, that *Monsr d'Escud* would giue beginning to the warre without the commaundement of his king, & enter in warlike maner vpon the lands of the Pope: yet looking into the ordinary furies and importunities of the french nation, as also to be somwhat armed against a mischief so apparantly threatned, he sent out his present directions to *Guido Rangon* lying vppon the confynes of *Modena*, to come the same night to *Reggia*, giuing the like order that those bands of footemen leauied by *Moron* & lodged neareſt that place, should likewise march thether: And lastly his precepts went out to the people of the towne in whom he knew was no property of affection to the french name, that at the sownding of the great bell, they should bee at the garde of the gates, where euery one shoulde receiue his charge: The morning following *Monsr d'Escud* arriued with foure hundred launces, *Federyk de Bossolo* marching a mile behind him with a thowsand footemen: Assoone as *Monsr d'Escud* approched the towne, he sent to the gouernor a capteine of his called *Monsr Bonneuall*, to tel him that he would speake with him: by whom it was agreed & assigned that *Escud* should come to the postern that entreth vpon the rauelin of the gate that loketh towards *Parma*, where the gouernor would meete him, either one assuring other of their faith: *Monsr d'Escud* according to thappointment came neare the gate accompanied with many gentlemen of his traine, & the gouernor issuing out of the wicket, they began to common together: The one complained that contrary to tharticles of confederacion, there was receiued & releued in the townes of the church, the exiles & banished peoples which were drawen into companies & bands, to trouble the states of the king: The other expressed a griefe and vnkindnes, that there was made suddein inuasion in manifest aray of warre and force, vppon the lands of the Church: But as they stoode debating those cõplaints, certein of thinhabitants (contrary to thorder set downe) opened suddeinly one of the gates, to let in a cart loden with meale: when *Monsr Bonneuall* standing right against the gate (for the traine of *Escud* dispersed about the wals enuironed a great part of it) aduaunced with certein mẽ at armes to enter the gate: But he was repulsed & the gate shut vpon him with a great crye, which pearsing euen to the place where *Monsr Escud* and the gouernor consulted together, it was the cause that they of the towne and certeine of thexiles standing by trowpes vpon the walls of the Arche, gaue the boollet to such as stoode neare to *Monsr d'Escud*, and in that violence so hurt *Alexander Tryuulce* that he dyed of the woundes within tenne dayes, although he had not deserued the stroake of suche a calamitye, for that he had disswaded thenterprise of *Reggia*: The terror of this suddeine violence made the others seeke sauetye by fleeing, and no other thinge preserued *Monsr d'Escud*, but a feare that he had who aymed and leuelled at him, least he should strike the gouernor: This astonished not a litle *Monsr d'Escud*, who tooke occasion of the violence, to complayne of infidelitie and faith breaking, and according to the face of his perill not knowing what resolucion to take whether to tary or to flee, the gouernor tooke him by the hande, and perswading him to followe him vppon his fayth, he ledde him vppon the Arche, being accompanied with none other of his trayne then *Monsr la motte*, a gentleman of *Fraunce*: It was a thing wonderfull that all the bands of men at armes vnderstanding that *Monsr d'Escud* was entred within the gate, were possessed forthwith with an opinion that he was made prisoner, A conceit which made them fal to fleing with such generall feare and confusion, that many of them cast a way their launces, refusing, to
" make them more light and easie to flee, the weapons which they brought to defend
" their liues: such a matter is feare, that oftentymes it makes men forsake the thinges

Monsr d'Escud before Reggia.

that

that they ought moſt to employ for their ſauetie: In this confuſed feare, there were fewe that either looked backe, or once taried for *Monſr d'Eſcud*, who finding after long reaſoning that the diſorder grewe vpon his owne people, was immediatly diſmiſſed of the gouernour, in whome was no intencion to keepe him reteyned, both for not defiling his faith giuen, and alſo to obſerue the commiſſions he had of the Pope to make no violent demonſtracion againſt the king: as alſo in regard that the effect of the rebelling of the ſtate of *Millan* did not follow, as many beleued at that time: for, notwithſtanding the trowpes of men at armes fell all to fleeing, yet ſeeing no man purſued the chaſſe for that there were then within *Reggia* verie fewe horſemen, and withall meeting vpon the limittes and confines of the countrey of *Reggia*, with *Federyke Boſſole* who haſted to marche on with his regiment of a thowſande footemen, they ſtayed and drewe them ſelues eftſoones into order: Neither had the feare continued that was begonne at *Parma* and at *Millan* by the firſt rumors that came that *Eſcud* was holden priſoner and the men at armes broken notwithſtanding it had bene knowen that the bandes of men at armes had bene hoale, for that neither was there neare at hande any armie or force to make any ſtirre, and withall many other Capteines of men at armes were there remeining. But aſſoone as *Monſr d'Eſcud* had reaſſembled his companies of horſemen and footemen, he retyred to *Coriagne* a village in the countrey of *Reggia* not ſix myles from the city: from thence within certeine dayes after, he withdrewe to the confines of *Parma* on thother ſide the riuer of *Leuzo*, and ſent *la Motte* to the Pope to tell him what moued him to goe to *Reggia*, and withall to ſolicite him in vertue of the capitulacions which were betwene the french king and him, to expulſe out of the dominions of the church, ſuch as were holden rebells againſt the king.

Lightning vpon the caſtell of Millan.

About this time there happened at *Millan* a matter of no leſſe wonder then feare, which brought to the frenchemen no ſmall aſtoniſhment as if the heauens by manifeſt ſignes had giuen them a forewarning of their calamities to come: For, vpon the day that is ſolemnly conſecrated to the memory of the death of the Prince of Apoſtles, the ſunne being ſette and the aire and firmament cleare, there fell downe from the vppermoſt regions as it were a fire, and light affore the gate of the caſtell, whether were brought many barrells of gunpowder drawne out of the caſtell to be ſent to certeine places of ſeruice: This flaſhe or fierie lightninge embraſed by and by the powder with a horrible noyſe, and by the violence of it the faire tower of marble builded ouer the gate and bearing vppon his toppe a goodly clocke, was caſt downe and raſed from the toppe to the fundacion: In which furie did communicate alſo the walls and chambers of the caſtell with other buildinges adioyning the tower: Yea in one inſtant all the whole bodie of the caſtell, together with the vniuerſall Citie of *Millan* trembled and ſhaked with the furie of ſo raging a tempeſt, which blewe into the aire from ſundrie places many huge and greate ſtones falling to the hurte of many perſons: And as in a generall calamitie euerie one hath his fortune, ſo there were many that being happie to eſcape the fall of the huge ſtoanes were made wretched by the ruines of the walles vnder the which they were ſmoothered and rammed to death: with which ruines, the caſtell greene was ſo ſpredde and couered that it was a terror to beholde ſuche an alteracion, but ſpecially it brought aſtoniſhment euen to the moſt aſſured to ſee the ſtones of incredible greatneſſe which the furie of the tempeſt had caſt more then fiue hundred paſes from the place: It happened in the verie hower wherein the people of all ſortes were gone for their recreacion to take the ayre vppon the greene,

by which occasion were slaine more then fiue hundred footemen of the castell, and the Capteine of the rocke and the castell, together with others of principall place so amazed and desperat both in corage and councell, that if the people would haue taken the benefit of that accident and falne to armes, they might without difficultie that night, haue occupied the castell, specially so great a quantitie of the wall being reuersed.

After the Pope was aduertised howe *Monsr d'Escum* was come euen to the gates of *Reggia*, he serued his turne of that enterprise, and enforced it to the iustificacion of his owne actions, he complained greatly of that doing in the consistorie of Cardinalls, where, concelling the confederacion made secretly affore with Cæsar, and also the direction that both their gallies shoulde be armed to the assailing of *Genes*, he declared, that since *Monsr d'Escum* had attempted to take *Reggia*, it was to be supposed that the french king bare no good minde to the sea Apostolike: he concluded that for the defense of the Church and the rights of the same, he was constrained to ioyne with Cæsar, in whom had neuer bene discerned any action that was not worthie a Christian Prince, and the same expressed as well in his other operacions, as in his late zeale which he published at *VVormes* touching the protection of religion: Therefore he made semblance, and showe to contract then, with *Don Iohn Emanuell* Cæsars Embassador, the confederacion which had bene concluded affore, and for that matter he caused to be sent for to *Rome*, *Prospero Colonno*, vppon whom was determined the charge of the enterprise, and with whome they consulted in what manner and with what forces, they should enter into open warre, seeing they had found no successe in ambushes and assaultes suddeine, like as in deede the treatie of *Coma* did no more happely succeede then thenterprise of *Genes*: for, as *Manfroy Paluoysin* & *M. de Brinzi* were by night drawne neare the walls of *Coma* with eight hundred footemen, as well *Italians* as launceknights, hoping that *Anthonie de Rusquo* a citizen there would breake downe so much of the wall next ioyning to his house, as they should haue meane to enter, where, for the slender strength of frenchmen that were there, they supposed would be offered no resistaunce: And after they had expected some good space of time, the gouernor of the place, assembling together all the frenchmen with certeine of the townesmen whose fidelity he held most assured (& yet their numbers were lesse then they that were without) gaue the charge vpon them with a violence and suddeines so terrible, that they brake and fell easely into flight, not without suspicion that he had corrupted the *Almaine* Capteynes both with money and greater promises: In the chasse three barkes were sunke vpon the lake, & seuen taken: Many of the generall souldiers fell into the fortune of prisoners, and amongest the chieftaines were taken *Matto* and *Manfroy* as they fled by the way of the mounteines: The launceknights were suffred to goe away freely, and the residue were led to *Millan*, where *Manfroy* and *Matto* were publikely quartered: They confessed in their execucion, that *Bartl. Ferrery* of *Millan* a man of place and authoritie, was consenting to the practises of *Moron*: vpon which accusation he was imprisoned together with his sonne, & so committed to the same punishment for that he had not reuealed that *Moron* had induced him by secret messages, to practise innouations, and to raise enterprises against the king: About this time, the Pope knowing of what oportunity was the state of *Mantua* for the warres of *Lombardy*, tooke to his paye *Federike* Marquis of *Mantua* with two hundred men at armes, and two hundred light horsemen, and indued him with the title of Capteine generall of the Churche: But before he possessed him selfe of thinterteinment of the Pope, he renounced

The Marquis of Mantua for the Pope.

nounced the order of *S. Michaell*, and returned the coller and enseigne that the king had giuen him to him who first receiued him into that order.

This was the resolucion set downe at *Rome* betwene the Pope and Cæsars Embassador touching the order and maner of proceeding in this warre, and that according to the counsell and reasons of *Prospero Colonno*: First, that along the frontiers of the Church, inuasion should be made with all speede possible vpon the state of *Millan*, employing in that enterprise the companies of men at armes of the Pope and the *Florentins*: A regiment which (comprehending the bandes of the Marquis of *Mantua*) mounted to the full number of sixe hundred men at armes, and to them were to be adioyned all the bandes of men at armes which Cæsar had in the realme of *Naples*, being almost as many as the residue: That there should be leauyed sixe thousande footemen Italians: That the regiment of two thousande footemen Spanishe which were with *Adorno* in the ryuer of *Genes* should come to the armie, making their assembly betwene the countrey of *Modena* and *Reggia*: That the Marquis of *Pesquiere* should bring two thousande other footebands from *Naples*: That there should be leauyed of the common purse of the Pope and Cæsar foure thousande Launceknights and two thousand *Grisons*: That there should be also ioyned to tharmie the two thousande *Svvizzers* which remayned voluntarily in the Popes paye: for the residue of their countreymen both wearie with wandring so long time without any thing doing, and also the season of their haruest drawing on, were nowe returned to their countrey affore *Monsr d'Escum* came to *Reggia*, neither coulde the Pope retayne them any longer, notwithstanding he had vnprofitably consumed amongest them an hundred and fiftie thousande duckets. Besides these prouisions, it was determined that with the authoritie of the Pope and Cæsar, there should be instance made to the *Svvizzer* Cantons, both to aduaunce six thousande footemen according to the tenor of the contract whiche the Pope had made with them, and also to refuse to minister any succours of men to the French king: And the better to draw them to his demaund, the Pope alleaged that the cõfederacion which he had made with them, was affore that which they had contracted with the French king. If these demaundes were obteined, it was resolued in the generall order and resolucion of the warre, that the Duchie of *Millan* should be inuaded on that side towards *Coma*, in which quarter was hope that there would be made some insurrection, both for the great multitude of the banished men being the most part of honorable houses, and also for that the auncient reuerence and affection which the people were wont to beare to the name of king *Lovvis*, was conuerted into hatred, and that not litle: The reason was that the men at armes ordinarie for the garde of that estate, lyued in a great and vnbridled libertie, the rather for that they were yll payed through the yll order the king vsed in his affayres, wherein partly by necessitie and partly by will, he had couenanted to allowe huge exspences: The gouernours rising more insolent and hawty by the negligence of the king, did not minister that true and liuely iustice whiche they were wont to execute with integritie and roundnes in the time of the late king, who bearing a deare affection to the Duchie of *Millan*, had alwayes a particular care and regarde to thinteresses of the people and subiectes there: This was also one thing that went harde with them, that they were constrayned according to the custome of *Fraunce*, to lodge continually in their houses the officers and souldiors of the Frenche, which albeit was nothing of their exspences and charges, yet the trouble beeing perpetuall and generall, it was so muche the more intollerable and grieuous: And albeit it was a yoke which they bare during the time of the

The resolucio for the warre agaynst the Frenchmen.

late king, who enforcing thexample of *Paris*, would neuer exempt the subiectes of *Millan*, yet the discommoditie drawing with it the other euills that we haue spoken of, it seemed to them for the present verye heauye and yrkesome: To this also was added the common nature of the people alwayes desyrous of newe things, together with a vehement thirste and inclinacion which mortall men haue to deliuer themselues from perplexities present, not considering what will be the euent and afterchaunce of things.

Monsr de Lawtrech returneth to Millan.

The rumor of this warre set downe by the Pope and Cæsar with so mightie preparacions, gaue warning to the Frenche king to looke to the defending of *Millan* with prouisions no lesse resolute and well appoynted: wherein, not to delaye the daunger that was so imminent and manifest, *Monsr Lavvtrech* who was vppon his waye to go to the Court for certayne his particular affayres, was eftsoones readiorned and remaunded to returne to *Millan*: And albeit, doubting of the kings varietie and negligence, and inconstancie of suche as gouerned, he refused the iorney, vnles they first deliuered him in prest three hundred thousande duckets which he assured to be no more then necessarie for the defence of that state: yet being no lesse ouerruled with thimportunities of the king and his mother, then beguyled with the promises and othes of such as had the charge of his treasor, assuring him that his person and the money he demaunded should arriue there with one speede: He embraced the iorney and returned thither with great diligence, putting carefully in order all things necessarie for the defence: This was the order which he set downe with the king, that to the kings men at armes which were then in *Lombardie*, shoulde be ioyned the six hundred men at armes, and six thousande footemen which the *Venetians* were bounde to contribute to the kings seruice, whom they offred to aduaunce spedily, making their men at armes to marche euen by the countrey of *Verona* & *Bressia*: That there should be leauyed ten thousande *Svvizzers*, which they helde for certayne would not be denyed by vertue and tenor of the newe confederacion: That they should cause to passe into *Italie* six thousande aduenturers, and to adioyne to the whole armie certayne bandes of Italian footemen: With these forces he hoped without great daunger to be hable to aduenture the fortune of a battell, or being to weake for suche an action, he should at least sufficiently strengthen his places with garrisons of men, and so temporise vpon the defending of them, that both thenemies in time would draw to be wearie: the one by his naturall prodigality and huge exspences disbursed in the warre of *Vrbin*, was drayned of all money and treasor, and for the other he stoode so abridged and restrayned at that time, that the tributes and reuenues which he leauyed of his kingdomes and dominions, could not suffice to furnishe for any long season the exspences of suche a warre: This was also considered, that *Alfonso d'Este* dispayring of his proper estates if the victorie fell to the Pope, would eyther ryse to recouer that which he had loste, or at least standing vpon his readinesse, would so holde the Pope in suspicion, that of necessitie he should employ many bandes of souldiors for the garde of townes and places adioyning his confines and limits. These were the counsels and preparacions of bothe partes, the king neuertheless labouring by all his meanes (but in vayne) to reappease the Pope.

At that time *Prospero Colonno* was at *Bolognia*, and from thence not tarying for the regimentes that were to come from the kingdome of *Naples*, nor the bandes of launceknightes, after he had mustred his other companies, and left sufficient garrisons within *Modona*, *Reggia*, *Bolognia*, *Rauenna*, and *Ymola*, for feare of the Duke of

Ferrara,

Ferrara, he marched and encamped vpon the ryuer of *Lensa* within fiue myles of *Parma*: he nouriſhed himſelfe with a full hope that the Frenchmen could drawe no ſtrength of footemen from the *Sovizzers*, and that aſwell for that diſappoyntment as for the yll diſpoſicion of the people, he ſuppoſed they would rather abandon then defend the Duchie of *Millan*: but it happned otherwiſe: for the Cantons, notwithſtanding the vehement labor to the contrarie made by the Cardinall of *Sion* and thembaſſadors of the Pope and Cæſar, determined to deliuer to the kinge, bandes of men ſuche as they were bounde to leauie by the laſte conuencions: And whyleſt thoſe leauyes were in preparing, *George Sopreſſan* was diſcended to *Millan* with foure thouſande footemen *Valeſiens*: by reaſon of whiche ſuccour, *Monſr Lavvtrech* deſirous to defende *Parma*, ſent thither *Monſr d'Eſcud* his brother with foure hundred launces and fiue thouſande Italian footemen, ouer whome *Federike Boſſolo* was capteine: Moreouer it was vnderſtanded that the *Venetians* made their mooſters at *Pontvvicquo* to ſende ſpeedily to the ayde of the Frenche king, and alſo that the Duke of *Ferrara* leauyed certen regiments of footemen: By reaſon of theſe preparacions, *Proſpero* ſeeing what neede he ſtoode of greater forces, kept himſelfe incamped vij. days in that place, during which time there ioyned to the armie foure hundred Spaniſh launces ledde by *Antho. de Leua* & drawne out of the kingdome of *Naples*: there came alſo to the armie the Marquis of *Mantua* with part of his regimentes, and yet for his comming being capteine generall of all the ſouldiors of the Church, was nothing altered the authoritie of *Proſpero Colonno*, in whoſe perſon according to the Popes will and Cæſars, reſted the gouernment of the whole armie, but without any ſupreme title, for that to *Frauncis Guicciardin* was giuen ſoueraigne and abſolute power to commaunde ouer the whole regimentes of the Church, and namely ouer the Marquis of *Mantua*, and did beare this title, Generall commaunder ouer the army, A place which he exerciſed with a right great authoritie, farre contrarie to the cuſtome of the generall cõmaunders before. After this *Proſpero* led the armie to *S. Lazaro* within a myle of *Parma*, taking the waye that goeth to *Reggia*: There he determined to paſſe no further tyll the Marquis of *Peſquare* were come, who was then vehemently exſpected to marche from *Naples* with three hundred launces and two thouſande Spaniſhe footemen: he looked alſo to receiue there the regiments of launceknights that were to come: And ſo long as the armie remayned there, there were no other violences done vpon the countrey men of *Parma*, then by common induſtrie, to turne the ſtreames and courſe of waters, and by breaking downe their mylnes, to take from them all meane and vſe of grinding: There was great exſpectation when and what way the launceknightes would come, and to hinder their paſſing, the *Venetians* at the inſtance of the French, ſent parte of their regimentes vpon the territories of *Verona*: for it was knowne by relacion, that beeing come to *Iſpruch*, they ſought to receiue at *Trent* their firſte monethes paye, and required that there might be ſent to meete them, certayne numbers of horſemen, to thend that being once deſcended to *Montbalde*, they might with more ſuretie paſſe on with their bandes: wherevpon *Proſpero Colonno* had diſpatched to *Mantua* two hundred light horſemen, to thend that ioyning with two thouſande footmen commaunded by the countrey of *Mantua*, they might aduaunce and marche together with thartilleries of the Marquis, who (to be the more acceptable to the Pope and Cæſar) proceeded in all things as in his owne action, and not in the condicion of one marcenarie or taking their paye. But it was a matter of farre greater difficultie to make payment of thinterteinmentes of the Launceknightes at *Trente*, for that

Frauncis Guicciardin generall cõmaunder ouer the army.

the Pope did not onely make prouision of his parte, but also disburſed Cæſars porcion, neither could the money haue paſſage ouer the landes of the *Venetians* but with great difficultie and perill: In ſo muche as the Launceknightes hearing what impedimentes the *Venetians* would obiect againſt their comming, required for their ſuretie greater forces, and varyed at the ſame tyme touching the paſſage of the mountayne and the waye, notwithſtanding that the Marquis of *Peſquaere* turned his companies vpon the partes of *Mantua*, and was at that time arriued vpon the landes of *Modona*, and had ſent to him from the campe two hundred men at armes & three hundred Spaniſh footemen: At laſt the launceknights hauing no deuocion nor patience to attend the time they had ſet downe & ſignified, ſent a newe aduertiſement that they would eftſones cut of & leſſen v. days, with this reſolucion that they would not exſpect the horſemen more then one day at the foote of *Montbaldo*, and if they came not, they would returne back againe: At which time the Marquis of *Peſquaere* being not able to be there to hold appointment, they were conſtrained to ſend from the campe in great diligence, *Guido Rangon* & *Levvis Gonſaguo*, which neuertheleſſe ſerued to no purpoſe, for that (as *Proſpero* did alwaies warrant & aſſure) the *Venetians* were not able to ſtop the paſſage to 6000. footmen (that being their number aſwell launceknights as *Griſons*) A force able to haue encountred the bands of horſmen, & for th Italian footemen, they had no corage to oppoſe againſt them: For which reaſon, & alſo for that the ſenat (to whom was alwaies hatefull that the warre ſhould be managed vpon their proper eſtate) ſought to ſatisfie the frenchmen more with demonſtracions then with effects, they cauſed to retyre towards *Verona* all their bands and regimentes the day before the launceknightes ſhould paſſe: By which occaſion they found libertie of paſſage & went to *Valegge* without any impediment, & ſo the day after they drewe vpon the confines of *Mantua*: And aſſone as the Marquis of *Peſquaero* was come to the campe, the armie that had remayned three dayes at *S. Lazaro*, marched the day folowing to *S. Martin*, where did ioyne with them the ſame day the footemen of the launceknightes and *Griſons*.

The capteines of the league take counſell togesher.

Thus the forces ordeined for this warre, reduced and drawne into one army, the capteines began to conſult what was to be done: ſome gaue counſell to beſiege *Parma*, both for that it was the firſt and chiefe towne of the frontier, and alſo that it was no ſuretie to leaue it behinde for the armie that was to come on, in regarde of the incommodities of vittels and conduct of money and other prouiſions that might be neceſſarie, and muche leſſe was it profitable for the townes that ſhould remayne betweene *Parma* and *Bolognia*: They alleaged that the footemen that were within *Parma* were bodies of no vallour, both becauſe they were leauyed in haſte and at randon, and alſo they made continuall diſorders, ſtealinge to the campe by ſtealth, no leſſe for the difficultie and ſtrayteneſſe of their payes, then for wante of meale and prouiſion for foode: That the circuite of the towne was great and the people yll diſpoſed, who thoughe they were embaſed of courage, woulde yet take heart when they ſawe the armie neare the walles: ſo that executing batterie vppon the Citie in many places, it would be heard for the French men at one tyme both to reſiſte thenemie without, and alſo kepe garde vppon the people that were within. Others reaſoned of the contrarie, that the Citie was well fortified, that it was ſtrong in bands of men, that touching the footmen that wandred frō them, they were people vnprofitable, vnapt, & cowardly, but the bodies bearing habilitie, experience, & diſpoſition to the warre remained there, together with many bands of the french ſouldiors, all reſolutely prepared to defend their life: Laſtly that without this

good

good ſuretie and prouiſion, it ſtoode not with the experience and conduct of *Monſr d'Eſcud*, *Federike de Boſſolo*, and other right braue and worthy capteins, to ſuffer them ſelues to be enuironed: That it was well knowen (for that of late time the maner of warrefaring and to keepe and defende a place was chaunged) what difficulties were in the taking of townes: And that it belonged to them to conſider throwly, in what degree of reputacion the armie ſhould ſtande, if they did not accompliſhe the firſte enterpriſe: That as they helde it neceſſarie to plant before *Parma* their artilleries in two ſeuerall places, ſo they had to looke whether the campe were furniſhed with artilleries and other prouiſions fitte for the action: That ſuche a quantitie of artilleries could not be drawen thither without the loſſe of certayne dayes, which (beſides the conſuming of too muche time before) would be an intermiſſion preiudiciall, for that in ſuche reſpite the *Venetian* companies and the moſte part of the *Svvizzers*, would be ioyned with *Monſr Lavvtrech*, who was daylye exſpected at *Cremona*: That one part of the regiment of *Svvizzers* was already arriued, and the forerunners of the Frenche armie weare neare at hande: That whyleſt the armie was intangled with the ſiege of *Parma*, it would bring no ſmall preiudice if *Monſr Lavvtrech* came and planted his campe affore ſome place adioyning: And as it would be a hard matter to force him to feight, ſo he might and would eaſily vexe the skowtes of the forreagers, and giue impedimentes to the vittells which dayly were brought from *Reggia*, and they already in diuerſe ſortes diſtreſſed by ſuche as were within *Parma*: That it were a better counſell to make prouiſion of vittells for certayne dayes, and and leauing *Parma* behinde, to proceede to ſurpriſe *Plaiſance*, A citie of farre greater circuite, and of leſſe ſtrength and garriſon of ſouldiors, the place voyde of fortifications and artilleries, and the people of the ſame diſpoſicion with them of *Parma*: That theſe reaſons remoued áll doubt that making their approches they ſhould not forthwith carye it, wherein *Proſpero Colonno* being of the ſame aduiſe and counſell, aſſured the reſidue that he knewe a place which in no ſort could be poſſible to hinder their entring, being the ſame by the which *Frauncis Sforce* at that time capteine ouer the peoples of *Millan*, made his victorious entry agaynſt the *Venetians*, who had occupied it after the death of *Phillip Maria Viſconto*: That *Plaiſanca* was a Citie wonderfully abounding with great quantities of vittels, and ſtoode ſo apte to aſſayle *Millan* that the Frenchmen would be conſtrayned to retyre thither moſte of their forces, by which meane the cities adioyning to *Parma* ſhould ſtande in no eſtate of daunger: Laſtly *Proſpero* helde himſelfe aſſured, that paſſing the ryuer of *Pavv* only with light horſemen, and ſo marching with diligence to *Millan*, that Citie woulde drawe into tumult hearing of the rumor of his name: Suche was his opinion affore he parted from *Bolognia*, and in that regarde, not thinking it needefull to ſtaye about the taking of any particular place, he would not haue a plentifull prouiſion of artillerie nor municions.

In this varietie of councels & opinions, it was determined by ſuch as had authoritie to deliberate and reſolue, that aſſone as ſufficient prouiſion might be made of meale and breade to nouriſhe the armie for foure dayes, a regiment of fiue hundred men at armes, one parte of the light horſemen, the regimentes of Spaniſhe footemen, and fifteene hundred footemen Italians, ſhould marche with great ſpeede towards *Plaiſanca*, and the reſidue of tharmie to come after, which could not marche but with ſlowe paſe by reaſon of thartilleries, vittels, and many other impedimentes following ordinarily a campe: And it was aſſuredly beleeued, that vpon tharriuall of the firſt companies, eyther the Citie would riſe for the Churche, or at leaſt they

ſhould be a reaſonable let for thentring of ſuccours, & ſo vpon the comming of the reſidue and full force of the army, they made no dout to cary it: But it happened the day before that the army ſhould remoue, that certeine trowpes of french horſemen hauing paſſed the riuer of *Pavv*, ran vp euen as farre as *Boſſetto*: a matter which made a brute that the whole frenche army was come ouer *Pavv*, and therefore that accident breaking the deliberacion that had bene made, the departing of the bands was deferred vntill the certeinty and truth were knowen, for the diſcouery whereof they diſpatched *Iohn Medicis* Capteine of the Popes light horſemen with a trowpe of iiij hundred horſes. But that which moſt troubled this deuiſe & the execucion of it, was the ambicion & controuerſie that fell betwene *Proſpero* & the Marquis of *Piſquaire* betwene whom was no great agrement before: *Proſpero* contended to lead the vawward and principall parte of the army, againſt whom the Marquis alleaged that it was not reaſonable that the regiments of ſpaniſh footmen ouer whom he was Captaine generall, ſhould go to any expedicion without him: In regard of which ambicion & gelouſie of the chiefe capteines daũgerous moſt cõmonly for the affaires of princes, notwithſtanding it was knowen within few howers after, that the bandes of frenchmen were eſtſoones returned beyonde *Pavv*, and that *Monſr Lavvtrech* ſtirred not, yet the firſt reſolucion was not followed: But what by the diuerſitie of opinions and for the naturall ſlownes of *Proſpero*, things had proceeded in greater delayes & longnes, if the Popes Agent had not ſtept in with them, and declared with diſcourſe full of reaſons and efficacie, how much and how iuſtly the Pope might take offence that they had temporiſed ſo long: wherein they could not in any reaſonable ſorte excuſe them ſelues towards his holynes of the delayes and reſpits they haue vſed tell then, firſt in exſpecting the Spanyards, and then in tarying for the launceknightes: vpon whoſe admonicion they drew all to a preſent reſolucion (but more in maner of tumult, then by maturity of councell) to plant the campe before *Parma*, wherein euen ſuch as the day before had aſſured the contrary, beganne to haue a wonderfull hope of the victory, the rather for that the numbers and bodies of footmen ceaſſed not to iſſue out of *Parma* for want of money and foode: Onely it was reaſonable to make ſome ſurceance for certeine dayes, both to tary for two other canons that were exſpected from *Bolognia* & to make prouiſion of many other things neceſſary for thexecuting of townes with artillerie, matters which *Proſpero* had refuſed before: This, whether it may be called negligence, or mutacion of councell, brought no litle preiudice to the ſtate of thenterpriſe, for that by howe muche more time was waſted in temporiſing, or in that property of controuerſie, by ſo much more leaſure and reſpit was giuen to *Monſr Lavtrech* to aſſemble his companies which he exſpected out of
" *Fraunce*, from the *Venetians* and from the *Svvizzers*: ſo greatly doth it importe wiſe
" Capteines, remembring how neceſſarie it is in warres to chaunge councells accor-
" ding to the varietie of accidentes that happen, to accommodat in the beginning all
" prouiſions for all accidents, and for all councells. In this meane while, the armie remeyning idle, there was executed nothing touching the ſeruice of *Parma*, but certeine very light skirmiſhes: neuertheleſſe the third day after the campe was reduced to *S. Martin*, the army paſſing beyond the riuer of *Parma*, was lodged vpon the way of *Rome* in the ſubburbes of the gate that leadeth to *Plaiſanca* called *S. Croſſe*: Which ſubburbes *Monſr Eſcud* had burned the day before, hauing dout of their comming.

The ſiege of Parma.

The towne of *Parma* is deuided by a riuer that beareth the name of it, whoſe ſtreame & channell is neither ſo deepe nor violent, but it may be alwayes paſſed by foarde ſauing in ſeaſons waterie and rainie: The leſſer parte of the towne, peopled

by

by men of baſe condicion and yet conteyning the thirde part of the whole, called by the inhabitantes *Codipont*, haue their dwelling on that ſide towardes *Plaiſanca*: The capteines made choyſe of this place, to be the more apt and ready to ſtoppe the entry of ſuccours into *Parma*, but much more for that on that part the wall was weake, and bare ſuche ſituacion that it coulde not beate the campe in flanke: The Marquis, who the daye before went with certayne other Capteines to take knowledge and view of the place, made his reapport the ſame day that the battery might eaſily be begon: but becauſe it was neceſſarie (the better to remoue their defences) to batter firſt a tower vpon the toppe of the gate, giuing no ſmall ſtrength to the wall, all the daye was waſted in that action and a greate Coluerine broken in the execution: The night following thartillerie was planted againſt the wall vppon the left hande of the gate to ſuche as entred, their purpoſe beeing to do the lyke on the righte hande, and to leaue the gate in the middeſt: The reaſon was for that hauing no conueniencie to beſtowe thartilleries in two places ſeperate, for that there were as yet brought to the campe no more then ſixe Cannons, and two great Coluerines, it ſeemed that by conſtrayning the defendauntes to bee amuſed at that defence for a long ſpace, it woulde worke all one effecte: But that deuiſe was not put in execucion, for that there was on that ſide vppon the compaſſe of the trenche that enuironeth the walles, a ryſing or mounte ſo highe, that vnleſſe it were eyther made playne or layde open (a matter vnpoſſible in ſo ſhorte tyme) it woulde giue greate impediment to thartillerie to batter the wall: The wall, for that it was olde and weake, made no greate reſiſtaunce to thartillerie, whiche hauing eaſily made two ſufficient breaches, the Capteynes ſpake of giuing the aſſault the ſame daye, notwithſtanding without anye firme or aſſured reſolucion: Onely the Marquis, who with his bandes of Spaniardes had the whole charge of the batterie, ſent certayne companies of footemen to diſcouer the breache, and to diſcloſe if they coulde what fortificacions they had within: Who beeing mounted vppon the wall, began to make ſhowtes and ſignes to the armie to approache and enter, in ſo muche that the footebandes of Spaniardes and Italians ranne to the wall more by heapes and trowpes then by order: But by that tyme they were approched and began to clymbe the breache, vppon the whiche was ſlayne *Ierome Guicciardin* leader of the footemen, the Capteines ranne thither with the Alarme, and cauſed them immediatly to retyre, doubting there coulde no good fruite come of that charge, being rather a feeble and weake tumulte then aſſault well ordred: This retraite eyther made colde all their thoughtes to the charge, or at leaſt ſo ſerued for excuſe, that that daye they forbare to followe the aſſault in order: The daye after they continued to batter the wall whiche ſtoode whole in the middeſt of the two breaches, and alſo a flanke, whiche had beene made within vppon the tower of the gate: But for that there ranne through the armie a brute, that for the huge rampiers whiche the Frenche had made, it woulde be harde to carye it with a ſimple aſſault, the Capteines ſent out to diſcouer the batterie two footemen of bothe the languages, who, eyther by feare, or by their little diligence, or perhappes by ſubornacion (as was ſuppoſed) brought worde that there remayned of the wall whiche had bene battered to the ground, more then fiue faddomes on height: They reported alſo that the defendantes had caſte a very deepe ditche, and had made ſo many other ſortes of fortifications, that it was determined to make mynes neare to the wall that was battred and to open the wall faſte by, and ſo with the ruines of the ſame, to fill the ditche that was made within, thereby to make the entrie more

easie: It was also agreed that assoone as those workes were brought to perfection, and that the artilleries of the armie were increased with two Cannons that came from *Mantua*, there should be made an other batterie in that place where the wall by turning makes an angle after it hath gone foorthright a long space, on the right side of the gate, on which side, after the wall was caste downe, they mighte beate the defendantes in flanke: But as they beganne to caste a trenche on that side which had bene battered, and within fewe dayes after, an other, the better to caste downe the wall with the working of the mynes: so neuertheleſſe those workes proceeded slowly, aswell for that the necessarie prouisions and instrumentes for suche actions, were not yet in the campe, because *Prospero* nourished endes and thoughtes diuerse, as also for that the earth where they digged was harde to open bearing a propertie of soyle resisting their labor and diligence.

Whyleſt theſe thinges were in dooing, and a generall intencion not to assaulte the towne vntyll they were fully accomplished, *Monsr de Lavvtrech* who had bene slowe to marche for the long tarying of suche as came to tharmie, hauing nowe assembled the most part of his men of warre, aduaunced and marched fiue miles, holding alwayes along the riuer: He had in his army fiue hundred launces, seuen thousand *Svvizzers*, foure thousand footemen brought the same day by *Monsr S. Valier* out of *Fraunce*, and foure hundred men at armes with foure thousande footmen vnder *Theodor Triuulco* commaunder of the *Venetian* bandes, and *Andreas Gritti* their Legate or commissarie: There followed this armie the Duke of *Vrbin*, and *Marke Antho. Colonno*, the one as souldior to the French king, but without title and charge, and the other folowing the cõmon hope of such as were banished: he exspected also a regiment of six thousand *Svvizzers* which the Cantons had made him graunt of, they were already vpon their way, but according to their custome, they marched slowly and with many difficulties: All which forces beeing ioyned to his armie, he would not haue refused for the reskew of *Parma*, to aduenture the fortune of battell: In which regarde, what in exspecting suche as were to come, and what in soliciting and laboring the bandes already arriued, he stayed on the waye and went not farre from the shores of the ryuer of *Pavv*: Onely he feared leaſt whyleſt he temporised vppon those good causes, his brother might compounde with thennemies, and therefore he sente to him to lette him vnderstande, that the cause whye he prolonged and lingered so muche, was that he taryed for a greater force of *Svvizzers* who were neare at hande, and withoute whome the regimentes that were alreadye with hym made difficultie to passe *Pavv*: Neuertheleſſe he woulde drawe neare to *Parma*, and woulde giue him a token of hys comming by shooting of certayne peeces of artilleries, and so the daye following he woulde affront thennemie and prouoke them to feight, sending out certayne trowpes of his horsmen to enterteine the skirmishe, to thende he mighte wyth better oportunitie issue out and ioyne with the armie: A matter whiche *Monsr d'Escud* dyd chiefly solicite, who assured hym that he was not hable to holde oute aboue two or three dayes in that parte of the towne, and not aboue two dayes more beyonde the ryuer, both for that the towne was large and weake, and his forces remayning not aboue two thousande footemen, for that many of them were stragled awaye, and also the men at armes beeing but three hundred, vppon whome laye the burden of the seruice, were not hable to make resistance, if the towne were assaulted in many places: Thus afterwardes the same daye he had promised, he accoasted thennemies in the borough of *Zibelle* which is about twentie myles from *Parma*,

and

and from thence dispatched foure hundred horsemen to runne vp euen to the tents of thennemies, who hauing brought their mynes euen to the wall, and afterwards turning them and dressing them in the place where the fyre shoulde bee putte, *Count Guido Rangon* wyth thItalian footebandes ouer whome he was Capteine generall, beganne to plante thartilleries on the other syde of the wall: But the French men hearing the brute that was made in executing the mynes, hauing for two howres affore abandoned the *Codipont*, retyred in order and without noyse on the other side the water, drawing with them their artilleries: which retraite being knowen to those that were without, they entred into the *Codipont* the morning following at the breake of the daye, some making their waye by the breache, and some vsed the seruice of skaling ladders: They were receyued with an vniuersall gladnes of the *Parmesans*, to whom nothing coulde be more acceptable then to returne vnder the dominion of the Churche: But it was a ioye that drewe with it a present sorrowe and heauynes, and a gladnes that was easily conuerted into dolour and lamentations, for that they sawe affore theyr eyes their houses sacked and spoyled, in no lesse rigour and furye then if they had bene mortall ennemies: And it was not to be doubted that if certayne dayes before, the artilleries had beene planted in the same place, the French men had not in the same maner abandoned the*Codipont*: After their entrie, they fell to breaking open the gates which affore had beene rammed vp with no small industrie, and so the artillerie hauing passage euen to the shoare of the ryuer, they beganne to batter the wall that defendeth the other banke of the ryuer: but the neare approache of the night hindred the benefite and effecte of their working that waye, and by the little tyme they had lefte, it was well knowen they coulde do no great execution for that daye.

The same daye *Monsr Lavvtrech* came and incamped vppon the ryuer of *Taro* within seuen myles of *Parma:* some supposed hys comming so neare was to bydde battell to thennemie, but others were of opinion, that he aduaunced the full showe of his armye, to thende that eyther he mighte be readye to receyue his brother and his companies if they issued out of *Parma* by night, beeing no longer hable to holde oute: or else to enterteine some treatie or parley with thennemie for the better deliuerie of his brother and his souldiours with safetie and without obligacion, according to thexample of *Federike de Bossolo*, who had begonne a conference by the solicitation of the Marquis, notwithstanding he had receiued a hurte in his shoulder with a shotte not many dayes before as he walked about the rampiers: But the parley was not so farre forwarde, as that there coulde be made anye certayne coniecture of the wyll of *Monsr d'Esud:* The truth was (by thexperience of things that happned afterwardes) that *Monsr Lavvtrech* was not determined to fight, vnlesse the regimentes of *Svvizzers* came to him: for notwithstanding he had somewhat the aduauntage, both for the numbers and vallour of men at armes, and also was more mightie in artillerie, yet the ennemie was stronger then he in footemen, conteyning (according to a iust computacion and accompt) nyne thousande Launceknightes and Spaniardes, two thousande *Svvizzers*, and more then foure thousande Italians. Let it here be considered howe often and how much vpon smal accidentes & momentes in warres, depend things of very great consequence: for the night after the armie entred the *Codipont*, it hapned iust at thinstant that by aduertisemēts comming from *Modona* & *Bolognia*, they vnderstood that *Alfonso d'Este* issuing out of *Ferrara* with 100. men at armes, 200. light horsmen, and two thousande footemen, amongest whom were a thousand aswell *Corsegneis* as

Italians whiche *Lavvtrech* had ſent him, and with twelue peeces of artillerie, had ſurpriſed the borowes of *Finalo* and *S. Felix*, with great feare that he would paſſe further: This bred no ſmall trouble and terror in the mindes of the Capteines, notwithſtanding they had feare of ſuche a leauye long time before, beeing not ignorant with what vehement inſtance the Frenche men ſolicited him to it: And yet had they not made at *Modona* ſuche a prouiſion as might ſuffice for the ſuretie of that Citie, for that *Proſpero* maynteining to thuttermoſte the contrarie opinion, would neuer conſent that ſouldiours ſhoulde bee drawne out of the armie to be ſent to *Modona*: his reaſon was, that eyther he reappoſed aſſured fayth in the promiſes of the Duke who was his right deare friend, and with whom euen vnder the Popes directions, he was interpoſed to ſolicite ſome accord: or elſe for that he had no will to diminiſhe the number of his men of warre in a tyme when they feared thennemie would approche: One principall reaſon mighte be alſo taken of hys naturall diſpoſicion alwayes inclined to do things ſurely, which made him for the moſt part to deſire to haue in his armie more men then the ſeruice needed: It may be he had other ends and conſideracions more ſecret and priuate to him ſelfe, then to be knowen of others by any coniecture or apparance: Onely aſſone as the aduertiſementes were throughly diſcloſed and vnderſtanded, the Capteines aſſembled in counſayle vpon thoſe affayres, determined that *Guido Rangon* ſhould preſently departe for *Modona* with two hundred light horſemen and eight hundred footmen, which being ioyned to the ſix hundred footmen that were left there before, they thought would be a ſufficient ſtrength & garriſon agaynſt the forces of *Alphonſo*: After they had ſet downe this order and reſolucion, there remayned yet certayne howres affore it was day: A little before alſo there came aduertiſement that *Monſr Lavvtrech* was incamped the night before vppon *Taro*, which aduertiſement was partly true and partly doutfull, for that it conteined that the *Svvizzers* were ioyned with him, and it was not knowne that thoſe which he had then in tharmie, notwithſtanding his infinite requeſtes, had made him no further promiſe then to come to *Taro*: The Capteines, though they were not aſſembled for that matter, yet ſeeing there yet remayned certayne howres of the night, and by that occaſion they had no neceſſitie to employe themſelues ſeuerally in other affayres, they beganne to reaſon amongſt them ſelues rather to beguyle the tyme, then by waye of counſell, into what eſtate things would be reduced nowe that *Lavvtrech* did approche: In which diſcourſing it ſeemed the wordes and reaſons of *Proſpero*, the Marquis, and *Vitelli*, tended to this end: That it would be harde to take *Parma*, if they planted not a battrie on the other ſide the Citie: for that though the wall beyonde the water ſhould be executed, which they had begon to batter the daye before, yet there woulde be a wonderfull difficultie to climbe vp from the bottome or lower part of the ryuer to the banke: Neither could they put that matter in practiſe without great daunger, for that thartilleries and ſhotts beſtowed vpon the three bridges ſtanding vpon the ſame ryuer, and in the howſes there adioyning, woulde be as flankers to the perill of ſuche as offred to clymbe the banke: They reaſoned that the neighborhood of *Monſr Lavvtrech*, who was to marche on and incampe in ſome place towards *Pavv*, though he would not attempt the fortune of the fielde, would be the cauſe that thaſſalt could not be giuen without great daunger: Moreouer it was to be conſidered that by reaſon of the pillage and ſacke which had bene lately made of part of *Parma*, there were many footemen gone away laden with ſpoyle, and the other that remayned were more carefull to ſaue the things they had gotten, then diſpoſed or apt to feight: That the

armie

armie could not remayne there without many difficulties, discommodities, & dangers, for that as it should be necessarie for the seruice to sende out euery daye great trowpes and bandes, not onely to defende the forragers, but also for the suretie of vittels and money which came dayly, making a long circuit about the walles of *Parma*: So, whyleſt suche trowpes shoulde occupie the fieldes, it might come to passe that the residue of the campe should haue to do at one tyme with the Frenche men that were without, and such also as were within: They brought into discourse also, that if the Duke of *Ferrara* reenforced his armie with moe bands of souldiors, they should be driuen of necessitie to leauie from the campe farre greater forces for the suretie of *Modona* and *Reggia*: yea, if he ouerrunne the countrey with suche bandes as he had, he might so hinder the resorte of vittelles that they shoulde be dryuen to breake vp and dissolue the campe, extremities which brought with them manyfest apparances of moste great daungers: These reasons albeit they expressed an inclinacion to leauye the siege, yet they were so cloaked and dissembled, that it coulde not be discerned that suche was their counsayle and intencion: At laste after they had occupied many reasons and long discourses, the Marquis of *Risquaire* seeming to haue already comprehended thintention of the residue, sayde that he discerned well ynough that there was amongeſt them all one opinion and counsell, but euery one seuerally respecting his particular, was content to vse silence expecting that the mouth of an other should be the author of the thing which they conceiued in their hartes: But for my part, sayd he, depriuing my selfe of suche interest and respect, I can not but pronounce in the presence of you all, that as whyleſt we remayne about the confines of *Parma* our daungers are greater then our hopes, & our labors more then the fruites we shall reape, so, to auoyde greater euilles, I thinke it very necessarie we leauye and departe: *Prospero* iustifying the wordes of the Marquis, alleaged that he had expressed no lesse, had not the celeritie of the Marquis preuented his slownes to speake: *Vitelli* confirmed thopinion of them both: but *Antho. de Leua* well allowing of the breaking vp of the campe from thence, made this proposition, to consider whether it were not better to go seeke *Monsr Lavvtrech* and to giue the charge vpon him: Wherevnto it was aunswered, that as it would be very harde to constrayne the enemie to fight, so also to remayne there would be a matter so much the more impossible, by howmuche the difficulties that were to be brought into cõsideracion about their abyding there, would ryse farre greater, seeing it was not vnlikely to come to passe, that the regiment of two thousande *Swvizzers* would not followe them: Both for that many dayes before, they had receiued cõmaundement from the Cantons to depart out of the Popes pay: and also it was not likely that they would be drawne or disposed to feight agaynst an armie wherein were so many bodies of the same language and nation: Moreouer it could not be denied, but that by reason of the sacke and pillage made the daye before, it would be very hard to moue the footemen that were so disordered: So that this counsayle and the reasons of it beeing reiected, it seemed that the opinions and willes of all the Capteines drew to this, that it were best to breake vp the campe from before *Parma*: Vpon which resolucion no lesse settled then vniuersall, *Prospero* and the Marquis, withdrawing themselues a parte from the residue, after long conference in priuate, demaunded of the Popes Legate, what the Pope would saye if they leauyed the campe: The Legate aunswered the Marquis with this question: shall we not take *Parma* this daye, according as you assured vs yesternight? To whom the Marquis replied in his Spanish language, neither this day, nor to morow, nor after to morow: The Legate sayde it

could not be doubted, that the Pope would not be right greatly discontented with the matter, for that it would altogether depriue him of the hope of the victory: Onely he sayde that the point of that deliberacion consisted in the truth or error of the suppoſicions and reasons by them set downe, for that if to surceasse and absteyne were a matter daungerous & without hope, it could not be doubted that to remeine there were great indiscression, but if it were otherwayes, to breake vp could not but bring slaunder of too great disorder. Therfore he willed them to cõsider with deepe councell and discression, both the state of the armie and importance of thinges, and to ballance indifferently whether was the greater, either the daunger or the hope: But *Prospero* and the Marquis stoode continually vpon this, that all reasons and rules of warre aduised them to retyre, against whome being Capteines of such name and authoritie, the Legat forbare to obiect any further: Insomuch as it was set downe the same daye that the campe should breake vp, and thartilleries should be retyred from the walls, which being published thorow the campe, it was blamed as a resolucion tymerous and fearefull by all those that were not present at the councell: And albeit it was a councell euen then disposed to execucion, yet by the murmure of the vniuersall body of the campe, the Legat and *Moron* ioyning together, labored to alter *Prospero* and retyre him from his opinion: They found him not much estraunged to consult againe & call a new councell, alleaging with wordes and reasons so much the more worthy & commendable, by howmuch was great or graue the personage that spake them, that he held it no shame to chaunge councell when he was encoũtred with better reasons, and therefore caused eftsoones to be summoned all such as were at the first resolucion: But the Marquis of *Pesquare*, being busie about retyring thartillerie, would not heare speake of chaunging the first conclusion, and refused to come to councell, Insomuch as the matter remeyning rather confused then resolued, they proceeded to execute the first determination: Thus the same daye which was the xij since their encamping, they returned to *S. Lazaro*, And at the departing, there wanted not much of a very great disorder: for that the footemen laũceknights, demaunding so vnreasonable condicions touching their payes that they could not be accorded, refused to follow the armie, And the old Capteines that impugned the councell, concurring with them in that tumult, had created amongest them selues, a Capteine & Author of that sedicion: In which disorder it was feared lest they would compownd and accord with the french men, neuertheless the army being already gone, and no hope that the sentence or resolucion woulde be altered, they prepared also to depart, and followed the armie: In this manner of perturbacion, the army being full of feare and faction both for so suddeine a breaking vp, and for the tumult of the launceknights, there is no doubt, if *Lavvtrech* had aduaunced and taken thoc-
" casion, that he had not easily put them all to flight: Such a thinge is disorder, that in
" an armie deuided, it breedes more daunger then the multitude or sword of thenne-
" my: This suddeine discamping wonderfully afflicted the mind of the Pope, who expected from one day to an other, that newes would be brought to him that his soldiours were within *Parma*: he seemed to be depriued of his hope contrary to all reason and order, and that he was nowe entred into a most deepe subiection to a heauy and intollerable charge, for that (except the men at armes and the spanish footemen) he supported generally all the burden and expenses of the warre: But that which worse was, he was not without doubt of the Capteines imperials, whom many others held also suspected, perswading them selues that the retyring of the campe from before *Parma*, proceeded not of feare but of arte and cunning, as though they had

had ſuſpected that after the Pope had recouered *Parma* and *Plaiſanca* (nothing elſe apperteining to him in theſtate of *Millan*) he would waxe wearie of the warre and the thoughtes thereof, forbearing any longer to ſuſteine ſo great a charge and trauell for thintereſtes of an other: he was induced to theſe ſuſpicions both by the long tracte and delaye that was vſed to plante the campe affore *Parma*, and alſo that they had beſtowed it in a place ſo vnapte and inconuenient, ſeeing the leſſer parte of the towne beeing taken, they were to deuiſe to take the other parte with the ſame difficulties: Laſtly they proceeded in the ſiege ſlowly and drawing things in delaye, as though they ment expreſly to giue time and reſpite to the ſuccours of the French: And being at laſte in poſſeſſion of one parte of the towne, they cowardly lefte it abandoned aſſone as they heard *Lavvtrech* approched, and yet he was not ſtronger then they: Some there were that ſuppoſed all this action might proceede (without the priuitie of *Proſpero*) of the arte and ſuttletie of the Marquis of *Peſquairo*, who as muche as he could was enuious and ielouſe of the glorie of *Proſpero*: Neuertheleſſe it might be that thoſe ſortes of men ſuppoſed the trueth, who beleeued that all was done with ſinceritie and good meaning, and that they were not puſhed on with other mocions then of a feare that *Lavvtrech* was at hande, wherein they were greatly beguyled by the firſt aduertiſements, by the which they were made to vnderſtand that his armie conteined farre greater forces: But it is moſt certayne that the french capteines maruelled more then all the reſidue, being reduced into a very ſmall hope to be hable to defende *Parma*, for that the *Svvizzers*, being gouerned more by their owne humors and nature, then obſeruing the neceſſities of thoſe that payed them their wages, were very long in comming: which made many amongeſt them (not attributing to feare ſo ſodayne a diſcamping) interprete rather that *Proſpero*, a wyſe and experienced capteine, knowing what diſorder the ſacking of Cities brings vpon armies, and conſidering howe harde it woulde be to reſtrayne the ſouldiours from ſpoyling of *Parma*, iudged it a matter of perill to take it, the enemies being ſo neare: What ſo euer was the cauſe, *Monſr Lavvtrech* after he had refurniſhed *Parma* with newe bandes, incamped at *Fontanella*, and within three dayes after he ſent one parte of the armie to take *Roccabiangua*, a borowe of the territories of *Parma* neare to *Pavv*, which after it had bene battred with artilleries, the borowe and the caſtell were rendred by *Rolland Paluoiſin* lorde of the place, himſelfe hauing liberty to departe: After this the army was diſperſed betwene *S. Secondo* and the ryuer of *Taro*, the better to be ready for imployment according to the proceedings of thenemies, and it was nowe become ſtrong & well reſolued, aſwell for the defence of *Parma*, as for that the newe regimentes of *Svvizzers* which were exſpected were nowe arriued at *Cremona*: The ſame being the cauſe that the armie of thenemies not ſeeming to be in ſufficient ſuretie at *S. Lazaro*, (notwithſtanding *Monſr Lavvtrech* had commaunded them not to ſtirre from thence) that they retyred to the ryuer of *Lenſa* on that ſide towards *Reggia*, with intencion to drawe yet further of, if the French men aduaunced: yea the capteines without further tarying, had made a greater retraite, if they had not bene conteined by the complaintes of the Pope and the Agentes of Cæſar, and touched with the murmure and blame of the whole armie. This was the behauiour and diſpoſicion of both the armies for many dayes, *Lavvtrech* notwithſtanding making diuerſe incurſions with his horſemen and the ſouldiors of *Parma*, euen vp to *Reggia* by the waye of the mounteine: wherein he gaue great impedimentes to the vittels which were brought to thenemies from *Reggia*, and that to the great diſcommendation of *Proſpero*, who woulde hardly ſuffer his

light horsemen to do seruice,& very slowly prouided for the sauetie of such things, as he might haue remedied with good facilitie.

On the other side the mountes, the affayres of Cæsar ranne the same fortune, for that being entred into the dominions of the french king on *Flaunders* side, with a mighty armie, And holding *Maisiers* besieged with great hope to cary it, he was deceiued in his exspectacion, Insomuch as beeing not able to take it, for that a stronge succour of the french came to reskew it, he retyred with perill least his armie were broken and ouerthrowen.

The Popes Capteines and the Emprours take councell to passe further.

But in *Italy*, notwithstanding the successe of the warre was not happy nor acceptable, yet the thoughtes and councells of men, were nothing restrayned or forslowed; for, the enemies to the french, not deuising any more to take *Parma* or any other towne, determined to enter deeper into the Duchie of *Myllan*, ioyning to tharmie so many bands of *Italians*, that in all they conteyned six thowsand which were leauied from hand to hand: They were the more boldened to take this resolucion, by a hope they had that there would of new descend to the pay of the Pope, twelue thowsand *Svvyzzers*: who albeit had bene refused by the Cardinall of *Syon* soliciting openly in their parliaments against the french, and by *Ennius* Bishop of *Verola* the Popes Legat, and also by Cæsars embassadors, for that the Cantons would not deliuer such a regiment of their nation but for the defense of the dominions of the Church, and with expresse direction not to marche to offend the estates of the french king: yet for that they could not haue them with other reason, they were glad at last to accept them vnder the same condicion, hoping that being once discended into the regions of *Italy*, they might be induced to follow the armie against the Duchie of *Myllan*, and that either through their naturall inconstancie, or by their vniuersall couetousnes, or at least by the sleightes and corrupcions that might be ministred to their Capteines: In this deliberacion to passe further, there was no dout made into what quarter they would draw: for that, to continue the warre on this side the riuer of *Pavv*, could not be without manifest and right great difficulties, seeing it was a matter desperat to take *Parma*: And if they would leaue that citie behinde, they must of necessitie goe seeke out thennemies to fight with them, An action euidently daungerous for that they were lodged in a place of aduauntage and well fortefied with artilleries: To remeyne betwene *Parma* and them, or to passe further without fighting, there was no reason nor abilitie to doe so, for that standing betwene the townes that were possessed by them and tharmie, they should within few dayes be afflicted with penurie of vittells, the contry of thennemy denying all resort, and no possibilitie of traffike further of: All which difficulties would be auoyded in transferring the warre beyonde *Pavv*, for that in that contrey, naturally abounding in all thinges, and had not as yet tasted of the harmes of the warre, they made good warranty to find vittels sufficient, and to meete with no impediment vntill the riuer of *Addo*: Both for that, leauing *Cremona* on the left hand, and drawing neare to the riuer of *Oglio*, there were no places to make resistance, & also they were perswaded that the Senate of *Venice* would not (for thinteresta of others) deliuer vp their bandes of souldiours to the fortune of a battell: They beleued also that the french durst not oppose against them, but at the passage of the riuer of *Addo*: yea the vniuersall hope was, that the armie approching the *Venetian* frontyers, the Senat (for the sewertie of their owne estates) would call home the most parte of those souldiours which they had sent to the seruice of the french king: Lastly, ouer and besides all these consideracions, to passe beyond *Pavv*, fell out very aptly for the armie to ioyne with the *Svvyzzers*, A matter not of least

importance.

importance. But whileſt neceſſarie prouiſions were in preparing for this deliberacion, as artilleries, municions, pyonners, bridges, and vittells: And whileſt bandes of *Italian* footemen were leauied in *Tuskane* and *Romagnia*: Count *Guido Rangon*, vnder the Popes commaundement, marched towards the mountaine of *Modena*, with parte of the footemen that were alreadie leauied, and with thoſe bandes that were vnder his gouernment: This mounteine did neuer acknowledge other Lorde then the Duke of *Ferrara*, neither ſo long as *Modena* ſtoode vnder the iuriſdiction of Cæſar, nor afterwardes when it diuolued to the dominion of the Church: But the peoples of the contrie hearing howe armed men came to inuade them, made publike proteſtacion for the Churche, not tarying till they were aſſailed. At the ſame time fled from *Millan Boniface* Biſhoppe of *Alexandria*, and ſonne to the late *Frauncis Barnardin* Viſcounte: the cauſe of his euaſion, was, for that certeine conſpiracies which he had practiſed againſt the frenche, came to light: As alſo was diſcloſed a practiſe managed within *Cremona* by *Nicolas Varola*, one of the beſt ſort of the baniſhed men of that Citie, by reaſon of which conſpiracie, certeine inhabitantes in *Cremona*, partakers of the matter, were executed & made an example: a great number of thexiles of *Millan* followed tharmy, in whom I know not which was greater in thoſe ſeaſons, either their ill fortune, or their vndiſcreete behauior: for, beſides that all thenterpriſes that they tooke in hand drew very vntoward effects and ſucceſſe, yet being wholly giuen to pill and ſpoyle the contrie, they were the cauſe that there came not to the armie ſo great ſtoare of vittells as was neceſſarie, yea (except thinduſtry of *Moron*) they recompenſed not theſe euills by any diligence or intelligence of eſpialls: Laſtly, and which is of more importance then all the reſidue, *Proſpero* hauing ſent them long time before towards *Plaiſanca*, they executed great domages and hoſtilities indifferently both vpon their frends and enemies, and fell at laſt into ſuch ciuill contencion amongeſt them ſelues by reaſon of the booties, that *Peter Scot* of *Plaiſainca* a chieftaine amongeſt them, was ſlaine by *Hector* Viſcount and diuerſe others: Such deſtinie followeth vnlawfull pillage and ſpoyle, that being purchaſſed by vniuſt armes and violence, it either brings with it the ſeedes of ſedicion, hoſtilitie, and blood, or at leaſt leaues to the getters a miſerable vſe & fruicion. In this meane while *Proſpero* attempted to burne the barkes of the bridge which the frenchmen had retyred neare to *Cremona* with a very ſlēder gard, he ſet vpon this enterpriſe to this end, to winne ſo much the more time to enter the contrie, whileſt *Lavvtrech* ſhould reaſſemble the barkes neceſſarie to reedifie the bridge: But the expedicion being impoſed vpon *Iohn de Medicis*, ſent out to that ende with two hundred light horſemen and three hundred ſpaniſh footemen, the longnes of the way was the cauſe that he coulde not arriue there till after the night was paſſed: Inſomuche as the maryners iudging ſome violence by the noyſe or brutes that were made, retyred the barkes into the middeſt of the riuer of *Pavv*, where thennemie that lay planted vppon the ſhoare, had no way to offend them: At laſt when all thinges neceſſary to paſſe *Pavv* were prepared, the army marched to *Breſſelle* where was erected a bridge of barkes: But affore they paſſed ouer, for that to their purpoſe to offend an other, was ioyned a neceſſitie to ſee to the defending of them ſelues, there was ſent to the gard of the townes of the Church which ſhoulde remeine behinde, *Vitello Vitelly* with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, the like number of light horſemen, and two thowſand footemen of the penſion and pay of the *Florentins*: In like ſorte went thither the Biſhoppe of *Piſtoya* with the regiment of two thowſande *Svvizzers*, who were turned to that enterpriſe, for that it ſeemed to ſtand neither with ſurety nor pollicie to lead

them against the frenche, in whose armie was so stronge a power of the same nation deliuered to them by vniuersall decree, and bearinge their publike ensceignes: Neither were they assured what the newe companies of *Svvizzers* would resolue, who being mustered and assembled at *Coire*, there was dayly exspectacion of assured aduertisements that they had taken the fieldes to marche: The Bishoppe and *Vitelly* had charge, not onely to defende *Modena* and other townes of the Church if any inuasion were made, but also to assaile the Duke of *Ferrara*, who attributing to him selfe the glorie to haue deliuered *Parma*, and occupied *Finalo*, and *S. Felix*, passed not further, for that the Pope (in whom was redoubled a hatred for that surprise) proceded against him with censures and excommunicacions of the Churche, to depriue him of the Duchie of *Ferrara*.

The armie of the league passeth the riuer of Pav.

Thus the army passed the riuer of *Pavv* the first of October, & went to incampe at *Casalmaior:* They consumed in passing not only all the day, but a great parte of the night, the multitudes of such as followed the campe giuing no lesse impedimentes then the baggage that was drawne and caried: In this the Capteines were muche deceiued, for that they made their reckoning to see the whole armie passed before noone, insomuch as what by the slownes and negligence of the straglers which are no small impediments to a campe marching, and what by the darkenes of the night, in which the vse of the eyes and hands is taken away, one parte of the artilleries and municions, with many bands of souldiours remeined dispersed the whole night betwene *Pavv* and *Casalmaior*, in daunger to be made a praye to euery small trowpe of enemies that would haue set vpon them in their disorder: yea it was not to be douted that if *Monsr Lavvtrech*, (who after he had assembled all his *Svvizzers*, came to incampe at *Colorgne* the same daye that the enemies incamped at *Bresselle*) had passed ouer his bridge at *Casalmaior*, which is but three myles from *Colorgne*, at thinstant that they made their passage, or at least at midday, had charged that parte of the armie whiche was not yet passed (for betwene *Bresselle* and *Colorgne* is but sixe myles) he had had good meane and oportunitie to bring his busines well to passe: „ But in warres many occasions are lost, for that the Capteines and leaders haue not „ alwaies knowledge of the disorders and difficulties that happen amongest thene- „ mies. The same night arriued at *Casalmaior*, Cardinall *de Medicis* whom the Pope sent as Legat into tharmy: This was the Popes reason to send him thither: That albeit he had very secretly begonne to giue eare to thEmbassador of the frenche king, yet for the feare he had least these aduersities and contrarie successes, together with the burden of the warre which was almost wholly reduced vpon him, shoulde giue occasion to Cæsar & his ministers to dout, that to shake of so many difficulties and doutes, he woulde chaunge his minde and turne his thoughtes to new deuises: he iudged there coulde be nothing more apt to assure them, and so by consequence to induce them to proceede more resolutely in the warre, then to send amongest them Cardinall *de Medicis*: Both for that by reason of his affinity and nearenes of kinred, he bare no litle authoritie with him, and also for that without his priuity and councell, they knew was done nothing of importance, notwithstanding he remeyned for the most parte at *Florence:* And besides that in him were concluded the verie councells and authoritie of the Pope, yet in sending him to tharmie, was thought to rest no small matter to hold vp the reputacion of thenterprise which was somewhat declined: And lastly it was likely that for the presence of so great a personage the Capteines would deliberate vpon thaffaires with a greater agreement and vnity: A matter of no litle necessity to be looked into & remedied, for that betwene *Prospero* and

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the Marquis of *Pisquairo*, the quarrell roase more and more increasing, the rather for that the Marquis since the campe was leauyed from before *Parma*, seeking to lay vppon others thinfamie of that deliberacion, gaue aduertisementes to *Rome* that the resolucion had bene set downe without his counsell or priuitie. The armie rested one daye at *Casalmaior*, and from thence they marched along the territories of *Cremona* to drawe neare the ryuer of *Oglia*, where they arryued in foure remoues of marching: And in this whyle was nothing done of consequence, sauing that as the armie was lodged in a farme called *la Corte de frati*, there aroase a great fraye and mutinie betweene the footebandes of Spaniardes and Italians, in the which were slayne many of th Italian nacion, and yet more by the pollicie of the Spaniards then by their vallour, for that they knewe howe to vse thoportunitie of thoccasion: Neuertheless, by the authoritie and labor of the capteines, the matter was speedily reappeased. The daye before, *Iohn de Medicis* alwayes pursuing thennemies, who the same daye that the armie stayed at *Casalmaior*, were passed the ryuer of *Pavv* somewhat higher towardes *Cremona*, brake a bande of *Venetian* estradiottes ledde by *Marcurie*, with whome were certayne Frenche horsemen, who tooke prisoner *Dom Lovvis Caiettan* sonne to the Duke of *Tracetta*, whose estate neuertheles was holden by *Prospero Colonno*: But assone as they came to incampe vppon the ryuer of *Oglia*, fortune beholding wyth better eye the affayres of the Pope and Cæsar, brake the sinister counsayles of the Capteynes, who had determined that from the farme of the Frears or Monkes, the Armie shoulde go to lodge in the towne of *Bordelano*, a place about eyght myles from thence, and vppon the same ryuer of *Oglia*: for, beeing not possible to drawe thither thartilleries by reason of the yll wayes, it was necessarie to staye in the towne of *Rebecca*, beeing in the mydwaye, and a place whiche is onelye seperate by the ryuer of *Oglia* from *Pontvvike* a towne of the *Venetians*: And whyleſt they incamped there, they had aduertisement that *Monsr de Lavvtrech*, beeing followed with the *Venetian* regimentes, and had also left at *Cremona* all his baggage and impedimentes of campe, was come the same daye to *S. Martin*, within fiue myles of that place, with full resolucion to meete thennemies the daye after in the fielde, if they offred to passe anye further: This troubled not a little the mindes of the Cardinall and the Capteines, for that the Senate of *Venice*, at suche tyme as they sent their people into *Lavvtreches* army, had signified that deliberation to the Pope with suche wordes as seemed to haue some power to stirre and moue him, not for any desire of the French victory, but for that he had not iust cause not to obserue the confederacion: They were also perswaded affore, and the comming of the Cardinall did well confirme that opinion, that *Andrea Gritti* had secret commaundement not to suffer his bandes to come to the fight: Which perswasion or opinion falling out to be false, it was necessarie to leaue there all their former counsells, since it was confessed of all men, that the armie of thenemie was farre aboue them in forces, conteining besides the horsemen whiche was mightie and strong, and seuen thousand footmen French and Italians, a puissant strength of ten thousande *Svvizzers*: But in the army of the Pope and Cæsar, the numbers of launceknights were so diminished, and the bands of the Spaniards abated, that scarcely were they hable to bring to the musters seuen thousande bodies, and of sixe thousande Italians (for that the moste of them were newe supplies and leauyed in haste) their number was more in consideracion then by their vertue.

Thus *Prospero* with the others, determined to tary in that place for the comming of the *Svvizzers*, who beeing vppon their waye, and the Cardinall of *Syon* that

ledde them, hauing ſent worde not to lynger for them in any place, it was thought they coulde not tarye aboue three or foure dayes: And therefore the moarning following, after the Capteines had diligently conſidered the ſituacion of the place, they reduced into a better fourme the lodging whiche the night before had bene made almoſte in tumulte and mutinie: In whiche action they dyd not conſider in what perill they ſtoode to be offended with the artilleries of the towne of *Pontovvike* whiche ſtoode vppon the oppoſite: for, this was the perſwaſion of the Cardinall *de Medicis* reteyning ſtyll his firſt impreſſions, that the *Venetians* who ſtoode not bounde to the Frenche kinge in other condicions then to ayde hym with men for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, would neuer conſent nor ſuffer that oute of their places ſhoulde be drawne anye meane to vexe the armie of the Churche and Cæſar: The difficultie of vittells was one thing that ſeemed contrarie to the reſolucion to tarrie for the *Svvizzers* at *Rebecca*, for beſides that the quantities that were carryed with the armie were not ſufficient to feede them but for verye fewe dayes, yet by reaſon of the harmes done by the exiles of *Millan*, and the vniuerſall fleeing and abandoning that was made through the whole contrey, there was ſupplyed and brought very little, and yet that more and more diminiſhed dayly: In reſpect of theſe difficulties and wantes, *Guicciardin* their Agent gaue this counſayle, that ſeeing there was no abyding there for wante of vittells, and leſſe exſpectacion of the comming of the *Svvizzers* who mighte be ſtayed by manye occaſions, it coulde not be preiudiciall to retyre backe agayne fiue or ſixe myles vppon the ſame ryuer to the confines of *Mantua*, where hauing vpon their backes the countreys of their friendes, they ſhoulde not feare thaffliction of famine or wante of prouiſions: He enforced this counſell with this reaſonable allegacion, that the thing which preſently might be done with ſuretie, might perhaps ſtande intangled with greater perill when ſo euer thennemies ſhoulde approche: This counſayle happly was not diſpleaſing to the Capteines, but the late infamie of the retyring from before *Parma* kept many of them reſtrayned from the libertie of free ſpeaking: They were alſo not a little caryed with the hope that the *Svvizzers* could make no long tarying, for that within ſix dayes they might eaſily diſcend from *Coire* to the territorie of *Bergamo*, and from thence they had no great way to make to ioyne with tharmie: So that beeing thus determined to awayte their comming at *Rebecca*, the prouiſions of meale carryed with the armie, were diſtributed by meaſure to all the bandes: And becauſe there were in the campe no ouens portatiue, and the houſes wherein any were buylt were taken vp by the ſouldiours, euerye one for his particular feeding baked vppon ſtones and hotte coales, the parte that was deliuered to him for his prouiſion: whiche incommoditie ioyned to the ſmall diſtribuſions that were made of meale, was the cauſe that the bandes of Italian footemen, notwithſtanding they had plentie of wyne and fleſhe, fledde ſecretly from the campe: But the thirde day *Monſr Lavvtrech* remayning at *Bordellane*, cauſed about noonetide to paſſe ouer *Oglia*, one parte of thartilleries, and ſent them to *Pontovvike* vnder the ſuffrance and priuitie of the *Venetian* Agent, notwithſtanding he made ſemblance of the contrarie: And albeit it was almoſt night, yet they began the ſame daye to drawe towardes the lodgings of thennemies, whoſe Capteines ſeeing into the manifeſt daunger, notwithſtanding they mighte haue conueyed them ſelues into a place where they might haue founde defence in the couerte and ſhaddowes of certayne little hylles, yet what with the calamitie of want of vittels, and a redoubled feare that the *Svvizzers* would make long tarying: They cauſed

sed the armie to departe the morning following by breake of the daye, and as their going awaye was without brute or sounde of trumpet or drumme, and their baggage and trayne of campe drawne affore their companies, so there was no bande whiche did not marche in good order and well appoynted to feight: They incamped at *Gabbionetta* about fiue myles from thence vppon the confines of *Mantua*, confessing with one voyce that they were deliuered from a great daunger, partely by the benefite of fortune, and partly by the negligence and indiscression of thennemies: for if they had not stayed at *Rebecca* the very same day that they were appoynted to goe to *Bordellano*, there had remayned to them a very small hope of safetie, for that the selfe same or else greater necessities had constrayned them to retyre, by whiche aduersitie the retraite beeing longer and thennemies more neare, the perill was moste manifest. In like sorte it is moste certayne that the victorie had vndoubtedly falne vppon *Monsr de Lavvtrech*, if he had marched to incampe neare thennemies, the same daye he sent the artilleries to *Pontvvike*, wherevnto he was aduised by many of the Capteines, but chiefly by the *Svvizzers*: for by reason of his neareneſſe they had stande depriued of all meanes to retyre in safetie, bothe for that they coulde not raunge them selues into battell araye for thinpedimentes of thartilleries of *Pontvvike*, and also the rage of the famine woulde not giue them suffrance in that place aboue three or foure dayes: But suche are the ordinarie fruites of singularitie and selfe weening, that whyleſt by his nature and custome he despised the counsayles of all others, he layde open to thennemies the knowledge of the perill that was towardes them, and through his fault made them hable to preuent his threatninges by their suddayne departure: In so muche as it was not without reason that the *Svvizzer* Capteines tolde him, that they had well deserued the payes accustomed to be giuen to souldiors that had wonne the battell, seeing it was not long of them that they had not gotte the victorie. At *Gabbionetta* the army of the League fortified their campe with great industrie, and in their owne safetie remayned there manye dayes: Neuertheleſſe bothe for that the comming of the *Svvizzers* seemed dayly to linger and suspende, and also for feare of the neighborhood of the French, both mightie in strength and braue in demonstracions to sette vpon them, they passed the ryuer of *Oglia*, and went to incampe in the borowe of *Ostiano* apperteining to *Lodovvike de Bossolo*, with intention not to departe from thence till the *Svvizzers* were come: which resolucion made with wisedome and counsell, was also accompanied with good fortune, for that at *Gabbionetta* by reason of the lowe and shalowe situacion, the army had receiued great domages by the abundance of raynes and waters falling assone as the campe was gone.

A fault of Monsr de Lavvtrech.

But whyleſt in this sort the tyme ranne foorth ydely betweene both the armies, the one lying at *Ostiano* and the other at *Rebecca*: The Bishoppe of *Pistoia* and *Vitelli* hauing drawne into one strength the *Svvizzers* and the bandes of Italian footemen, gaue charge vppon the garrisons of the Duke of *Ferrara* that laye at *Finalo*, who albeit had for their aduauntage the oportunitie of the place, bothe strong by nature and well fortified by arte, yet the *Svvizzers* whose feare is alwayes least when the perill seemes moste, presented them selues with a braue resolucion to the daunger, and giuing an ouerthrowe to the whole, they slewe manye of them, amongest whome the knight *Coriano* passed by the sworde as he was feighting: This brought so greate feare and amaze to the Duke of *Ferrara* lying then at *Bodena*, that yeelding to thaduersitie which he could not ouercome, he abandoned foorthwith that towne, and fled to *Ferrara*, his feares beeing greater then his

assurance: And to take from the ennemies all oportunities to followe him, he retyred with a present diligence all those barkes vppon the whiche he had buylded a bridge in the same place.

In this meane whyle the regimentes of *Svvizzers* that were exspected, were discended vppon the territories of *Bergama*: and yet their mindes beeing no lesse variable then their difficulties certayne, they stayed to passe further, hauing expresly refused to turne them selues to inuade the Duchie of *Millan* according to the instance of the Cardinall of *Syon* and the Agentes of the Pope and Cæsar: They also made difficultie to ioyne with the armie that exspected them at *Ostiano*, for that it was prepared to marche agaynst the Frenche king, offering to goe to the seruice of anye place that the Pope shoulde thinke good in the estate or dominion of the Churche, for the defending of whiche, they sayde they were entred into paye: And yet according to their barbarous interpretacion of things, they consented to marche to assayle *Parma* and *Plaisanca* as Cities manifestlye apperteyning to the Churche, or at least to the whiche the Frenche kinge had no certayne righte or interest: They required also that affore they should march, there shoulde bee sente to them from tharmie, three hundred lighte horsemen, the better with their ayde to leauye vittayles in those countreys and places through the whiche they shoulde passe: These were the difficulties they stoode vppon, bearing more vppon frowarde wilfulnesse, then vppon reason or necessitie of the present seruice: Neuertheless in the ende the light horsemen were sente, who passed at vnwares in greate diligence along the territories of the *Venetians*: They disposed their marching so, as they might come into some place moste neare the armie, to haue the more conueniencie and oportunitie to consulte and resolue what were to bee done: And in their waye they gaue the chase to certayne bandes of the Frenche and the *Venetians* whiche were bestowed at *Pondovville* or rather vpon the lake of *Eupile* to stoppe their passage: Assoone as they were drawen neare to the armie, there was present labour made to dispose them to ioyne agaynst the French, in which solicitacion were employed many messangers and Embassadours, and chiefly tharchbishop of *Capua* going to and fro in the name of the Cardinall *de Medicis*: At laste, the bandes that were leauyed of the Canton of *Surich*, who as they haue a greater authoritie, so they make profession to doo thinges with a greater grauitie, refused it constantly: The others after many doubtes and obiections, neither expresly denyed, nor manifestly accepted the offers that were made to them, for that as they refused not to followe the armie, so yet it was without declaracion that they woulde enter with them into the Duchie of *Millan*: So that, what by the counsayle of the Cardinall of *Syon*, and labour of the Capteynes into whose willes were made manye corrupte insinuacions by offers and promises, the armie determined to marche on vnder this hope, that since they refused not to followe, they woulde not bee harde to be drawne to any place where the armie went.

The Svvizzers leauied by the Pope vvoulde not march against the Frenche king.

The bandes of *Surich* conteining foure thousande in number, brake of and returned towardes *Reggia*: and the armie after it had remayned about a moneth betwene *Gabionetti* and *Ostiano*, ioyned with the other *Svvizzers* at *Gambaro*: They caried marching in the middest of them the two Legates of *Syon* & *Medicis* with their crosses of siluer enuironed with infinit weapons, artilleries, blasphemers, mankillers, & robbers: so much at that time did they abuse the reuerence of religion: They went in three remouings of campe through the landes of the *Venetians* to *Orchiueche* a

towne

towne of their obedience, making this excuse to the Senate that it was a passage necessarie, and that they had no intencion or desire to offende them: In the same sorte was it excused to them when *Andrevve Gritty* their Agent was constrayned to consent to *Monsr Lavvtrech* to sende artilleries to *Pontvvyke*. At *Orchiueche* arriued certeyne Corryers sent by the Lordes of the Cantons to commaunde the *Svvyzzers* to departe from the armie, sending also the like commaundement by other poastes to the bandes that were in the frenche campe, to whome was alleaged that it was a thinge vnworthie the reputacion of their name and countrey, to suffer the footemen of their nation to serue vnder publike enseignes in the armies of two ennemies: But these commaundementes brought foorth diuerse effectes, for, the poastes that were dispatched to the campe of the league were by comminge stayed in the waye, so that they came not so farre as to those bandes that were with the Cardinall of *Syon*: And touching the companies that followed the french campe, they dismissed them selues immediatly without bidding farewell, not that they were moued by the commaundementes that were sent, and much lesse for the longnes of the warre wherin they are wont to be most impacient aboue all other nations: But they saw into the dishability of *Monsr de Lavvtrech* to aunswer their payes, who as he had of long time receiued no money out of *Fraunce*, so thextreame exactions which he leauied vpon the Duchie of *Millan* were farre insufficient to satisfie his charge.

Here may be gathered a fitte experience how muche the enuie and indiscression of officers bringes preiudice and domage to Princes, who either through negligence haue no employment in affaires, or else by incapacitie, are not hable of them selues to discerne good councells from euill: for, where direction was giuen for the leauying of three hundred thowsande crownes to be sent to *Lavvtrech* according to the kings promise; The Ladie Regent being the kings mother bare so great emulacion to his greatnes, that vsing her enuie against the profit of her sonne, she procured the Treasorers and Receiuers without the kinges priuitie, to turne that summe to an other vse: The same being the cause that *Monsr Lavvtrech* suffered him selfe to runne into confusion and priuate griefe, since by the departing of the *Svvizzers*, the succesſe of the warres which affore he promised to be good & happy, was become full of doutes and dispaire: And therefore forbearing to contend against enuy, fortune and the time, he bestowed garrisons in *Cremona* & *Pisqueton*, and reduced him selfe with the residue of tharmie to *Cassan*, hoping to giue impediment to thennemies to passe *Adda*, both in respect of thordinary difficulties which follow armies that are to passe riuers when there stands resistance vpon the shoare opposit, and also for thoportunity of the place bearing his banke towardes *Millan* verie high and raised, & therfore the offence is greater that is done to the ennemies with thartilleries, then that which they can receiue.

On the other side the Legats Apostolike and the Capteines were broken vp from *Orchiueche*, and passing eftsoones the riuer of *Oglio*, were come in three remouinges to *Riuolco*, not feeling any more thincommoditie of vittells, for that they were plentifully relieued by the townes of *Guiaradadde*, which the frenchemen had left abandoned.

At this place, as both the armies were vppon tearmes, thone to winne, and the other to stoppe the passage of the riuer, *Prospero* and the other Capteynes made preparacion to build a bridge betwene *Riuolco* and *Cassan*, a matter very doutfull and hard for the stopping of the ennemies: Wherein hauing consumed two or

three dayes in controuersies and councells, at last *Prospero* who would not communicate his thoughtes with the Marquis of *Pisquairo* to thende he should haue no interest in the glory of that action, and much lesse would vse the seruice of the Spanyards least they would disclose his deuise, caused secretly to be taken from the riuer of *Bembe*, two small barkes, and sent by night with great silence certeine bandes of *Italian* footemen to passe the riuer right against the towne of *Vaury*: *Vaury* is a towne open, discouered, and without walls, and hath his scituacion vppon the bankes of *Adda* fiue myles from *Cassan*: There is conuenient passage ouer the riuer, and in the middest of the towne is there a small circuit of wall raised in forme of a litle castell: There were for the gard of this place, certeine bandes of horsemen vnder the charge of *Hugh de Popoly* Lieutenaunt to the men at armes which the frenche king had giuen to *Octauian Fregosa*: vppon the hearing of the noyse that was made, he presented him selfe vppon the banke or shoare, from the which he was presently repulsed with force of shot, and yet it was thought that he might easely haue mainteined resista nce, if a certeine trowpe of harguebuziers had ioyned with those horsemen which he had with him, a matter which afterwardes he sayd he did require of *Monsr Lavvtrech*.

The soudiers of the league passe the riuer of Adda.

As the footemen passed in trowpes and numbers, so they assembled and drewe into strength in a place within the towne raised and somewhat fortified, exspecting there the succours which *Prospero* had appointed: who assoone as he was aduertised of that happie beginninge, caused to be turned that waye almost all the footebandes of the armie bestowed in diuerse boroughes of *Guiaradadde*, to whome he gaue this order that as they arriued they should passe successiuely vpon the same small barkes and vppon two others that were appointed to follow tharmie to serue for bridges ouer riuers, which by night were caried ouerlande to the same banke or shoare: Then he and the other Captaines with the Cardinall *Medicis*, tooke foorthwith the same way, leauing this commaundement to such as taried at *Riuolto*, that if the frenchemen retyred from thence, they shoulde immediatly sette vp the bridge: But at *Vaury* the succesſe of thenterprise was vncerteine for certeine howers, for, if *Monsr Lavvtrech* vppon his first aduertisement of the passing of his enemies, had conuerted thither one parte of tharmie, he had no dout giuen them the ouerthrowe: But after he had spent certeine howers in dout what he had to doe, he dispatched thither *Monsr d'Escud* with foure hundred launces and the bands of the frenche footemen, causing to be drawne afterwardes certeine peeces of artilleries: *Monsr d'Escud* and his regiments marched thither in great diligence, and beganne verie resolutely to charge the place where thenemies were retyred euen at the same time that the succours which were exspected, appeared vppon the other shoare: For whose comming together with the hope that they brought, thenemies made a valliant defense, notwithstanding that *Monsr d'Escud* discended on foote with all his men at armes and made so resolute a fight in the straightes of the streetes, that if thartilleries had come in time, his vallour no dout had giuen them the ouerthrowe: But on the other side the shoare, did make speede to passe as muche as the fraught of the barkes coulde carie, *Iegane* Capteine of the *Grisons*, and two enseignes of spanishe footemen, pushed on with the comfortes and speeches of Cardinall *de Medicis* and the other Capteines: And as in matters of execucion examples doe muche, so in this heate of vallour and valliant doinges, *Iohn de Medicis*, more moued of his naturall magnanimity and great desire of glory, then by any other mans incitacion, swame ouer the depenes of the water

vpon

vpon a turkish horse to the other side, giuing in that action both a present feare to thennemie, and a iust courage to his owne companies: At last notwithstanding the present arriuall of thartilleries, *Monsr d'Escud* finding the defence that was made to be so farre aboue his forces, and his fortune no lesse inferior, that he could not but dispayre of the victorie, retyred to *Cassan* with the losse of an enseigne, And by his example, *Lavvtrech* departed from *Cassan* and withdrew to *Myllan* with the whole armie: There, whether it was that he would not lose thoccasion to satisfie his hate conceyued affore, or whether he thought that by that spectacle he shoulde make him selfe more feared and redowted, he caused to be executed publikely, *Christopher Paluoisin*: An action of great pitie and compassion to beholde, no lesse for the noblenes of his house, greatnes and authoritie of his person, and flourishing estate of his age, then for that he was committed to prison many monethes affore the warre, in which poynt his iustice was not without extreme seueritie. By this passing ouer *Adda*, *Prospero* wonne a name and glorye aboue the sonne: he was affore, not onely infamous at *Rome* but contemned throughout the whole armye, not so much for his breaking vppe from before *Parma*, as for his custome in protracting the warre: But nowe, as it often hapneth that thinges done first, lose their memorie by the consideracion of such as followe and are done afterwardes, so thinfamie of his former vices was nowe defaced and the mindes of all men conuerted to prayse and extoll him, the rather for that without bloode and daunger, yea altogether with councell and industrie worthy of so well experienced a Capteine, he had stolne from thennemies the passage of that ryuer: A matter whiche *Monsr Lavvtrech* did not onely promise to him selfe and his whole armie to let and stoppe, but also assured it absolutely to the king vnder his writing and publike protestacions: And yet (such emulacion followeth vallour and the glorye thereof) there were some, who with reasons eyther true or apparant, labored to diminish the glorye of this action, wherein they alleaged that there was no vertue nor rare industrie neyther in the inuencion nor in thexecucion: for that nature and naturall prouidence doth teach all men finding impediments in riuers and straite passages, to search and sownd some other way to passe either higher or lower, where nothing is obiected to stoppe them: They could say also that the passage of *Vaury* was at hande, and by his ordinary frequentacion a passage very conuenient, and that *Lavvtrech* had bene so careless to garde it that his negligence had left no place to industrie: So that in no other thinge coulde bee recommended the prouidence of *Prospero*, then that with secrecie he had made prouision of the barkes, and managed the whole enterprise with necessary silence: There were other also, who perhappes eyther too diligent to iudge of thinges, or more readye to reprehende faultes that bee doubtfull, then apt to commend actions and doinges certeyne, were not contented to diminishe the renowme of his industrye, but with a spirite more enuyous, they iustified that there was in him neyther prouidence nor order conuenient: for, saye they, in not sending commaundement to those bandes to stirre that were appoynted for succours and lodged within *Treuy*, *Carauagge* and many other places, but when the footemen whome he had sent before were possessed of *Vaury*: It fell out that the first companyes coulde not arryue vppon the shoare of the ryuer vntyll noone, which was foureteene howers after the firste bandes of footemen were paste: So that if *Monsr Lavvtrech* had done presently vppon thaduertisement that was sent to him, the thinge whiche he did many howers after, there is no doubt that he had not reconquered *Vaury*, and giuen the ouerthrowe

to those footebandes that were passed, for that the succours or reskewe were
" too slowe and lingring: But suche interpretacions and fancies of men did no-
" thing at all deprave the glorye of *Prospero*, for that commonly in humane witts this
" collection is made that they iudge the councells of men by the euent of things, and
" so sometimes with praise and sometimes with dishonor according as the successe is
" happy or contrary, they giue that to councell and prouidence, which for the most
" part takes his proceeding of fortune.

Monsr Lavvtrech being departed from the shoares of *Adda*, it was to be doubted that thennemies who the day following builded a bridge betwene *Riuolta* and *Cassan* would draw neare to *Myllan* as fast as they could: yet *Prospero*, whose councell albeit was blamed by the popular sort, was yet approued by such as saw into the science of warre, was of mind that in taking a longer circuit, they should marche the first day to incampe at *Marignan*, A towne equally distant from *Myllan* and *Pauya*: for, being not possible for the hardnes of the time both cold and raynie, to keepe the fielde, he iudged it best to draw neare to *Myllan* on that side, by the which if he founde it harde to enter, he might immediatly turne to *Pauia*, where *Lavvtrech* had left no garrison, for that he sought to reduce all his forces to *Myllan*: In which citie both for the plenty of vittells, and many other oportunities, he thought to setle the seate of the warre. On the other side, *Monsr Lavvtrech* whose armie of footemen was reduced to a very small number, had from the beginning deuised to garde onely the citie of *Myllan*: But considering afterwards that if he abandoned the suburbes, he gaue meane to thennemie to lodge and incampe, and therewithall many ready opportunities to take the towne, he changed opinion, and determined as yet to defend the suburbes: This no doubt was a resolute & wise councell if it had bene accompanied with that vigilancie that apperteyned, for that by it, considering the vnlooked for accidents that fell within few dayes after, thinges had brought forth an other yssue then they did. But the armie of the league being lodged for the greatest part at *Marignan*, and the *Svvyzzers* more forward in thabbay of *Cleruault*, after they had remeyned there three dayes to exspect thartilleries which could not followe for thextremitie of the wayes: presented them selues the xix. day of Nouember before *Myllan*, hauing this intencion that if they could not enter the same day, they would depart the day after and draw to *Pauia*, whether was already dispatched part of the light horsemen to take possession of the towne: There hapned that morning this matter worthy of memory, as the Legats and Chieftaines of tharmie stoode in a medow neare to *Cleruault* to giue place to the *Svvyzzers* to passe, there came to them an olde man of aspect and habit popular, who telling them that he was sent by the parish of *Saint Cir* in *Myllan*, solicited and called vppon them with great exclamacions to passe further: for that sayth he, order was giuen, that not onely the parish of *Saint Cir*, but all the partes of *Myllan* vpon thapproching of tharmie would rise & take armes against the frenchmen at the vniuersall ringing of the bells of euery parish: This relacion was made more wonderfull by the consideracion of the man and his departure, for that notwithstanding all their diligence to find him againe, they could neuer learne what he was, nor by whom he was sent. The armie then marched in order towardes the gate of *Rome*, and the great artilleries stayed at the entry of a way which turneth to *Pauia*:

The taking of Myllan by the league.

The Marquis of *Pisquaire* who was in the former front of the battell with his bandes of spanish footemen, obseruing the comming on of the euening, drewe neare the trench that is betwene the gate of *Rome* and the port *Thesin*, And presenting his harquebuziers against a bastyllion made in a place called *Vicentyn*, neare the gate named

med *Lodovvikes* gate, and that more to make a triall, then in hope to carye it: The *Venetian* footebandes that garded the place, after they had with muche ado endured the presence of thennemies, gaue their backes with an incredible baseneſſe of minde, by whoſe example the *Svvizzers* that laye neare them, put them selues to flight, their feare being greater then their fidelitie: By which yeelding the Spaniſhe footebandes that paſſed the trenche and the rampier without any impediment, entred with the ſame facilitie the ſuburbes, and in that hurleyburley of entring they tooke and hurt lightly *Theoder Triuulce* being all diſharmed vpon a litle nagge, who payed afterward to the Marquis of *Piſquairo* for his libertie twentie thouſande duckets: In this confuſion of feare and perill, *Andrevv Gritti* with many others made waye with great hardnes for their ſafetie, who after by the benefite of chaſe and fleing they were eftſones vnited with the Frenche, they retyred altogether into the towne by fetching a very long compaſſe: But both for that they had made no prouiſion for their defence, and alſo that they had no ſtrength of footemen, and therewithall the people diſpoſed to rebell, they ſtayed about the caſtell: On the other ſide, the Marquis of *Piſquairo* in whom wanted no diligence to followe his fortune, made his approche to the gate of *Rome* (the gates of the Citie and the ſuburbes beare all one name) and was receyued into the towne by the principall partners of the *Gebelin* faction, hauing the gate in garde: And not long after the Cardinall *Medicis*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, *Proſpero*, and one parte of the armie made their entrie in the ſame ſorte by the port *Theſin*, the victors them ſelues being almoſt ignoraunt in what maner or by what diſorder they had wonne ſo great a victorie: Onely the principall cauſe proceeded of the negligence of the Frenche men, for that (as was diſcerned afterwardes) *Monſr Lavvtrech* had no aduertiſement that thennemies were remoued that daye, yea it was beleeued that he aſſured him ſelfe, that for the diſaduauntage of the wayes being much diſordered and broken with the raynes that were falne, they woulde not that daye make their artilleries marche, without the which he neuer thought that they would aſſault the rampiers: yea ſuche was his ſecuritie, that at the ſame time that thennemie entred the rampiers, he was walking vnarmed in the Citie of *Millan* accompanied with other capteines without any cogitacion of enterpriſe, as alſo *Monſr d'Eſcud* being made wearie with watching the night before, was layde downe to ſleepe in his owne lodging: both of them beeing beguyled in the care which they ought to haue had of their proper ſafetie, honor and reputacion: And yet it ſeemed fortune reſerued for them a fauor which their deſtinie would not let them enioye: for if *Monſr de Lavvtrech* after his feare and fleing had reaſſembled his people vpon the Caſtell greene, it was beleeued that there was offred to him no little occaſion to offende thennemies, for that one parte were diſperſed diſorderly within *Millan*, an other parte ſtoode houering in the ſuburbes in confuſion, and the reſidue remayned without in a troubled exſpectation: But what through his feare whiche coulde not be reappeaſed, and what by the errour of the darke night to diſcerne in ſo little time theſtate of thennemies, he departed the ſame night to *Coma*, where leauing fiftie men at armes and ſix hundred footmen, he tooke the waye by the pariſhe of *Iuzina*, and ſo after he was paſſed *Adda* at *Lecco*, he drewe to the countrey of *Bergama*, the Caſtell of *Millan* remayning well garded and refurniſhed: *Lody* and *Pauia* followed the exemple of *Millan*: And at the ſame time the Biſhop of *Piſtoya* and *Vitelli*, who leauing *Parma* behinde them, had taken the waye of *Plaiſanca*, were willingly receyued into that Citie: The like ſucceſſe they had in *Cremona*, where vpon the newes not onely that *Millan* was taken, but alſo that

the Frenche were ouerthrowen, the people ranne to armes and cryed vppon the name of thempire and Duke of *Millan*: Assoone as that commotion was vnderstanded by *Monsr Lavvtrech*, who was then arriued vppon the territories of *Bergama*, he dispatched thither *Monsr d'Escud* with one parte of tharmie to recouer it: he was repulsed by the people, by whiche occasion *Lavvtrech* notwithstanding he had very small hope of good succesſe, for that the *Svvizzers* that were within *Parma*, might easily succour it, went thither with the whole armie, hauing first geuen order that *Federike de Bossolo* shoulde abandon *Parma*, holding it a matter of too great difficultie to furnishe so many places: This enterprise drewe with it a good succesſe and issue: for, notwithstanding that Cardinall *Medicis* assoone as he vnderstoode of the rebellion of *Cremona*, had sente to the Bishop of *Pistoye*, that the better to assure such a conqueſt he should dispatche thither one part of the *Svvizzers*: yet becausе he would neither deuide them nor intangle him selfe with other affaytes, standing alwayes vppon a desire to goe with them to an enterprise determined vppon *Genes*, he lingred so long that he lefte sufficient tyme to *Monsr Lavvtrech* to recouer it, hauing bothe the Castell to holde for hym, and also knowing there was to bee obiected agaynst him no other defence then a confused resistance of the people, in whome he discerned already an inclinacion to yeelde, for that they sent Embassadours to solicite their pardon: This good euent ministred eftsoones some good courage and lyfe to *Monsr Lavvtrech*, who sent forthwith to *Federike Bossolo* not to abandon *Parma*: But he was departed affore the sommonce came, and had passed *Pavv* with his bandes and companies: At what tyme *Vitelly* who wente to *Plaisanca* with his companies and was not farre from *Parma* when *Federike* departed, was called in by an vniuersall consent of the people, and made his entrie. The Capteines and Assistantes of the League deuised howe to recouer the residue of the estate vnder this foundacion to make no more so greate expences: And accordingly they dispatched from *Millan* at the same tyme the Marquis of *Pisquairo* with his bandes of Spaniardes and the Launceknightes and *Grisons*, to laye siege to *Coma*: In whiche enterprise in maye be doubted whether was more forwarde his desire or his fortune, for he had no sooner begonne to enforce the terrour of his artilleries, then the defendantes dispayring of reskew, agreed to render vp the place vnder condicion of sauetie of life and goods aswell to the Frenche bandes as to thinhabitantes of the towne: And yet when the Frenche men were vppon their departure, the Spaniardes made their entrie and sacked it, to the greate infamie of the Marquis, who beeing afterwardes accused of fayth breaking by *Iohn Chabannes* chiefe of the Frenche bandes within *Coma*, was by him defyed and chalenged to the cambat.

At the same instant they of the League sent the Bishop of *Verula* to the *Svvizzers* to assure them of their willes, neuertheleſse assoone as he was come to *Belinsone* they committed hym to warde, for that standing yll contented that their regimentes of footemen had marched agaynst the French king, they did not onely complayne of the Cardinall of *Syon* and the Pope, but also of all their ministers and officers: But chiefly they inueyed agaynst the Bishoppe of *Verula*, for that being the Popes *Nuncio* with them at suche tyme as they leauyed their men, he laboured to induce them to goe agaynst thexception vnder the which they had bene accorded.

The estate and affayres of the warre was reduced into theſe tearmes with a wonderfull hope in the Pope and Cæsar to confirme the victorie, bothe for that the

French

French king had no meane to dispatche with expedicion newe companies into *Italie*, and also for them selues they thought the power of those who had wonne *Millan* vpon him with the moste parte of the Duchie, was sufficient not onely to preserue it, but also to runne through all the residue that remayned in the handes of thenemie: Yea suche a thing is terrour, that the Senate of *Venice* fearing least the warre begonne agaynst others would not fall vpon them, gaue hope to the Pope to cause the French bandes to depart out of their landes: But of thoughtes sodaine began to spring an accident vnlooked for: for, newes came that the Pope was dead sodenlye the first day of December: As he laye at the village of *Magliana* whither he went oftentimes for his recreation, he heard the first reapport of the taking of *Millan*, which stirred in him suche an extreme passion of ioye, that the same night he entred into a small feauer: and for his better remedie he caused himselfe the next daye to be remoued to *Rome*, where he dyed within very fewe dayes after, notwithstanding the Phisitions in the beginning made no great reckoning of his disease: There was great suspicion that he was poysoned by *Barnabie Malespina* his Chamberleine, whose office was alwayes to giue him drinke: And yet though he was made prisoner through the suspicion of the fact and the vehement reasons of the same, yet the matter was dashed and thexaminacion thereof, for that the Cardinall *Medicis* assone as he came to *Rome*, set him at libertie, fearing to fall further into the disgrace of the Frenche king, by whose practise it was supposed that *Barnabie* gaue him the fatall drinke: This was but whispred secretly, the author being no lesse doubtfull then the coniectures vncertayne: He dyed, if we consider the cõmon opinion of men, in very great glory & felicity, not so much for that by the surprising of *Millan* he saw himself deliuered of daungers and exspences intollerable, whiche hauing drayned him of all store of money and treasor, he was constrayned to aduaunce all meanes and maners for his supply and releeuing: But also that a very fewe dayes affore his death he receyued aduertisement of the taking of *Plaisanca*, and the very day he dyed, newes came to him of the winning of *Parma*: A matter so greatly desired by him, that at such time as he debated to moue warre agaynst the Frenche men, it is very well remembred that he sayde to the Cardinall *de Medicis* laboring to disswade him, that as he was in nothing more caryed to the desire of that warre then to recouer to the Churche those two Cities, so when so euer God should blesse him with theffect of that desire, it would not greue him to dye: He was a prince in whom were many thinges worthy to be commended and blamed, and in the estate and discourse of his life he deceyued greatly thexpectation that was had of him when he was created Pope, for that his gouernment was with a greater discression, but with farre lesse bountie then was looked for.

The death of Pope Leo the tenth.

The death of the Pope did greatly diminishe thaffayres of Cæsar in *Italie*, as also it was not vnlikely that suche an enemie beeing taken away with whose money the whole warre was both begon and continued, both the French king would enter into a newe sprite and dispatche a newe armie into *Italie*, and also the *Venetians* for the same causes would recontinue the confederacion they had with him: So that it seemed that by this accident the deuises to assayle *Cremona* and *Genes*, vanished & were dissolued: and the officers of Cæsar, who till then had payed the Spanishe bandes with great difficultie, were constrayned to dismisse a great part of them: A matter not without daunger since there were holden yet for the king *Cremona*, *Genes*, *Alexandria*, the Castell of *Millan*, the Castells of *Nouaro* and *Tressa*, *Pisqueton*, *Domussolo*, *Arona*, and all the Lake *maior*: Besides, the Rocke of *Pontremo* was eftsones returned

to his deuocion, which being loſt before, was reconquered by *Sinibaldo de Fieſquo* and the Count *Nocero*: Neither had the affayres of the French king any good ſucceſſe beyonde the Mountes, for that Cæſar bringing warre vpon *Flaunders*, had taken from him the Citie of *Tornay*, and not long after the Caſtell, wherein were no ſmall quantities of artilleries and munitions: In ſo muche that by reaſon of the Popes death newe gouernmentes, newe counſells, and newe eſtates of affayres and doings were introduced into the Duchie of *Millan*. The Cardinalles of *Syon* and *Medicis* made foorthwith to *Rome* to communicate in the election of the newe Pope: The Imperials kept retayned with them fifteene hundred footemen *Svvizzers*, and diſmiſſed all the others, together with the Launceknightes who went their waye: The bandes of the *Florentines* tooke their way to returne into *Tuskane*: Touching the regimentes of the Church, *Guido Rangon* ledde one part of them to *Modona*, and the other remayned in the eſtate of *Millan* with the Marquis of *Mantua*, and that more of his proper reſolucion, then by the conſent of the College of Cardinalles, who ſtanding deuided amongeſt them ſelues, could bring foorth nothing in determinacion: In ſo muche as when *Monſr Lavvtrech* made his complayntes to them that the ſouldiours of the Church remayned vpon the Duchie of *Millan* to the preiudice of the French king, to whom for the charitable actions of his predeceſſors done to the Churche, was transferred the title of protector and eldeſt ſonne of the ſame, they could not agree to returne other aunſwere or reſolucion, then that they referred his remedy to the determination of the Pope to come. Of thoſe *Svvizzers* that were in *Plaiſanca*, one part went with the Biſhop of *Piſtoye* to *Modena* for the defence of that Citie and *Reggia* agaynſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, who immediatly vppon the death of the Pope had taken the fielde with an hundred men at armes, two thouſande footemen, and three hundred light horſemen, and ſo went to incampe before *Cente* after he had recouered by the will of thinhabitantes *Bondene*, *Finale*, the mountayne of *Modena*, and *Garfagnano*, and with the ſame facilitie had taken *Lugo*, *Bagnacauall*, with other townes of *Romagnia*. Thoſe *Svvizzers* that were of the Canton of *Zurich* continued at *Plaiſanca*, and for that they would not ſuffer them ſelues to be ſeparated, they would not giue leaue to a thouſande of them to go to the gard of *Parma*: which Citie remaining almoſt diſfurniſhed, *Monſr Lavvtrech* being then within *Cremona* with ſixe hundred launces and two thouſande fiue hundred footemen, tooke occaſion of the nakednes of the place, to attempt to reconquer it, being ſpecially induced to thaction by *Federike Boſſolo*, who caryed great credite in that matter for the peculiar knowledge he had in enterpriſes of like nature.

The Frenche men before Parma.

It was then determined that *Monſr de Bonneuall* with three hundred launces, and *Federike* and *Marke Antho. Colonno*, the one with the Frenche footemen, the other with the *Venetian* bands conteining in one ſtrength and generall number fiue thouſande bodies, ſhould be employed to ſurpriſe the citie of *Parma*, wherein were ſixe hundred footemen Italians and fiftie men at armes of the Marquis of *Mantua*, beſides that the people and inhabitantes were at the deuocion of the Churche, but ſlenderly armed, and no leſſe yll contented for the memorie of the French, and violences vſed by *Federike*: With theſe was alſo concurrant this aduauntage, that of that parte of the towne which had bene battred by the campe of the Churche the walles laye yet on the grounde without any reſtoring or repayring: Laſtely the ſea Apoſtolike was in vacacion, A matter which is alwayes wont to keepe the mindes of men in variacion, and make gouernors rather carefull of their proper ſafetie, then to looke to the defence of townes, as not knowing for whom they ſhould put them

ſelues

ſelues into daunger: So that with theſe foundacions, the french footemen were ſent below along the riuer of *Pavv* euen vnto *Toricelle* where the bands of men at armes that were come from *Cremona* by land, ioyned with them: And many barkes beeing ſent thether from *Cremona*, they paſſed ouer *Pavv* by night to *Toricelle* which is within twelue myles of *Parma*, hauing to follow them by direction *Mark Anth. Colonno* with the *Venetian* footebands, that were lodged vpon *Oglio*: *Frauncis Guicciardin* was ſent thether for the gard of the towne by commiſſion of Cardinall *de Medicis*, and doubting of the daunger that was ſo apparant, he cauſed to call together by night, the whole people and inhabitants, whom he incouraged to ſtande valiantly to the defence of their liues and libertie; And bicauſe they ſhoulde fight againſt their peril more with weapons then with wordes, he cauſed to be beſtowed among them two thowſand pykes which two dayes before he had ſent for from *Reggia*: it imported him much to be carefull to make prouiſions neceſſary for defence, wherein by ſo much greater was his diligence and ſtudy, by how much both the time and the place miniſtred many difficulties, both for that the ſmal numbers of ſouldiours within the towne, were not ſufficient to defend it without the ayde of the people, vpon whome in thoſe ſuddeine and daungerous caſes can be layd no firme foundacion for the variablenes of their condicion: And alſo for that he ſaw it impoſſible to let thennemies for entring the *Codipont*, for which cauſe he retyred the ſouldiours & all the townesmen into the other part of the citie, but not without a wonderfull difficultie: for, hauing a vaine perſwaſion amongeſt them, that it might be defended, as alſo the inhabitants of that quarter, interpreting to rigour and hardnes, to leaue abandoned their owne houſes, They could not be diſpoſed to it neither with reaſons nor with authoritie vntill they ſaw thennemies approch: becauſe the inhabitants were ſo long afore they would be perſwaded to retyre, thennemy lacked not much to enter with them pelmell into the other part of the towne, where concurred at one time many difficulties, both neceſſitie of money, and inconueniencie of the time, being the ſelfe ſame day wherein they were to pay the footebands, who proteſted to goe out of the towne if they were not ſatisfied of their payes within xxiiij. howers. The firſt day *Federyk Boſſolo* with three thowſand footemen and certeine light horſemen, entred the *Codipont* which was left abandoned: The daye after arriued there, *Monſr de Buneuall* with the french launces, and *Mark. Anth.* with two thowſand footemen *Venetians*: They had not with them other artilleries then two ſakers, for that by thimpediment of the ill wayes all along *Pavv*, the places being low and apt to reteyne water, made it very hard for the vſe of carts to draw greater artilleries: which had not bene without loſſe of time, and that contrary to their hopes grounded altogether vpon celeritie and diligence, for that they feared in lingring much, leaſt *Parma* ſhoulde receiue ſome reskewe either from *Modena* or from *Plaiſanca*: Neuertheleſſe thinhabitants being abuſed with the fancies and feares of certeine peaſants of the contry that were fled, ſtoode poſſeſſed with an opinion that the great artilleries were comming: By which occaſion they were entred into a wonderfull terror, and the ſame redoubled by a deuiſe of *Federyk*, who hauing taken in the contrey, certeine Citizens he made them aſſuredly beleeue by certeine rebells of *Parma* which he had with him, that *Mark Anth.* and the french men came after with a great armie and artilleries: And after he had let them goe to *Parma*, they brought newes touching the forces of thennemies and other things, much againſt the truth, and ſo repleniſhed the people with terrour and amaze, that not onely the Commons through all the quarters of the towne, but euen their Magiſtrates and councel hauing charge of thaffayres publike,

began with importunities to entreate the gouernour, that what for the safety of him selfe and his souldiors, and to deliuer the citie from seruitude and sacking, he would suffer them to compounde with thenemies: Agaynst which demaunde whyleſt the gouernour made resistance, sometimes with reasons and sometimes with requestes, and consumed the time in debating, there hapned this new difficultie, that the paye day being come, the souldiors that were drawne into insurrection, published in maner of tumult, that if they were not payde they woulde departe the towne: So little
" assurance is there in souldiors marcenarie, in whom in times of triall and daunger is
" commonly founde lesse fidelitie then forwardnes, & more corruption then constan-
" cie, & seruing but for pay, they haue no regards aboue the desire of money & gayne:
Neuertheles the Agent or treasorer obteined with many perswasions of thinhabitantes, to furnish one part of the mony, which though they had promised before, yet they became slow to performe, notwithstanding he declared to thē that in all euents and chaunges, that action would stande them in no small steade of iustification with the Popes to come: with this mony he reappeased the tumult aswell as he could, the same being the cause that the feare of the people augmented: And as the souldiors who for their smal numbers saw thēselues at the discression of the people, & had no surety of any one of the Citie, so they entred into present suspicion that the forces that were both within & without would set vpon them at one time: In so muche as they rather wished that the Citie woulde render by accorde vnder capitulacions of
" their safety, then to continue & dwell in that daunger: So vnquiet a passion is feare,
" that whom it possesseth it makes thē in nothing lesse apt then to be resolute or con-
" stant, & kepeth them depriued of that reason & counsell which in other cases is the
" guide of mortal men & their doings: But in this estate of affaires reduced thus to extremities, it was necessary for the gouernor to show him selfe constant and absolute, and therfore he sometimes assured the souldiors that the perill was aswell common to him as to them, & sometimes he stirred vp the principalls of the towne assembled in counsell, with whom he reasoned that there was no occasion of feare, for that he was assured thenemies caused not to march their great artileries, without the which it was both childish & skornfull to doubt that by the benefite of skaling ladders they would offer to enter or force the towne, wherin was a sufficient strength of youth & souldiors to make resistance agaynst a farre greater violence: He tolde them he had sent to require succors at *Modena*, where were the *Svvizzers*, *Vitelli*, & *Guido Rangon*, with their bands, not douting but that the day following he should be supplied with such a strēgth as would be able to enforce thenemie to depart: That aswel in regard of their owne honor, as for feare least with the losing of *Parma*, there hapned not a greater disorder, those succors would make hast, and their reskew be almost as ready as their danger: That he had sent to *Plaisanca* for the same matter, and for the same reasons he had manifest hope to be releeued from thence: That they had to consider that the Pope being dead, who had honored him with the credit of that place wherin he was, there remayned to him no interest or bonde (if things stoode vpon suche tearmes as they imagined) to subiect himselfe to a perill so apparant: for that according to experience and common examples past, muche lesse that the officers of the Pope deceased can exspect of the Pope to come any degree of recompence, since it was moste likely that the Pope of the newe election would become enemie to *Florence* his naturall contrey: for which reasons he had no cause to desire the greatnes of the Church, respects publike being no lesse agaynst it then occasions priuate: Only suche might be the concurrance of accidentes, that the diminucion of the same

would

would be moſt acceptable to him: That touching his owne particular, he had not within *Parma* eyther wife, children, or any goodes, for the whiche he was to feare that by the tranſlation of the gouernment they might be made a praye to the luſtes, to the inſolencies, and rapines of the Frenche: That laſtely ſince he had no reaſon to hope for any profite by the defence of *Parma*, and leſſe feare (by rendring it) of the aduerſities they had proued vnder the harde yoke of the Frenche, and taking it by force, his perſon communicating in the ſame daungers that they did: They mighte be aſſured that no other thing moued him to remayne conſtant, then the manyfeſt knowlege he had that the enemies had no habilitie to force the towne without their great artilleries: of whiche as he was aſſured they had none at all, ſo if he ſtoode in doubt, it ſtoode him vpon not to ſtande agaynſt thaccord, hauing no leſſe care of his owne ſafetie, then all they had deſire to auoyde their common daunger: Seing withall, that by the vacacion of the ſea Apoſtolike, and he not hable in ſuche a towne as that was, to oppoſe him ſelfe agaynſt ſo great an inclinacion and wyll of the people, he could not be within daunger of imputacion, and muche leſſe ſtand charged with their reuolt. With theſe reaſons ſometimes dealing aparte and ſeuerall with manye particulars, and ſometimes diſputing with them all together, and ſometimes leading them along the walles, and eftſones reaſoning with them of other prouiſions, he robbed the time from them, and interteined them all the night: yea he was not ignorant that notwithſtanding they had vehemẽt imaginacions to compound with thenemies, & that not for other cauſe then for feare to be paſſed into captiuitie and ſpoyle, yet they reteyned this conſideracion, that in according without his conſent, they coulde not auoyde the note of rebelles and fayth breakers. But aſſoone as the day appeared, which was a day dedicated to *Saint Thomas* thapoſtle, they beganne to knowe by the bullets that were ſhotte from the two ſakers planted there the ſame night, that thennemies had no peeces for batterie: whiche made the gouernour to hope that returning to counſayle, he ſhoulde finde them chaunged and aſſured, but he founde them of diſpoſicion contrarie, their feares beeing by ſo muche augmented and redoubled, by howmuche by the light of the day making them hable to diſcerne, they eſteemed themſelues to be neare the perill: In ſo much as laying aſide al regards to fidelitie, and aptnes to heare reaſon, they began with manifeſt inſtance, with proteſtacions and threatnings, to compell him to aduaunce the compoſition: Suche is the rage of a multitude vnbridled, and ſo violently do they runne to recute the thing which in their feares they haue imagined, that their mindes beeing once made tymerous, there is nothing leſſe reſpected with them then the thing whiche ſhould moſte aſſure them. The gouernour made aunſwere with a liuely reſolucion and libertie of minde, that ſince he had no power to ſtoppe in them the courſe of thoſe ſpeches & thoughtes, which he would do if he had in *Parma* a greater ſtrength, there remayned to him no other ſatisfaction of the iniurie which they were determined to do to the ſea apoſtolike and to him being a miniſter of the ſame, then that they could not auoyd thinfamy of rebelliõ, & imputation of diſloyalty to their lords, if reaſon could not hold them from executing the reſolucion which their tymerous condition had ſtirred in them: he reproched to thẽ with vehement words the oth of homage & fidelity which a few dayes before they had ſolemnly made to him on the behalfe of the ſea apoſtolike: he told them, that though he ſaw affore his eyes their deſtruction and death manifeſt, yet they were not to draw from him any other concluſion then that he woulde continue to make good his fayth in that ſeruice, vntill eyther by ſupplies of newe bandes, or by the comming of great artilleries to the

campe of thenemies, or ſome other accident happning, he were ſatisfied that the daunger was more manyfeſt to loaſe the towne, then the hope greater to defende it. He ſloong out of the councell immediatly vpon the deliuery of theſe ſpeeches, partly to leaue them ſounding in their eares and imprinted in their mindes with greater authoritie, and partly to giue order to many things neceſſary if thenemies ſhould offer to giue the aſſault that day, which was beleeued: But they remayned in ſuſpence, and ſtoode ſo muche the more confuſed, by howmuche their reaſon was leſſe then their feares: Whervnto yeelding at laſt to the thing that could leaſt aſſure them, and ſubduing in their fearefulneſſe all other good regards: They reſolued to ſende out at aduenture to ſolicite an accord, diſpatching withall certeine of them to the gouernor, to proteſt to him that if he continued obſtinate to conſent to their ſafety, they were determined in their owne meane, both to put away the perill that was towards them, and to preſerue the Citie from the ſpoyle that they ſaw pretended: But at the very inſtant that they were determined to addreſſe their embaſſage, there began to be heard on all ſides, the cryes of ſuche as garded the gates of the walles, together with the Alarme ſounded by the belles of the high tower of the citie, which gaue the ſigne that thenemies being iſſued out of the *Codipont* in order of battell, made their approches to the wals to giue thaſſalt: By which occaſion the gouernour returning to thoſe that he had not ſpoken to as yet, cryed vnto them, that though all men were willing, yet the tyme was nowe inconuenient to come to accorde: This is the election (ſayth he) you ſtande in, eyther to defende your liues honorably, or to ſee your citie put to ſhamefull ſacke, and your ſelues deliuered into captiuitie: your aduerſitie calleth you to be warned by the example of *Rauenna* and *Capua*, whoſe inhabitantes and the eyes of the naturall children borne in them, ſawe them miſerably ſacked euen as they were ſoliciting an accorde with thenemies that ſtoode vpon the walls: I haue done hithervnto as much as might be concluded in the habilitie of one alone: My will hath bin ſo much aboue my power, by howmuch my fortune hath bene leſſe then my meanes: I haue gouerned you thus long, not more to mine owne prayſe then to your profite, not leſſe to your vniuerſall ſafetie, then to the due ſatisfaction of the place I holde, and nowe haue I ledde you to this election whether you will vanquiſh or dye: I would of my ſelfe I could ſuffice to defend the thing which our fortune hath made not to be preſerued without your aide, then ſhould you ſee with what affection I deſire to defend or to dye. Be not the more diſcouraged for the nearenes of your perill, let not your confidence be ſo much abated, by howemuche your daunger is imminent: ſtriue not leſſe to vanquiſhe feare then to ouercome ſhame: And be not leſſe reſolute to defende your lyues, your goods, the honor of your wiues and doughters, then you haue bene importunate to deſire without any neceſſitie to runne into willing ſeruitude of the French, in whom you are not ignorant remaineth a naturall malice towards you. After theſe ſpeches, he turned his horſe away, and left them all poſſeſſed with contemplacions of feare: But as neceſſitie is mightie to make men reſolute, ſo for that their fortune had lefte them nowe no tyme to proue other remedies, they lette fall all parleys for accorde, for the preſent neceſſitie they had to defende them ſelues: for that one part of thenemies who the daye before had gathered in the countrey a greate quantitie of skaling ladders, made approche to the Baſtillion whiche *Federike* had buylded on that ſide towardes *Pavv*, and inuaded it valiauntly: And at the ſame tyme was a furious aſſault giuen to the gate that leades to *Reggia*, as alſo the feight was begon in two other places, with ſo much the more difficultie of defence to them within,

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by how much thenemies were more braue and encouraged by the examples of the Capteines, and the men of the towne filled full of terror and cowardiſe, went not to the walles, but cloſed them ſelues within their houſes, as though euery moment they had exſpected the lateſt ruine of the Citie: Theſe aſſaultes being releued many times, continued the ſpace of foure houres, the daunger of the townesmen diminiſhing continually, not ſo much for the wearines of thenemies, who by the wounds and harmes they receyued in many places, began to loaſe hart, as alſo by the example of the gouernor, and vallor of the townesmen, who ſeing the defence to ſuccede well, tooke courage in their good fortune, and labored more and more at the wall: In ſo much that affore thaſſalt retyred, not onely the vniuerſall multitude of people was ronne thither together with the Churchmen to defend the breaches, but alſo in thaction was concurrant the vallour of many women, who deſpiſing the daunger were ſeene to cary wine and other refreſhings to their husbandes: By theſe, thenemies without diſpayring of the victorie, retyred with the loſſe of ſome and manye wounded, to the *Codipont*, from whence they diſlodged the morning following, and ſo returned beyonde *Pavv*, after they had remayned a day or two about the borders of *Parma*: *Federike* confeſſed that in this expedicion whereof he was the author, nothing did more beguyle him, then that he would neuer haue beleeued that in a gouernour, neither for his profeſſion a man of warre, nor for his time of any continuance in the city, would de found ſuch vallour, that the Pope being dead, he would rather throwe him ſelfe into daunger without any hope of profite, then ſeeke for his ſafetie which he might do without his diſhonor or infamie.

This defending of *Parma* hurt greatly thaffaytes of the Frenche, for that it put the people of *Millan* and other ſubiectes of that ſtate into greater hart to defende themſelues then they had before: But ſpecially they tooke corage when they knewe what weaknes of ſouldiors was within, & had receiued no ſuccors abrode, for that beſides that there came no reskew from *Plaiſanca*, neither the *Svvizzers* that were within *Modena*, nor *Guido Rangon* nor *Vitelli*, would once make out any men for the ſuccors of *Parma*: wherin *Guido* alleaged for his excuſe, that notwithſtanding the Duke of *Ferrara* becauſe he could not take *Cente* defended by the *Bollonois*, was retyred to *Finalo* at ſuch time as the *Svvizzers* arriued: yet he ſtoode afrayde leaſt he would attempt ſome violent action vpon *Modona* being made naked of the garriſon: And the Biſhop of *Piſtoia* ſo wauered and was troubled for the inſtant requeſtes which *Guicciardin* made to him, and for the perſwaſions of *Vitelli*, who for his owne intereſt ſtirred him vp to paſſe into *Romagnia* with the *Svvizzers*, to thende to ſtop the paſſage of the duke of *Vrbin*: That what for that he was irreſolute, & what through his naturall ſlownes, he did neither the one nor the other of thoſe matters, both for that *Parma* defended her ſelfe, & in *Romagnia* no impediment was giuen to the Duke of *Vrbin*, becauſe the *Svvizzers* would not march for wāt of their payes: Which duke of *Vrbin* and with him *Malateſta* and *Horace* of the famulie of the *Baillons*, paſſed, the one to recouer his eſtates loſt, & the other to returne to *Perouſa*, hauing aſſembled at *Ferrara* 200. men at armes, 300. light horſemen, and 3000. footemen: An armie which willingly followed them, partly for friendſhip, and partly for hope of ſpoyle: for neither of the frenchmen nor *Venetians* they could obteine no other fauor then a permiſſion to who ſoeuer had takē their pay, to folow thē, & that the *Venetians* were contented that *Malateſta* & *Horace* ſhould depart out of their pay: Thus they went from *Ferrara* to *Lugo* all along *Pavv*, and finding no impediments in the eſtate of the Church, they drew neare to the Duchie of *Vrbin*, where the duke being called in by

The duke of Vrbin reentreth his eſtates.

the peoples, recouered presently his whole estate, except certaine peeces holden by the *Florentins*, and so turning towards *Pesero*, he tooke the towne with the same facilitie, and within fewe dayes after the castell: he ioyned diligence to his good fortune, and hauing chased out of *Camerin*, *Iohn Maria de Varana* the auncient lord, who for his greater dignitie and illustracion had obteined of Pope *Leo* the title of Duke, he bestowed within it *Sigisinund* a gentleman of the same famulie, by whome was pretended a better right in the same estate: And yet the Duke, who was withdrawne within *Aquila*, kept still the Castell: And so after thexpedicion of these matters, he turned with *Malatesta* and *Horace Baillon*, to *Perousa*, of which place the *Florentins* had taken the defence, not so muche of their owne counsell, as following the will of Cardinall *de Medicis*: wherein he was pushed on eyther by a kinde of hatred that he nourished agaynst the Duke of *Vrbin* and the *Baillons*, or by thimpediment of their neighborhood which he thought might put in daunger the authority he had in *Florence*, or lastly for that aspiring to the Popedome, he sought to cary the reputacion that he alone was the defendor of the Churche during the sea vacant, the College of Cardinals hauing no care to defende any part of the ecclesiastike dominion, neither in *Lombardie*, in *Tuskane*, nor elsewhere: The same proceding partly by the diuision of the Cardinalls, being no lesse full of ciuill factions, then wholly drowned in deepe ambicion to climbe to the Popedome: And partely for that it coulde not be founde neither in the treasorie Pontificall, nor in the Castell *S. Angelo*, that the late Pope had lefte any prouision of money: for suche were his prodigalities that he had not onely consumed the moneyes whiche his predecessor had left him, with an incredible quantitie of treasor which he had leauyed of the creacion of newe officers, with a yearely diminucion of fortie thousande duckets of reuenue: But also he had left the sea charged with huge debtes, and layde to pawne all the precious Iewelles of the holye treasorie: Vppon whiche occasion was published this subtill speeche, that other prelacies ended with the death of Popes, but the pontificacie of *Leo* was to continue many yeares after. Onely tharchbishop *Vrsin* was sent by the Colledge to *Perousa*, to accorde an vnitie and reconcilement with the *Baillons*, but that deuise was no lesse vayne then the labour fruitlesse, for that the man was suspected to *Gentill* for thalliance he had with the sonnes of *Iohn Pavvle*, and also for the condicions that were offred, bearing no suretie for him: In so muche as towardes the laste daye of the yeare, the Duke of *Vrbin*, *Malatesta* and *Horace Baillons*, with *Camilla Vrsin*, who being followed of certayne voluntaries was newly vnited with them, went to *Pont. S. Iohn*, and from thence running vp to other places thereaboutes, they dyd great domages aswell by night as by daye to the Citie of *Perousa*, where ouer and besides fiue hundred footemen whiche *Gentill* had leauyed, the *Florentines* had sent thither two thousande footemen and an hundred light horsemen vnder *Guido Vaino*, and 120. men at armes and an hundred light horsemen vnder *Vitelli*.

This time was quiet in the duchie of *Millan*, no other thing beeing done by eyther of the parties then certayne roades and pillages: And the better to execute those domages vppon places holden by the Church, those bandes of Frenche men which were remaining in *Cremona* being 2000. footemen, had set vp a bridge vpon *Pavv*, by thoportunity wherof passing oftentimes vpō the territories of *Plaisanca* & *Parma*, they did harmes to the whole contry: And notwithstanding *Prospero* by thincitacion of other capteins did publish that he would take *Trezzo*, & had already sent thither artilleries: yet he forbare to put the deuise to execution, alleaging that it was

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not conuenient that the armie ſhould be reſtrained to any one place, to thend to be the more hable to ſuccor theſtates of the Churche, if the Frenche ſhoulde begin to execute any action vppon them: But it ſeemed his thoughtes were farre different from his wordes, for that when he was tolde that the Frenche campe was planted before *Parma*, muche leſſe that he made any ſigne to ſuccour it, ſeeing he ſayde it was more conuenient to exſpect the euent and iſſue: yea that whiche more is, at ſuche tyme as *Plaiſanca* remayned disfurniſhed of garriſon, for that the *Svvizzers* of the Cantons of *Zurich* according to the ſommonce of their Lordes, were gone awaye in haſte, *Proſpero* dyd what he coulde to lette the Marquis of *Mantua* for going from *Millan* with his bandes: and he beeing put within *Plaiſanca*, ſuſteyned that Citie to his great prayſe with the footebandes of his eſtates, not ſparing oftentymes to releeue their neceſſities with money.

Amidde ſo many daungers and variacions, there was no prouiſion for thelection of the newe Pope: a matter which was deferred to the great preiudice of theſtate eccleſiaſtike, both to giue time to the abſent Cardinals to reſort to *Rome*, and alſo for that the Cardinall of *Turea* going from *Thurin* to *Rome*, was deteined in *Millan* by commaundement from *Proſpero Colonno*, to thende he ſhould not aſſiſt the aſſemblie in the conclaue for that he was a fauorer of the French: Vppon whoſe reſtrayning the College ſet down a decree that ſo many dayes would they tary to enter the conclaue, howe many the Cardinall *Turea* eyther had bene or ſhoulde be ſtopped from paſſing further: But aſſone as he was deliuered, the conclaue aſſembled the xxvij. of December, wherein were drawne together in ſolemne aſſemblie xxxix. Cardinalls: So muche was increaſed the number by the immoderate promocions of *Leo*, at whoſe creacion were not preſent aboue xxiiij. Cardinalls.

The firſt fact of the yere a thouſande fiue hundred two and twentie, was the mutation of theſtate of *Perouſa*, whiche according to the iudgement of men, happned no leſſe through the cowardiſe of the defendantes, then by the vallour of the aſſaylantes: who with their voluntaries and followers, were ryſen to a number of two hundred men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, and fiue thouſand footmen: This armie after it had lodged in the ſuburbes of *S. Peter* which they within had abandoned, gaue the fourth daye of the yeare an aſſault with many numbers of ladders both at *Saint Peters* gate, *Solions* gate, and the gate *Brognio*, with many other places, hauing firſt remoued the defences of all theſe places with ſeuen fielde peeces whiche the Duke of *Ferrara* had lent them: The aſſault began about the breach of the daye, and being many times releued, it continued almoſt the whole day: And albeit entrie was made in two or three places of the towne, which onely was defended by the ſouldiors without the ayde of the people who ſtirred not, yet the aſſaylantes were alwayes repulſed with ſlaughter, which gaue no leſſe courage to *Gentill*, then hope to the *Florentin* Agent, to be hable to defende it ſtill with no leſſe felicity and ſucceſſe: But the timerouſnes of *Vitelli* was the cauſe that the matter drewe an other euent: for fearing leaſt the people bearing more inclinacion to the ſonnes of *Iohn Pavvle* then to *Gentill*, would ryſe in their fauours: And finding it withall a matter of no little importance that they were beſtowed in the ſuburbes betweene the two gates of *Saint Peter:* But principallye ſtanding feareſull to loaſe his life vppon the yll euent of thinges for the hatred whiche he knewe the Duke of *Vrbin* and the ſonnes of *Iohn Pavvle* bare to him: he ſignified in the nighte to the other Capteines that he woulde departe, alleaging that hys preſence woulde bee to little purpoſe for the ſeruice, for that the daye before he had receyued

at the assalt a wounde in his foote with a bullet, the anguishe whereof constrayned him to keepe his bedde: *Gentill* and the other capteines labored him with many requestes to chaunge that intention, wherein albeit they layde before him howe hurtfull would be his departure to the whole seruice, and of no lesse yll example to the souldiors and people of the towne, yet they found him lesse apt to be remoued then belonged to a man of his place and vallour, and in that inclinacion they ioyned with him to follow him: And so the same night they departed to *Citta de Castello*, leauing *Perousa* to receiue the *Baillons*, not without an incredible wonder to all those, who beeing aduertised by letters written the same night what good successe they within had the day before, heard within fewe howres after howe *Vitelli* and the residue had cowardly left it abandoned.

Election of Pope Adrian the sixt.

The election of the new Pope was not yet accomplished, which had bene deferred by reason of the discorde that was amongest the Cardinalls, deriuing principally from the Cardinall *de Medicis* who aspired to the place, and who could do much for the reputacion of his greatnes, and for his reuenues: he had also by the glory of the late conquest of *Millan* corrupted the voyces of fifteene Cardinalls, pushed on eyther by their proper interests, or for thaffection they bare to him, or by the memory of the benefites they had receiued of Pope *Leo*: yea some of them were caryed with this hope, that though he shoulde not be hable to carye the soueraigne seate of the Popedome, yet he would at least beare fauour to those that had stand with him and for him: But many wayes his ambicion was suspected, and many things were contrarie to his desire: for to many of them it semed a matter most preiudiciall that one of the same famulie should succeede the dead Pope, and that in it would be concluded a president and example to dispose the Popedome by succession: All the elder sort of Cardinalles obiected themselues agaynst him, holding the dignitie of their time and grauitie muche depraued, to suffer the election to settle vpon one that had lesse then fiftie yeres of age: All those that were of the Frenche parte were agaynst him, with whom did ioyne also some of thimperiall faction: for notwithstanding in the beginning the Cardinal *Colonno* gaue it out that he would fauour him, yet afterwardes he opposed himselfe openly agaynst him: as also all those companies of Cardinalls that were yll contented with Pope *Leo*, declared thē selues his enemies: Neuertheless amid these difficulties, the thing that nourished him was, that he knewe that suche as were of his side, making more then a thirde parte of the Colledge, so long as they stoode vnited and constant, the election coulde not be accomplished without their consent: A matter which kept him delited in this hope, that with time his aduersaries would eyther be wearie or deuided, the rather for that there were of them who for their age and other infirmities, were not hable to beare out a long payne: And withall, though they stoode firme not to create him at all, yet he sawe their diuersitie would keepe them from concluding the creacion of an other, euery one striuing to transferre thelection to his friend, and most of them reteining a setled obstinacie not to giue place one to an other: But the chaunge of thestate of *Perousa* did somewhat staye thambicion of Cardinall *de Medicis*, by the instance of cardinall *Petrucci*, one of the Cardinalls of his faction: who beeing chiefe of thestate of *Siena*, and fearing least by his absence there might happen some mutacion in the citie wherevnto he vnderstoode the Duke of *Vrbin* would addresse his armie, did vehemently labor to aduaunce thelection of the newe Pope: his importunities together with thinterest and consideracion of the daunger which would fall vppon the state of *Florence* if *Siena* should happen to chaunge, drew the Cardinall *de Medicis* somewhat

somewhat to incline and yeelde, and yet was not determined to whome to giue his voyce. At last they fell to the custome of lotting of voyces in the Conclaue, wherein Cardinall *Adrian* Bishop of *Derchuso* was preferred without any affection or partialitie of voyce: he was of nation a Flemming, & in his youth hauing bene schoolemaister to Cæsar and by his meane made Cardinall vnder Pope *Leo*, did at that time gouerne *Spaine* in the absence of Cæsar: And as there beganne some voyces to publish for him, so Cardinall *Xisto* one of that election, beganne vnder an oration special, to recompt and amplifie his vertues and knowledge, by whose example certeine other Cardinalls yeelded, and the residue from hand to hand followed, though more by compulsion then by councell: Thus was he chosen with the voyces of all the Cardinalls, and had his creacion perfected the same morning: wherein this was to be wondred at, that euen those that had elected him could giue no reason, why amidde so many troubles and daungers in the state Ecclesiastike, they had raised to the soueraigne sea, a straunger, a forrener, and of long absence out of the contrie, and wherein were helping no respects of fauor, no consideracion of former merits, nor any conuersacion had with any of the other Cardinalls: yea they scarcely knew his name, he had neuer bene in *Italie*, and had no hope nor cogitacion to see it: of which strauagant maner of dealing, being not hable to excuse them selues by any reason, they attributed all to the working of the holy Ghost, who is wont (so they alleaged) to inspire the hartes of the Cardinalls in the electing of Popes: he receiued newes of his election in the towne of *Victoria* in *Biskay*, and would not haue imposed vpon him any other name then his owne, which he caused to be published vnder *Adrian* the sixt.

The D. of Vrbin and the Baillons before Sienna.

Vpon the mutacion of *Perousa*, after the bands of souldiours had lingred certeine dayes to marche not without some litle preiudice to their other busines, they went (to thende to leauie money of their frendes) from *Perousa* and *Tody*, where *Camylla Vrsin* had restored the exiles: The Duke of *Vrbin* with the residue leauing *Malatesta* in *Perousa*, marched in great diligence towardes *Sienna*, hauing with them *Lactance Petrucci* whom Pope *Leo* had depriued of the Bishoprike of *Sienna*, for that th Emperours officers had stayed *Bourgeso* and *Fabio* the sonnes of *Pandolffo Petrucci* from going from *Naples*: Those that gouerned in *Siena* had no other hopes thē in the succors of the *Florentins*, & that by intelligence which they had with Cardinall *de Medicis*: At whose instance his faction ruling for him in his absence the state of *Florence*, vnderstanding that the Duke of *Vrbin* was gon from *Perousa*, dispatched presently to *Sienna Guido Vaino* with an hundred light horsemen & prouision of money, to ioyne with them certeine bandes of footemen which they of *Sienna* had leauied: But the principall fundacion was vppon the forces appointed many dayes before: for, when they were aduertised of the first mouing of the Duke of *Vrbin* and the *Baillons*, and withall, hauing feare of *Tuskane*, they had solicited to wage the *Svvizzers* of the Canton of *Berne*, who being in number almost a thowsand were remeining within *Bologna* with the Bishop of *Pistoya*, making no reckoning of the commaundementes sent to them by their Lordes to returne into *Svvizzerlande*: This practise albeit it drew a longer time then was needefull by many difficulties obiected by the Bishop of *Pistoy*, yet at last it was put in execucion, not without great expenses, besides the leauying of foure hundred *Almaine* footemen who were ioyned in *Bolognia* with the *Svvizzers*: They had also called out of *Lombardy Iohn de Medicis*, and with those forces arriuing in time, they made no dout to assure the affaires of *Sienna*, which were now reduced to verie ill tearmes, both for that the greatest parte of the people

enuyed the preſent gouernment, and alſo for an auncient hatred againſt the *Florentyns*, they could hardly endure that their bands of ſouldiours ſhould enter into *Sienna*: But the matter that redoubled the daunger preſent, was the abſence of Cardinal *Petrucci*, in whoſe place notwithſtanding his Nephew *Frauncis* did what he could to ſuſteine thinges, though his authoritie was not equall to the Cardinall: for this cauſe, being carefull either to auoid or to prolong the daunger preſent, (wherein the principalls and chiefetaines were concurrant) They had diſpatched Embaſſadors to the Duke of *Vrbin* aſſoone as he was entred vpon the territories of *Syenna*: who notwithſtanding required in the beginning a chaunge of the ſtate, and thirty thowſand duckats, yet afterwards his demaunds were reduced to a moderation, Inſomuch as it was to be feared greatly that there would grow betwene the Duke and the *Siennoys* ſome compoſicion, either by the conſent and priuitie of the gouernors, or by the mocion of the people againſt their wills: Neuertheleſſe as the bands of the *Florentyns* entred continually within *Sienna*, together with a brute ronning that *Iohn de Medicis* approched with the *Svvyzzers*, ſo ſuch as impugned the accord and the ſolicitacion of the ſame, tooke ſo much the more courage to hinder it from concluſion: So that the Duke being drawne neare to the walls with his armie which conteyned but ſeuen thowſand footemen the moſt parte leauied at randome, he eſtſoones left thenterpriſe of *Sienna* to retyre into his eſtate the hopes of thaccord diminiſhing, & the *Svvyzzers* being come within a dayes iorney.

The ſame companies that ſuccored *Sienna* turned towards *Perouſa*, And the *Florentyns* tooke occaſion to execute ſpedely the thing which they deſired, being therunto alſo ſolicited by the colleage of Cardinalls: vnder whoſe name and authoritie the ſtate of the Church was gouerned in the abſence of the Pope, and by that reaſon the Cardinall *Cortona*, who from the time of Pope *Leo* was Legat of the citie of *Perouſa*, was perſonally in tharmie. But ſince the creacion of the Pope, there was in the colleage no greater vnitie or reſolucion then had bene before in the conclaue, but the variacions were more apparant & their controuerſies not leſſe violent: for, they had ſet downe an order that euery moneth the affaires ſhould be gouerned by three Cardinalls bearing the title of *Priours*, whoſe office was to conuocate and aſſemble the reſidue and diſpatch cauſes: of which the firſt three that were newly entred, began to oppoſe againſt the Cardinall *Medicis*, who was immediatly returned to *Florence* after thelection of the Pope, and cryed out that the bandes of the *Florentyns* ſhould doe no harmes nor domage to the lands of the Church: Theſe bands hauing already ſacked the towne of *Paſignian* refuſing to lodge them, and afterwards being beſtowed within *Olma* three miles from *Perouſa*, vnder an aſſured hope almoſt to cary that citie, they had held ſmall reckoning of thoſe commaundements, had not ben the knowledge they had of the vanitie of their hopes: for the famulie of the *Baillons* had made to enter *Perouſa* many bands of ſouldiours, and bare beſides a greater authoritie with the people then *Gentill* who followed the armie: In which regarde no leſſe diſpairing of the victorie, then hauing proued in vaine to cary it by compoſicion, they retyred ſomewhat aboue the borders of *Perouſa*, as though they would not oppoſe againſt the will of the colleage. They entred into the contry of *Montfeltro* which except *Saint Leo* and the rocke of *Maiuola*, was wholly returned vnder thobedience of the Duke of *Vrbin*: And after they had recouered it with more facilitie then loſſe, armes were depoſed on that ſide as it were by a peaſible conuencion, both for that the Duke was not ſufficiently mighty to continue the warres with the *Florentyns*, nor they had not cauſe to hold him in warre, neither for their owne profit,

nor

nor to content others: for, the colleage wherein the aduersaries of Cardinall *Medicis* could do most, had at the same instant couenanted with him to reteine the estate which he had recouered vntill the Popes comming into *Italie*, and longer if it so pleased the Pope, and that he should not molest the *Florentins* nor the *Siennois*, nor enter into confederacy with any Prince, nor any way communicate with him or administer to him.

Hitherunto the matters of *Lombardy* had bene in peasible estate, the one parte hauing want of money, and the other no lesse necessitie of men: And therefore the souldiours of the Imperialls who were not payed, refusing to stirre out of their lodgings, there was dispatched into *Alexandria*, onely *Iohn Sassetella* with his regiment and other souldiours and subiects of the Duchy of *Millan*: This Capteine in the beginning of the warre chaunging a benefit certeine for hopes incerteine, left the pay of the *Venetians* to take the wages of the Duke of *Millan*, notwithstanding he was banished from his estate: In which disposicion of minde and with a fortune more readie then a councell stayed, he approched to *Alexandria*, where the rashnes of the *Guelffes* defending the Citie more then the force of the french souldiours, made easie to him the action which all men esteemed hard: for that being issued out to skirmish with thenemies and not hable to susteine the encounter, their dishabilitie gaue them occasion to enter pellmell into the Citie, which by that accident more then through their vallour, became a pray to the victors, & a reproch to the vanquished: And not many dayes after with the same facilitie, were chased out of *Asst*, certeine bands of the frenche being there entred, by the meane of certeine particulars of the *Guelffes* faction.

Alexandria taken by the Imperialls.

But of this short and suspected quietnes, there were already discerned to draw on beginninges of verie great troubles: for, notwithstanding in the parliaments of the *Svvizzers*, there were great contencions risen vpon the demaundes of the frenche king, wherein as the Cantons of *Zurich* and *Zuicz* stoode obstinate against him, and the Canton of *Lucerna* whollie with him, and the residue deuided amongest them selues, so also the publike affaires were troubled by the couetousnes of priuate persons, some demaunding of the king pension and enterteinment present, and some requiring their old payes and debts due in times past: Yet they accorded to him at last those proporcions of footemen which he required for the recouerie of the Duchie of *Millan*: which leauy making a number of more then tenne thousande bodies, descended into *Lombardy* by the mounteines of *S. Barnard* & *S. Goddard*, and were conducted by the bastard of *Sauoye* great Maister of *Fraunce*, & by *Galeas S. Seuerin* maister of the horse. About this time the king of *England* being estraunged from the amitie of the frenche, had lent to Cæsar a great quantitie of money, the better to furnish him against so great an emocion: And with that money th Emperour had sent *Ierome Adorno* to *Trent*, to leauie sixe thousande launceknightes, and to lead them to *Millan*, together with the person of *Frauncis Sforce*: his comming was then esteemed of great importance, both to kepe conteined & constant, *Millan* & the other places of that estate which greatly desired his presence, and also by his authoritie & fauors to make easie the exactions of money wherof there was extreame want. At the same time they of *Millan* not knowing the prouisions that Cæsar made, had sent money to *Trent* to wage foure thowsande footemen, and they being prepared by that time that *Adorno* came thither, he left the other six thowsand to be made readie, and with these foure thowsand drew towards *Millan* to descende to *Coma* by the vale of *Voltolina*: And albeit the *Grisons* denyed to giue him passage, yet his celeritie and vallour

Ten thowsand Swizzers discend into the Duchie of Millan for the fr. king.

made his way, passing with so great diligence vppon the territories of *Bergama*, and from thence to *Guiaradada*, that the *Venetian* gouernors who were within *Bergama*, had no time to stoppe them: And after he had led these first companies of launce-knightes to *Myllan*, he returned with the same diligence to *Trent*, to guide thether *Frauncis Sforce* with the residue of that leauy. In *Myllan* there was no care omitted to make all sortes of prouisions, wherein this was chiefly obserued, to forget no meanes that might augment the hatred of the people against the french, to prepare them the better to defend them selues, and to releue the common necessities with money: To this action was much helping many counterfet letters and false messages, together with other cunning stratagemes proceeding from the diligence and art of *Moron*: But the thing that most of all aduaunced so great an inclinacion, was the preachings and sermons of *Andrea Barbato* a religious man of thorder of *Saint Augustin*, who drawing to him a wonderfull concurse and affluence of people, induced them with reasons and perswasions to take vpon them the defence of their liues, and the redeming of their free contry from the yoke of straungers, auncient enemies to that citie: he willed them not to be lesse forward to execute, then God was ready to raise them a meane to set them selues at libertie: he told them, the soueraigne care of mortall folkes was to care for their propper sauetie: he reduced to their memories the example of *Parma* a weake and small citie in comparison of *Myllan*, and left not vnrecorded thactions of their Elders whose names had caried reputacion and glorye throughout all *Italy*: he layed out by reasons and examples how farre mortall men were bownd to defende their contrey, for the which if the Gentiles who exspected no other recompense then glorye offered their liues willingly to death: then farre greater was the office and bond of Christians, to whome, dying in so iust and holy an enterprise, was prepared for recompense, not the glory of this world fraile and transitory, but the fruicion of thimmortall kingdom, infinite and euerlasting. They had to consider what vniuersall ruine would be brought vppon that citie by the victorie of the french men, whose yoke if it had seemed heauy and greeuous affore, their burdens now could not be lesse then extreame & intollerable, And by how much their rigour raged vppon them without any cause affore, by so muche had they to assure them selues of extreame oppression now vppon thoccasion of these offences: That one execucion of the people of *Myllan* would not suffice to quench the thirst of their crueltie and hatred: that all the goods of the citie could not satisfie their immoderat couetousnes: yea nothing could content them but the vtter defacing of the name & memorie of the inhabitants of *Myllan*, and by a horrible example to surpasse the vnnaturall crueltie of *Federyk Barberousse*: These speeches so redoubled the hatred of thinhabitants, and no lesse suppressed all feare of the victorie of the french men, that it seemed now more necessary to appease and reteyne them, then to moue or prouoke them, such is the power of speeches aptly deliuered and duely respecting time, place, and all other circumstances concurring with thinclinacion of the people to whom they are pronownced. But in this meane while *Prospero* was not idle to repaire and releue the bastyllions and rampiers of the trenches, with intencion to staye at *Myllan*, which he hoped to be able to defende for certeine monethes though the six thowsand *Svvyzzers* came not at all: And looking also to the defence of the other townes, he dispatched to *Nouaro Phillippo Toriuello*, and to *Alexandria Monsr Visconte*, the one with two thowsand, and the other with fifteene hundred *Italian* footemen, who liued vppon the people for that they were not payd: he sent also to *Pauia Anth. de Leua* with two thowsand launceknights and a thowsand *Italians*: And ouer and aboue

boue all these proporcions, he kept within *Millan* seuen hundred men at armes, seuen hundred light horsemen, and twelue thousande footemen: Onely the present daunger that remayned was, that the French men should not enter *Millan* by the castell, therefore aswell to remedie that, as by the same meane to stoppe them for putting vittels or other prouisions into the Castell, *Prospero* with an intencion highly esteemed, and in the iudgement of men supposed wonderfull, caused to cast without the Castell betwene the gates that leade to *Verceill* and to *Coma*, two trenches with a banke or rysing to eyther of the same of that earth that was throwne vppe: These two trenches were distant one from an other twentie passes, and in longitude they conteyned almost a myle, euen as long as is the trauerse of the gardeins behynd the Castell betweene the two wayes aforesayde: At eyther head of these two trenches he erected a fort both high and well manned, the better to annoy thenemies with shot if they made their approches on that side: This was the vse of these two trenches, being well defended with footemen that were placed in the middest of the same: They bothe kept that no succours shoulde enter into the Castell, and withall would not suffer any of the besieged to issue out: Fortune also expressed with a gladsome token that suche an inuencion should be no lesse happie, then it was full of witte and deuise: for she ministred to it this fauour, that it might be put in execution without any domage at all, for that *Prospero* seruing his turne of the benefite of a great snowe that fell, caused to be caste before daye two bankes or rysinges of snowe (and to their resemblance or example he caste also trenches) whiche shadowed and couered from the shot of the Castell the laborers that wrought: And that which also helped to aduaunce the worke to perfection, was thimpediment whiche the *Svvizzers* in passing the mountaynes receyued by the snowe, whiche was wonderfull deepe and thicke.

In this meane while *Monsr Lavvtrech* readressed and reassembled his companies, of whom he sent certayne bandes beyonde *Pavv*, and they entring *Florenzola*, stripped the guidon of horsemen of *Levvis Gonzaguo* whom they found sleeping in securitie and negligence: The companies also of the *Venetians* were moostred about the confines of *Cremona* vnder *Andrea Gritti* and *Theodore Triuulco*, and they ioyning at laste with the *Svvizzers*, passed the ryuer of *Adda* the first daye of Marche. *Monsr Lavvtrech* was general of tharmie, whose authoritie was nothing diminished by the comming of the great Maister nor the maister of the horse: And at the same tyme came to the armie *Iohn de Medicis*, who albeit he had solicited and almost resolued to enter into the paye of *Frauncis Sforce*, and was already vppon the waye to goe to *Millan*, where he was greatly desired for the good opinion that was of his vallour and conduit: yet he was caryed by the benefite of greater offers and more suretie of payment of the Frenche king, taking this excuse that there was not sent to him from *Millan* the summes of money that were promised him: In which respect and in which disposition he went from the territories of *Parma*, where he had sacked the towne of *Bussette* for that they had denyed him lodging, and passed to the campe of the Frenchmen, which laye within two miles of the Castell betwene the sayd wayes of *Verceill* and *Coma*: The thirde day after the Frenche men were incamped, they marched in order making as though they would set vpon the trenche and rampier, which notwithstanding they did not execute, eyther for that such was thintencion of *Monsr Lavvtrech* from the beginning, or else waighing together with the number of souldiors that were within, the disposicion of the people, and the readinesse that appeared in the defendantes, the manifest difficultie of thenterprise drewe him

Iohn Medicis for the french king.

The French men before Millan.

from it: The same day the stones that violently were driuen from a house within by the furie of the artilleries, slew *Marke Anth. Colonno* a Capteine of very great exspectacion: *Camilla Triuulce* bastard sonne to *Iohn Iacques* participated also in this lamentable desteny as they walked together along the house that was striken deuising to raise a mount to strike with thartilleries betwene the two trenches of thenemies: But *Lavvtrech* hauing no cõfidence to take *Millan* by assault, thought he should be hable to carie it with the longnes of time, for that with the multitude of his horsemen, and great bands of banisht men that followed his armie, with whom he ouerranne the whole contrie, he gaue great impediments to thentrie of vittells: he caused to be broken downe all the milnes, and turned away the course of suche waters as any way gaue releefe or commoditie to them of *Millan*: he was not also out of hope, that the payes woulde faile to the souldiours within, being hitherunto enterteined but with the money of the *Millanois*, for that Cæsar sent a very small quantity from the kingdom of *Naples* or other places: But such was the hatred of the people of *Millan* against the frenche, and so vniuersall their desire to haue their new Duke, that their affections therein did not onely make their pacience greater then all discommodities, but also muche lesse that those aduersities made them chaunge will, seeinge it was the thing that did more and more confirme them, yea the youth of their Citie ranne voluntarily to armes, of whome they created Capteines in euerie parish, insomuch that the gardes that with a readie diligence ranne day & night to the places furthest of remoued from the armie ministred no litle succour & comforte to the souldiours: And wanting the vse of milnes at that time for that they were ruined by thennemie, they releeued forthwith that aduersitie with the seruice of handmilnes.

Thus the hope of the speedie victory of the warre, being reduced into the labors and cares of a long seege, the Duke of *Millan* whose departure had bene many dayes foreslowed for want of money, and had yet lingred if the Cardinall *Medicis* had not succored him with nine thowsande duckats, departed at last from *Trenta* with sixe thowsand launceknights, and taking the rocke of *Croara* belonging to the *Venetians*, the better to open his passage, he marched without any impediment through the landes of *Verona* and *Mantua*: And passing the riuer of *Pavv* to *Casallmaior*, he arriued at *Plaisanca*, where the Marquis of *Mantua* came to him with three hũdred men at armes and accompanied him from thence to *Pauia*: There the Duke staied to exspect occasion to passe to *Millan* where he was wished with an vniuersall exspectacion, for that by the dayly diminucion of meanes to leauie money to enterteine the souldiours, it was thought necessarie to ioyne assoone as might be with the launceknightes, and so to take the field and seeke to put end to the warre: But the difficultie to passe was great, for that assoone as *Lavvtrech* vnderstoode they were in *Flaisanca*, he went to lodge at *Casina* siue myles from *Millan* vpon the way that leades to *Pauia*: he had also bestowed the *Venetians* within *Binasquo* which is vppon the same way, both the one and the other being in lodginges well rampiered and fortified: where after they had remeined certeine daies, & in that space had taken *S. Ange* and *S. Colombano*, *Monsr Lavvtrech*, vnderstanding that *Monsr d'Escud* his brother whom he had sent into *Fraunce* to relate to the king the estate of the affaires, was returned, and both with money and bandes of footemen which he had waged at *Genes*, was arriued in the estate of *Millan*: he sent to ioyne with him *Federike Bossolo* with foure hundred launces and vij. thowsande *Svvizzers* and *Italians*: Against whome albeit the Marquis of *Mantua* issued out of *Pauia* & went to *Gambala* to make head against them,

them, yet he retyred eftſones to *Pauia*, hauing an opinion that his abode within *Gambalo* would be to little purpoſe, eyther for that (this was his ſaying) they made as though they woulde retyre towardes *Theſin*, or elſe (which was more credible) he ſtoode in ſome feare of them, for that their numbers were greater then had bene reapported to him: But they being come to *Gambalo*, and being ioyned with *Monſr d'Eſcud*, they went to *Nouaro*, which after they had battred with thartilleries of the Caſtell that held for them, they entred it by force at the third aſſalt with the ſlaughter of the greateſt parte of the footemen that were within, and *Phillippe Toruiello* remayning priſoner: For this accident together with the redoubled letters of *Toruiello* appealing to him for ſuccours, the Marquis of *Mantua* iſſued once agayne out of *Pauia*, returning eftſones thither aſſone as he had knowledge howe thinges went, retyring his companies from *Vigeneua*, and leauing onely garriſon within the Caſtell. The ioyning of forces with *Monſr d'Eſcud* and the taking of *Nouaro*, was preiudiciall to the French men in a matter of greateſt importance, for that it was ſo much the more eaſy for *Frauncis Sforce* to go with his armie of launceknights to *Millan*: It was agreed betwene *Proſpero* and him to depart one night in ſecrete from *Pauia*, leauing for the garde of the ſame two thouſande footemen and three hundred horſmen, vnder the charge of the Marquis of *Mantua*, who refuſed to paſſe any further for that he would not be ſo farre remoued from theſtate of the Church: *Frauncis Sforce* taking a ſtraunge and vncothe waye, was receyued at *Seſto* by *Proſpero*, who was gone to meete him with parte of his companies, and ſo to guyde him to *Millan*: Great was the ioye that the people of *Millan* made to receiue him, and euery one reducing to his memorie the felicitie wherein they had lyued in that eſtate vnder his father and other Dukes of that name, made their deſires ſo much the more infinite, by howe muche they doubted not that in a naturall and proper prince could want no affection to his people to reſpect and eſteeme them, and not to reiect or disfauour them for his immoderate greatnes.

Frauncis Sforce at Millan.

After the Duke was gone from *Pauia*, *Lavvtrech* entred into hope to be hable to take that Citie, and vppon fundacion of that confidence, he went to incampe there aſſone as he had reaſſembled his armie: And of the other ſide *Proſpero*, not ignoraunt in what daunger it was, diſpatched thither in great diligence a thouſande footemen *Corſegnans*, with certayne bandes of Spaniardes, who charging vppon the ſodayne the lodginges of the Frenche armie, paſſed through, partly marching and partly fighting: In whiche encounter making ſlaughter of many of the Frenche men, they made waye by their owne vallour, and arriued in ſafetie in *Pauia*, where were many incommodities, but ſpecially greate wante of gonne powder: *Monſr Lavvtrech* beganne to batter the walles in two partes, in the ſuburbes of *Saint Marie in Pertico* towardes *Theſin*, and in the *Burget*: And after he had brought to the earth thirtie faddomes of the wall, he gaue the aſſault but without anye iſſue or good ſucceſſe: In ſo muche as ſeeing into the vallour of the defendantes and their vniuerſall reſolucion to ſell their liues with the place, he began to diſpayre of thenterpriſe: Beſides, he was afflicted dayly with many other difficulties, both for the diminucion of the treaſor whiche his brother had brought out of *Fraunce*, and alſo by the generall neceſſitie of vittells through the armie, the ſame happning by thoccaſion of great raynes: by thimpedimentes whereof it was harde for tharmy to be reuittled by lande, and leſſe poſſibilitie of releeſe by the benefite of *Theſin*, for that the boates being driuen backe by the ſtreame of the ryuer whiche was greate and violent, could not holde courſe agaynſt the furie of the ſtreame.

Monſr Lavvtrech before Pauia.

About this time *Prosspero* was issued out of *Millan* with his whole armie to draw neare to *Pauia*, but by reason of the raynes and stormes that fell, he was constrayned to stay at *Binasqua*, a place in the halfe way betwene *Millan* & *Pauia*: And frō thence aduauncing as farre as the Charterhouse which is within the Parke about fiue miles from *Pauia*, and happly the fayrest monasterie in *Italie*, *Lavvtrech* dispayred to take *Pauia*, and therfore retyred his campe to *Landriano* without receiuing any other impediment of thenemies then certaine light skirmishes in the breaking vp: From *Landriano* he went to *Monce*, to receiue with more facilitie and readines the moneys that were sent to him out of *Fraunce*, which were stayed at *Arona*, for that *Anchisa Viscount* sent for that purpose from *Millan* to *Busto* which is neare to *Arona*, stopped thē that they could not passe further. This was the impediment that reduced thaffayres of the French into the extreme or laste disorder, for that the *Svvizzers* impacient by custome of all delayes, finding their payes deferred many dayes, sent their capteines to *Monsr Lavvtrech* to make their complayntes that their nation hauing ben in all times liberall of their blood and seruice for thaduauncement of the crowne of *Fraunce*, they were nowe restrayned of their dueties and paymentes contrarie to all equitie, order, and reason: That vnder this ingratitude and iniurie it was manifest to all the worlde what slender estimacion was made of their vertue and their fayth: That after a vayne exspectacion of so many dayes, they were nowe determined to reappose no more in promises, speaches, and tearmes which so many times had ben falsified, though muche to their hindrance and preiudice, yet not without dishonor and reproche to suche as did assure them: And therefore they were nowe absolutely determined to returne to their houses, after they had first made knowen to all the world, that the thing that induced them therevnto, was not anye feare they had of their enemies who had now taken the fielde, and muche lesse any desire to eschewe such daungers as men of warre are subiect vnto: A matter which alwayes had bene contemned by thē *Svvizzers* as many experiences and examples can witnes: They tolde him withall that they were ready to go to the battell the day folowing, with intention to depart the day after: That therefore he would leade them to the field, and vsing thoccasion of their readines, to bestow them in the first front of the whole armie: That they hoped that as with farre lesser forces they had vanquished the French armie in their owne tentes about the borders of *Nouaro*, so their vallour was no lesse hable to make them cary the victorie ouer the Spaniardes, who albeit were farre aboue the French men in deceites, suttleties, and ambushes, yet they esteemed them selues nothing inferior to them so long as they were to feight with valliancie and force of armes: But *Monsr Lavvtrech* considering in what perill he should assayle thenemies in their tentes, labored to moderate that furie of the *Svvizzers*, and by suffrance to seeke to staye those minds whom he sawe obstinate to be conteyned by reason: he tolde them that though the moneys were long in comming, yet the daunger of the wayes was more to be considered then the default of the king: he assured them that ere many dayes they should be possessed of the thing which their impacience made them to doubt of, and that their hopes should be no more prolonged, but their desires satisfied: But he could not winne nor reclayme them neither with authoritie, with peticions, with promises, nor with reasons, and therefore since they should be the first that should feele the daunger, he determined rather to aduenture the battel with a great disaduauntage, then to loase vtterly the warre, which manifestly was seene to be lost, for that if he consented not to feight, the *Svvizzers* were resolued to departe.

The Svvizzers woulde leaue the fr. armie for that they are not payde.

Monsr Lavvtrech determined to set vppon his enemies.

The

The armie of thennemie laye at *Bicocque* a towne within three myles of *Myllan*, where is a camping place verie romthie and large, inuironed with greate gardins and they inclosed with verie deepe ditches, hauing their fieldes about full of founteines and brookes deriued and conueyed according to the vsage of *Lombardye*, to water the medowes: *Monsr Lavvtrech* issuing out of *Monce* drewe towardes that place with his armie, and supposing that thennemies lying in a place of aduauntage woulde not come out of it, he raunged and ordered his bandes in this sorte: That the *Svvizzers* with thartilleries shoulde charge the front of the place and thartilleries of thennemie, which quarter was garded by the launceknightes commaunded by *George Frondisperg*: That on the left hande *Monsr d'Escud* with three hundred launces and a squadron of footemen frenche and *Italians* shoulde be vppon the way that goeth to *Millan*, and should drawe towardes the bridge by the which might be made an entrie into the lodginges of thennemies: And for his parte he would labor to enter vpon their place with an esquadron of horsemen: which enterprise he hoped to guide to good succes rather by art then by open force, for that to abuse them the more, he caused his people to put vppon their cassakins, the redde crosse which is the marke of the armie Imperiall, and pulled of the white crosse which is the signe of the frenche armie: On the other side *Prospero Colonno* who for the scituacion and strength of the place helde the victorie certeine, and therefore determined to abide the ennemies vppon the ditche: Caused all his companies to arme assoone as he heard of their comming: and hauing appointed to euery one his place, he sent foorthwith to *Frauncis Sforce* to come to the campe with that multitude of people that was armed: And hauing assembled at the ringing of the bell, foure hundred horsemen and sixe thowsande footemen, he was appointed by *Prospero* to the gard of the bridge: But assoone as the *Svvizzers* were approached neare the tentes of thennemies, notwithstanding that for the height of the ditches more rising thē they supposed, they could not assaile thartilleries according to their first hopes, yet those difficulties nothing diminishing their vallour, they gaue a charge vppon the ditche striuing with a wonderfull courage to enter and carie it: And at the same time *Monsr d'Escud* who was drawne towardes the bridge, finding so greate a gard contrarie to his opinion, was constrained to retyre: *Prospero* also discouered immediatly the deuise of *Lavvtrech*, and to meete with it commaunded his people to put vpon their heads bundells or handfulls of young corne and grasse, and so made vnprofitable the former suttelties: So that the whole swaigh or burden of the warre lay vpon the *Svvizzers*: who, as well for the great disaduantage they had, as for the vallour of the defendants were much trauelled without any profit or effect, they receiued many harmes not onely by suche as fought in the front, but also were galled by certeine harguebuziers spanishe: Who lying hidde and couered with the height of the corne almost ful ripe, flanked them & so played vpon them with assured aime, that in the ende after they were well payed for their rashnesse by the slaughter of many of their companies, the violence of the shotte compelled them to retyre: And ioyning in their retraite with the frenche, they returned all together in good order to *Monce*, both leading with them their artilleries, and receiuing no distresse in their retyring: The Marquis of *Pisquairo* with other Capteines importuned *Prospero*, to giue a signe to pursue thennemie seeinge they had alreadie giuen their backes: But he beleuing that which was, that they retyred in good order and not in flying, wherein he was confirmed by the relacion of certeine discouerers mounted by his direction vppon certeine high trees, made this aunswere that it was not

Thencounter of Bicocque.

reasonable to referre to tharbitrement of fortune the victorie which was assuredly gotten, and lesse councell to deface by his proper rashnesse the memorie and imputacion of other mens temeritie: Tomorow saith he will make manifest to you what hath bene done this day, for that thennemies comming to a better feeling of their woundes, and by their harme receiued being warned to auoyde worse hurtes to come, will seeke to returne ouer the mountes, by which honorable euasion we shall obteine with securitie that which this day we shoulde aduenture to get with perill: There were founde dead about the ditche three thowsand bodies of the *Svvizzers*, of suche as being more valliant and forward were moste resolute to vanquishe the daunger: of them were two and twentie Capteines: On the other side the slaughter was litle, and not one person of marke or qualitie except *Iohn de Cardona* Count *Culisano* striken with a small shotte thorowe his helmet. The day following *Monsr de Lavvtrech* being wholly depriued of the hope of the victorie, went to *Monce* to passe the riuer of *Adda* neare to *Tresse:* And from thence the *Svvizzers* taking their way through the territories of *Bergama*, returned into their mounteines, their numbers beinge no lesse diminished then their vallour, for that it is certeine that the harmes they receiued at *Bicocqua* so muche afflicted them, that in many yeares after they expressed not their accustomed vallour: The great Maister and Maister of the horse departed at the same time together with many french Capteines: *Monsr Lavvtrech* with his companies of men at armes went to *Cremona* to giue order for the defense of that Citie wherein he left his brother: And not many dayes after he passed the mountes, carying to the frenche king, not reapportes of victories or triumphes, but a iustificacion of him selfe with complaintes against others for the losse of such an estate, happening partely by his owne errours, partely by the negligence and indiscression of some about the king, and partly by the malice of fortune, if suche attribucion may be lawefull: *Monsr Lavvtrech* tooke order also affore his departure from *Cremona* that *Bonneuall* and *Federike Bossolo* with sixe companies of men at armes and sufficient garrison of footemen, shoulde enter the towne of *Loda*, which had bene holden for the king during the whole course of the warre: He did this for that the Imperiall Capteines were let to conuert thither foorthwith their forces by reason of a tumult hapned amongest those companies of launceknightes which *Frauncis Sforce* had brought from *Trente*: They required for a reward of the victory to haue a monthes pay, a demaunde which the Capteines sayd was no lesse vnreasonable then vniust, for that both there was a great difference betwene the defending of them selues from such as did assault them, and to vanquish those that did charge them, and also for that it could not be sayd that the ennemies were vanquished, who were retyred not in flying but in good order, carying with them their artilleries and traines: Neuertheless, thinsolencie of the launceknightes preuailing more then either necessarie reason or due authoritie of the Capteines, a consent was made more by compulsion & necessity of things then by iust cause arising, & so they were satisfied with a promise to be payed within a certeine time: After many dayes past in these affaires, it hapned that the same day that the french launces entred the City of *Loda* and the footebands following on thother side came the army Imperial and affore them all, the Marquis of *Pisquairo* with the spanishe footemen, who entred affore the frenche coulde deuide or distribute the quarters of the towne or bestowe their gardes, but were occupied in confusion and tumult as often happeneth when men of warre enter a towne to lodge in it: This occasion was obserued by the Marquis, and ioyning readie diligence to the present oportunitie he assaulted one

The ouerthrow of the Swizzers.

Monsr Lawtrech returneth into Fraunce.

one of the ſuburbes of the towne which was enuyroned with a wall where he found no great reſiſtance: he was no ſooner entred, then all the french men within the towne no leſſe terrified with the ſodeinnes of thaccident then deſperat for that their footemen were not yet come, yeelded to their feares and drew into tumult, fleeing towards the bridge which they had built vpon *Adda*: The Spanyards entring at the ſame inſtant the citie, ſome by the walls and ſome by the rampiers, followed them euen to the riuer, and in the chaſe tooke many ſouldiors and almoſt all the Capteines except *Federyk* and *Bonneuall*: And vpon their returne, they forbare not in that furie to ſacke that vnfortunate citie, ſparing no more the goods then they had done the liues of men. From *Loda* the Marquis went to *Piſqueton* which he tooke by compoſicion: And not many dayes after, *Proſpero* with the whole armie paſſed the riuer of *Adda* to goe and incampe affore *Cremona*, which he had no ſooner approched then *Monſr d'Eſcud* beganne to harken to accorde: he had no other hope to ſuſteine the warre then vppon the comming of the Lord Admirall, whome the king (deſiring to preſerue that which yet helde good for him in that eſtate) ſent into *Italy* with foure hundred launces and tenne thowſande footemen: And therefore he thought he did good ſeruice to the preſent affayres if without daunger, he could temporiſe and enterteyne thinges in tranquillitie till he ſawe what would be the yſſue of his expectacion of th Admirall: And on the other ſide *Proſpero* deſired to ridde him ſelfe ſpeedely of thaffayres of *Cremona*, to haue the better oportunitie to reeſtabliſhe within *Genes* the brethren of the famulie of *Adorna*, and that affore *Italy* were poſſeſt of the newe ſuccours of thennemies: Inſomuche as the capitulacions bare that *Monſr d'Eſcud* ſhoulde departe out of *Cremona* within fortie dayes with all his ſouldiours, artilleries and enſeignes diſplayed, if within that tyme (which determined the xxvj. of Iune) there came not to him ſuche a reskewe as eyther might make him able by force to paſſe the riuer of *Pavv*, or els to take one of thoſe cities in the ſtate of *Myllan* which was poſſeſſed with garriſon: That likewiſe he ſhoulde procure that all thoſe places and holdes within the Duchie that were kept for the king, ſhoulde bee abandoned, except the caſtells of *Myllan*, *Cremona*, and *Nouaro*: That for thobſeruacion of theſe couenantes, he ſhoulde deliuer foure oſtages: That there ſhoulde bee reſtitucion of priſoners on bothe partes, and ſufferance to the frenche men to paſſe in ſewertie into *Fraunce* with their artilleries and traynes.

Loda taken by the Imperialls.

Vppon the concluſion of this accorde, and receiuing of thoſtages, the armie of *Cæſar* marched forthwith to *Genes* which they approched in two places: the Marquis of *Piſquairo* with his regiments of ſpaniſh footemen and Italyans, were incamped on that ſide of *Godeſa*, and *Proſpero* with the men at armes and launceknights, vppon the oppoſite of *Biſagnia*: At that time the citie of *Genes* was gouerned by Duke *Octauyan Fregoſa*, A Prince of excellent vertue, and no leſſe for his iuſtice then for his other good partes, as greatly beloued in that citie, as any Prince may be in townes full of factions, reteyning yet a memorie of their auncient libertie: he had waged two thowſande Italyan footemen in whoſe confidence he layed vppe all his hope of defence, for that the peoples of the towne beeing deuyded by factions, and hauing about him ſo mightye an armye compownded vppon ſo greate diuerſitie of languages and nations, forbare to take armes, but ſtoode to beholde thinges in the ſame manner and with the ſame eyes wherewith in other tymes he was wont to beholde his other trauells, Wherein without the daunger or domage of ſuche as tooke no armes, the publike authoritie beeing tranſported from one famulie to an other, there was ſeene no other mutacion, then that in the pallayce

Genes taken by the Imperialls.

of the Duke were beſtowed other inhabitants, other Capteines, and other bands of ſouldiours for the gard of the place. Aſſoone as tharmie was approched the towne, the Duke began to ſolicit compoſicion by the meane of *Bennet Vualdi* A *Genovvay* whom he ſent to the Capteines: But this ſolicitacion began to grow cold by the cõming of *Peter* of *Nouaro*, who being ſent by the french king with two light gallies for the ſewertie of *Genes*, entred the hauen at the ſame inſtant: Neuertheleſſe the Marquis beginning to execute his artilleries and batter the walls, they began more then before, to recontinue the parley for accord: Wherein all difficulties beeing debated and reſolued, and the matter vpon tearmes of concluſion, ſuddeinly the Spanyards who all that day had battered a tower neare to the gate, wonne the ſame, finding no gard nor order by the defendants who were abuſed through their hope of compoſicion: Inſomuch as following more their fortune then regarding their fidelitie, they ioyned diligence to thoccaſion and began to enter the citie aſwell by that tower as by the wall that was reuerſed and ruined: By their example all that parte of tharmie ranne to the action, and after the Marquis had ſet his bands in order and ſignified to *Proſpero* the ſtate of thaccident, they cauſed the trumpets to be ſownded and entred the citie by whole numbers: the calamitie of the defendants tooke awaye all reſiſtance, the ſouldiours giuing them ſelues to flee, and the Citizens to ſeeke ſewertie in ſhutting them ſelues in their houſes: Tharchbiſhop of *Salerne*, the Capteine of the gard, and many other Capteines and ſouldiours found ſauetie in certeine veſſells with the which they hoyſed ſaile into the ſea: The Duke for his diſeaſe not hable to ſtirre, cauſed to ſhut the pallaice and ſent to the Marquis of *Piſquairo* that he would yeeld to him, in whoſe houſe he died within few monethes after: *Peter Nauare* was taken: All the goods of the citie became a pray to the victors, many rich famulies binding them ſelues ſome to one band of ſouldiours and ſome to another, to buye the ſauetie of their liues with great ſummes of money, which they aſſured either with pawnes and gages, or with bills of marchants, & ſo with their money defended their bodies from blud, and redeemed their houſes from ſacking: In the ſame maner was preſerued, the plot ſo famous which they call *Catina*, & is kept with great reuerence in the Cathedrall Church: It is harde to recompt what quantities of ſiluer veſſell, iewells, money, and moſt riche wares were made pillage, that citie by the great traffike of marchandiſe being repleniſhed with infinit wealth: And yet ſo great a calamitie was ſo much the more eaſie and tollerable, by how much was aptly expreſſed a compaſſion by the brethren of the famulie of *Adorna*, who both of a naturall affection to the citie, and for that thinhabitants had ſhewed no token of grudge or hatred, and for that alſo they were almoſt vpon the point of accord, procured ſuch order to be ſet downe by the Captaines, that not one *Genovvay* was made priſoner, nor the body of one woman put to violacion. Immediatly vppon the appeaſing of the ſouldiers *Anth. Adorno* was elected Duke, who after the armie was gonne, encamped before the caſtellet with ſuch artilleries as the *Florentyns* lent him: The third day he tooke the Citadell and *Saint Frauncis* Churche, and the daye after, the caſtellet was rendred to him by the Capteine vnder articles of compoſicion.

Monſr d'Eſcud returneth into Fraunce.

The mutacion of *Genes* tooke from the french king, all hope to be able to ſuccour the affayres of *Lombardy*: for, both the armie that he ſent and by this time atiued vpon the territories of *Aſt*, returned backe againe, And alſo *Monſr d'Eſcud* paſſed into *Fraunce*, with his companies, hauing ſtayed certaine dayes in *Cremona* aboue the tearme appointed for the reſoluing of certeine difficulties hapning about the caſtels of *Treſſa*, *Lecqua*, and *Domuſſolo*: In his departure he had not onely faith & promiſſe

kept

kept with him, but also was honorably receyued where so euer he passed.

But amidde these broyles and alterations in *Lombardie*, *Bolognia* stoode not altogether in quiet, aswell for the warre that was in *Lombardie*, as for the absence of the Pope: And muche lesse did *Tuskane* reioyce in any great tranquillitie: for touching *Bolognia*, *Hanniball Bentiuoglia* ioyning with him *Hanniball Rangon*, leauyed secretly an armie of foure thousande footemen, with whom and with three peeces of artilleries, one morning vppon the first appearing of the day, they made their approches on that side to the Mountaines: and for that they in the towne made no brute, some of them passed the ditche and fastned their ladders to the wall: But thinhabitantes within, who had knowledge of their comming the daye before, began to make a noyse and to stirre when they sawe time, and to giue fire to thartilleries, and sending out also many trowpes to begin the skirmish, the armie foorthwith fell to flight, leauing their artilleries behinde, and in the chase *Hanniball Rangon* was hurte in the backe. It was assuredly iudged that this enterprise was attempted by the procurement and priuitie of Cardinall *Medicis*, who fearing least the Pope at his comming into *Italie*, eyther of his owne counsell, or by thincitacion of others, would diminish his greatnes: sought first to trouble him for so great a losse of thestate ecclesiastike, and so by that meane not onely to conuert his thoughtes to other matters then to persecute him, but also he shoulde be constrayned to haue recourse to his ayde and counsell.

Emocions in Tuskane.

But farre more tedious and great were the trauells of *Tuskane*, for that skarcely was thestate of *Siena* assured of the Duke of *Vrbin*, and thaffayres of *Perousa* and *Montfeltre* ceassed, then the French king by the suggestion of Cardinal *Voltero*, gaue order of newe that *Ranso de Cero* lying at *Rome* and not employed, should practise to chaunge thestate of *Florence*, and to reestablish in that Citie, the brothers and Nephewes of Cardinall *Voltero*, who was manifestly declared agaynst the house of *Medicis* with all his friendes and confederates of the king: But because the king at that time was in great necessitie, the Cardinall was to aduaunce for this enterprise all necessarie summes of money, receyuing the kings promise to repay them within a certayne time. Whileste *Ranso* was making his preparacions, these matters came to the knowledge of the Cardinall *Medicis*, the consideracion wherof, fearing also least the duke of *Vrbin* should stirre, compelled him to make this accord, that without preiudice to the rightes which the *Florentins* and the Duke pretended to the townes in *Montfeltre*, the duke should be capteine generall of the common weale for one yere complete, and for an other yere at pleasure, and the time of his pay to begin the first day of the next moneth of September: For the same cause he reteyned in the paye of the *Florentins*, *Horacio Baillon*, but with this condicion that the tyme of his paye should not begin vntill Iune, for that he was enterteined and bound to the *Venetians* for so long: And albeit this contract was likewise made in the name of his brother *Maleteste*, yet he would not ratifie it, hauing affore receyued money to be ioyned with *Ranso de Cere* with a charge of two thousande footemen and an hundred light horsemen: On the one side he would openly blemish his proper honor: and on the other side he was loath to prouoke the Cardinall and the *Florentins* by newe occasions: Therefore to wade in a meane betwene both, he fayned him selfe to be sicke, and sent to *Ranso* being then come to the borowe of *Pieua* two thousande footemen, an hundred light horsemen, and foure falconettes, making excuse by the rage of his sickneesse that he was not hable to goe in person: And to the Cardinall he gaue hope that he would take no more new payes of thenemie: and that assone as the tearme

were finiſhed for the which he was payed, he would ratifie the contract made in his name, and in the meane time would proceede with as great moderacion as he could in ſuch actions as he could not refuſe for the payes he had receiued. After this *Ranſo* entred into the territorie of *Siena* with fiue hundred horſe and ſeuen thouſande footemen, with intention to practiſe the mutation of that gouernment with the trayne of the ſelfe ſame exiles which had followed the Duke of *Vrbin*: wherein if thenterpriſe had drawne to good iſſue, it was not to be doubted that hauing power by that meane to enter on that ſide into the bowels of the *Florentin* dominion, that the like ſucceſſe had not followed him touching the particular of *Florence*. But the *Florentins* no leſſe foreſeeing that daunger then deſyring that thenemies ſhould not approche to *Siena*, had ſent to that ſtate all their regimentes of men of warre vnder the conduit of *Guido Rangon* elected for that emotion generall of tharmie: he had this ſpeciall intention, both to temporiſe with thenemies, to make them loſe tyme, for that he was not ignorant that without expedicion they would fall into wante of money: and alſo vnder one tyme to vſe all thimpedimentes he could to cut off and ſtoppe their vittells: So that gouerning him ſelfe according to the proceedinges of thenemies, he labored to put ſeuerall garriſons into thoſe townes that were neareſt the eſtate of the *Sienois* and the *Florentins*. In which remouing of ſouldiors from one place to an other, it hapned that the guydon of horſemen of *Vitelli* going from *Torrito* to *Aſinolongo*, encountred on the way with three hundred horſemen of thennemies and were ouerthrowne, *Ieronimo de Peppoli* lieftenant to *Vitelli* being taken priſoner with fiftie men at armes and two enſignes: *Ranſo* addreſſed him ſelfe firſte to the Citie of *Chiuſa*, a Citie more noble for the memorie of his antiquitie and the renowmed actes of *Porſene* their king, then for his fortunes and condicions preſent: his hope was deceyued to carye it, bringing with him no other ſortes of artilleries then foure falconetts, A force farre to weake to take townes that are defended with ſouldiors: He marched further betwene *Torrito* and *Aſinolongo*, to drawe neare to *Siena*, but hauing no commoditie of vittels amidde ſo many townes of thennemies, and ſeeking to get ſome by force, he aſſayled the borowe of *Torrito*, where was in garriſon an hundred men at armes of *Guido Rangon* and fiue hundred footemen: But he leauyed his campe from thence without dooing any thing to aduaunce his purpoſe, and keeping his way, he went to *Monteliſte*, and from thence to *Bagno de Rapolano* within twelue myles of *Siena*, in which Citie the *Florentins* in the beginning had beſtowed the Count *Petillano*: But the Count *Guido* by whoſe diligence and celeritie all theſe deuiſes were preuented, entred the ſame daye into *Siena* with two hundred light horſemen, leauing his armie behinde to followe after: So that what for the ſuccours that approched, and the reputacion of *Ranſo* which was greatly diminiſhed in this expedicion aſwell with his owne companies as amongeſt thenemies, together with the knowledge they had that he was reduced to a great neceſſitie of vittells, brought no little diſcourage to them of *Siena*, to whom could haue bene acceptable a chaunge or alteracion: Neuertheleſſe he preſented himſelfe within halfe a myle of the walles, and ſeeing no inſurrection made in his fauour, he retyred hauing remayned there xxiiij. howres: The ſame daye he retyred (but after he was gone) the bands of the *Florentins* entred within *Siena*, who albeit were put in readineſſe to purſue him, yet they made no great labour when they ſawe he was to farre gone: they ſuffred certayne light horſemen to purſue the chaſe and certeine bandes of footemen which were before at *Siena*, of whom he receyued no great domage: onely his retrayte being haſtie, and happly no leſſe for famine then for feare, he lefte

his

his artilleries by the way which to his great dishonor fell into the power of thennemies: he stayed at *Ayguepante* to readresse his companies which were muche diminished, a place so muche the more assured to him, by howmuche he knewe that the *Florentin* bands would be curious to enter vpon the landes of the Churche: But falling into wantes of money and other prouisions, and the Cardinalls of *Voltero*, of *Monte*, and of *Come*, with whom by the French kings direction he communicated touching his affayres, beginning nowe to reiect him, he conuerted those few bands of souldiors that his fortune had left him, to pill and robbe the shoares or watersides of *Siena*, and in vayne gaue assault to *Orbatella*: for which cause the *Florentins* hauing made their armie to marche towardes the bridge of *Centino*, whiche is the confine & limit betwene thestate of *Siena* and the dominion of the Church, threatned to make inuasion of the lands of the Church, for that they sawe *Ranso* did not wholly dissolue his companies, In which respect the Colledge of Cardinalles, who stoode iealouse to suffer suche an action vpon thestate of the Churche, interposed to accorde them, A matter indifferently agreable to them both: It was acceptable to the *Florentins*, for that by it they were drawne out of a burden of exspences whiche they made without any frute: And to *Ranso* it was no lesse welcome, for that both he was yll furnished for the present, and also had no hope to increase his forces, specially the French affayres suffring yll tearmes in *Lombardie*: The accorde conteined no other matter then a bare promise not to offende one an other, whiche promise ranne betwene the *Florentins* and *Sienois* on thone parte, and *Ranso de Cero* on the other parte putting in pledge in *Rome* of fitie thousande duckets for the suretie of obseruation: And touching the things that had bene made pillage and spoyle, they referred them to tharbitracion of the Pope when he should come into *Italie*.

This winter there happned in the towne of *Lucquay* this daungerous accident: one *Vincent Poggio* of a noble discending and famulie, and *Lavvrence Totti*, vnder cooller of particular discords, but more likely pushed on by ambicion and pouertie, tooke armes, and in the publike pallace slewe the chiefe Magistrate of that Citie: And as one furie draweth on an other, and in an vprore is seldome seene any moderacion, so they ranne with their armed weapons throughout the towne and made slaughter of diuerse other Citisens their aduersaries, with suche an vniuersall terror and feare, that not one durst oppose agaynst them: Neuertheless assone as the first violence was somewhat ceassed, the same feare that had amased others, beganne to terrifie themselues by the remorse and greatnes of the offences they had done: In which oportunitie certayne wise Citisens, thrusting in to solicite and appease, the murderers issued out of the Citie vnder certayne condicions, and afterwardes were sharpely persecuted by thinhabitantes of *Lucquay*. *An accident in the towne of Lucquay.*

Thus were the matters of *Lombardie* and *Tuskane* brought to some appeasement, but the College of Cardinalls taking no care of thestates of the Church, partly for the Popes absence, but more for the ambicion and disagreementes that were betwene them: *Sigismond* the sonne of *Pandolfo Malateste* an auncient Lorde of *Rimini*, tooke almost wholly into his handes the gouernment of that City, hauing therin but a very small intelligence: And albeit Cardinall *Medicis* at thinstance of the Colledge, went to *Bolognia* as Legate of that Citie, both to recouer *Rimini* and to reorder the other affayres of *Romagnia*, whiche were muche troubled and altered, to whom the Colledge had promised to sende to his succours the Marquis of *Mantua* capteine generall of the Churche: yet nothing sorted to effect, no lesse by the wantes and impedimentes of money, then through the iealousie and emulacion of

the Cardinalls his aduersaries, who obiected themselues agaynst all counsells and actions that any waye might aduaunce his reputacion or greatnes.

The ende of the fourteenth Booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE FIFTENTH BOOKE.

POpe Adrian comes to Rome: The Venetians make league vvith themperour: The Frenchmen besiege Millan, and are constrayned afterwardes to returne from it: Cardinall Medicis is created Pope: King Frauncis discendeth into Italie, he taketh Millan, and besiegeth Pauia: Themperour Charles sendeth out an armie to the succours of Pauia, vvhere a battell is fought, and the French king taken prisoner.

THE FYFTEENTH BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

ALBEIT the late victorie agaynst the Frenche men had somewhat reduced the matters of *Lombardie* into an estate peasible and setled: yet it had nothing diminished the vniuersal suspicion that the king would eftsones recontinue the warre, and in short time bring new inuasions vpon the Duchie of *Millan:* for both his owne kingdome stoode quiet and acquited from ciuill troubles, his Capteines and bandes of men of warre whom he had sent into *Italie*, were returned in safetie, the *Svvizzers* well disposed and prepared to take his paye as before: and lastely the Senate of *Venice* stoode firme with him in the auncient league and confederacion: Whiche argumentes ioyned to the remembrance and passion of his harmes receyued, and no lesse concurring the violent inclinacion of his youth naturally caryed with moodes of reuenge, were sufficient to arme his minde with bloody desires, and to make him by his vallour to seeke to recompence the displeasures whiche the malice and enuie of his fortune had lately heaped vpon him. By the consideracion of which daunger, the Capteines of thimperialls were driuen to enterteine and paye tharmie, A compulsion very harde and grieuous, for that they receiued no supplies of money neither from Cæsar, nor from the kingdome of *Naples:* And touching thestate of *Millan*, it was so narrowly raked and gleaned, that of their proper treasor and habilitie they were not able to susteine so great a proporcion of exspences as were distributed to the feeding of so many souldiors: And therefore for the releeuing of so great burdens, they sent the greatest parte of their companies to be bestowed vppon the estates of the Churche, notwithstanding the popular voyces and College of Cardinalls obiected many impedimentes and vayne exclamacions: Also other prouinces of *Italie* were taxed for the

the conseruacion of the Duchie of *Millan*, and that by the labour and solicitacion chiefly of *Don Charles de Lanoy* lately made *Viceroy* of *Naples* by the death of *Don Reimond de Cardona*, and *Don Iohn Manuell*: The rate of thimposition was, that monthly for three monthes next folowing, thestate of *Millan* should contribute a thousande duckets, the *Florentins* fyfteene thousande, the *Genovvayes* eight thousande, *Siena* fiue thousande, and *Lucqua* foure thousand: And albeit many murmured agaynst this taxacion, yet the feare of so great an armie made it to be both executed and suffred: So mightie is necessitie, that in cases of extremitie it makes tollerable those things, which in all other condicions are ful of inconueniencie and difficultie: Onely they of *Millan* iustified the taxacion to be necessarie, for that the defence of all *Italie* depended vppon the continuacion of that armie: Neither dyd it cease after the ende of three monthes, for that the same necessitie continuing, the imposicion was eftsones renewed though in a farre lesse rate and taxacion.

The prouinces of Italie are taxed for the conseruation of the duchie of Millan.

In this estate of affayres, *Italie* stoode oppressed with continuall aduersities, and no lesse terrified with the feare of greater euills that threatned the vniuersall regions thereof: for the remedie whereof muche was attributed to the comming of the Pope, as an apt and conuenient instrument by reason of his supreme authoritie, to appease and reorder all disorders: And albeit Cæsar passing at the same time by sea into *Spayne*, and in his way did cõmunicate with the king of *Englande*, had besought him to tarye for him at *Barcelona*, whither he would come in person to honor him as Pope: yet ye forbare to abyde themperours comming, eyther fearing least for the great distance of themperour, who as yet was in thextreme confines of *Spayne*, he should let slippe the commoditie of his good tyme which after his nauigacion began to be rough and daungerous: or else he suspected least themperour would solicite him to deferre his voyage: or lastly (which was more credible) he feared to aggrauate thopinion conceiued of him from the beginning, that themperour dyd so muche gouerne him, as to be hable to lette him to treate of the vniuersall peace betwene Christians: An action wherein he was determined to employe all his studies and labours: So that ouerruling by his wisdome all these suspicions, he passed at last by sea to *Rome*, where he made his entry the xxix. of August, with a great concourse of the commons and the whole Court: of whom albeit his comming was desired with an vniuersall gladnes, for that without the presence of the Popes, *Rome* beareth more a resemblance of a sauage deserte then of a Citie, yet that spectacle wrought sundrie impressions and diuersitie of thoughtes in the mindes of all men, when they considered that they had a Pope for nation & language a straunger, and for thaffayres of *Italie* and the Court altogether vnexperienced, and also for that he was not of those regions and countreys who by long conuersacion were already made familiar with the customes of *Italie*: The enuie that stirred vp in men this consideracion was redoubled by the accident of the plague, which beginning in *Rome* at his arriuall, afflicted the Citie during the whole season of Autumne, to the great calamitie and losse of the people: A matter which in the fancies of men was construed to an euill prognostication of his Pontificacie.

Pope Adrian the vi. cõmeth to Rome.

The first councell that this Pope tooke, was to aduaunce the recouering of *Rimini*, and to put ende to the controuersies which the Duke of *Ferrara* had continued with two of his lateste predecessors: And for the better succeeding of that expedition, he sent into *Romagnia* that regiment of fifteene hundred Spanishe footemen which he had brought with him for the more suretie of his passage by sea.

Whyleste the Pope was in these actions and preparacions in *Italie*, themperour

caſt in his mind howe muche it would import to the ſucceſſe and ſewertie of his affayres in *Italy*, to ſeperat the *Venetians* from the French king: To which deuiſe was much helping an opinion that he had, that the hopes of the french matters being diminiſhed, the Senat would not be without manifeſt inclinacion to peace, and that they would not for thintereſts of others, laye them ſelues downe to the daungers which ſuch a warre might bring vpon their eſtates: In this practiſe he communicated with the king of *England*, who affore had lent him money ſecretly againſt the French king and began openly to take part againſt him: They ſent thether their Embaſſadors to require the Senate to confederat with thEmprour for the defenſe of *Italy*, *Ierom Adorna* being for thEmprour, & *Richard Paſe* for the king of *Englād*: There was alſo exſpectacion of an Embaſſador from *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Auſtria Cæſars* brother, who enterteyning many quarrells with the *Venetians*, it was iudged neceſſary that he ſhould interpoſe and communicat in all accords: Beſides, the king of *England* ſent a Herald to pronownce warre againſt the French king, in caſe he would not come to a generall truce with thEmprour for three yeares in all partes of the world, and therein ſhould be comprehended the Church, the Duke of *Myllan*, and the *Florentyns*: he complained alſo in this diffiance that the French king had forborne to pay him thanuitie of fiftie thowſand crownes which he was bound to aunſwer yearly: But the French king whoſe youth made him more apt to truſt in fortune, then to looke into things by counſell, refuſed to make truce, And touching the demaund of the fifty thowſand crownes he proteſted openly that it was not conuenient for him to pay money to him that ayded his enemies with money: An aunſwer which ſo aggrauated the diſdaines & hartburnings betwene them that thEmbaſſadors on both ſides were reuoked.

The king of England for thEmprour. & ſendeth Embaſſadors to the Venetians to draw them from thalliāce of the french.

This yeare departed out of *Italy Don Iohn Manuell* who had bene *Cæſars* Embaſſador at *Rome* with very great authoritie, And at his departure, he deliuered to the *Florentyns* a ſcedule ſubſigned by his hande, declaring that *Cæſar* by a ſcedule publiſhed in September 1520. promiſed to Pope *Leo* to reconfirme and eſtſoones to reaccord to the *Florentyns* the priuileges of eſtate, of authority, & of the townes which they held within ſix moneths after the firſt dyot vppon his coronation at *Aix*: This was a reitteracion of a former promiſſe made by him to accompliſh the ſame within foure monethes after his election, within which time he ſayde he could not diſpatch it for many iuſt cauſes: So that vnder proteſtacion of that reaſonable excuſe, *Don Iohn* promiſed it eſtſoones in the name of *Cæſar*, who ratified the ſcedule in March 1523. and deliuered the expedicion of it in writing in a moſt ample forme.

VVhat thEmprour did in Spaine.

As hath bene ſet downe before, *Cæſar* paſſed this yeare into *Spaine*, where he proceeded ſeuerely againſt many that were noted the Authors of the ſedicion, and to others, he remitted all puniſhments and pardoned their goods: In which action, to ioyne with iuſtice and clemencie examples of recompenſe and remuneracion, he called to the Court in great honor, *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*, who refuſing to be Capteine of the commons that rebelled, he rewarded his fidelitie with the mariage of *Madame Germania* ſometimes wife to the king of *Spaine*: ſhe was riche, but barreine, to thend that houſe ſhould determine in him who was the laſt of the deſcendants of olde *Alfonſo* king of *Aragon*, two of his younger brothers being dead before, the one in *Fraunce* and the other in *Italy*.

Roades taken.

But the ende of this yeare was made no leſſe wretched and vnhappy, then ſlaunderous to all Chriſtian Princes for the loſſe of the Ile of *Rhodes*: which *Solyman Ottoman* tooke by violence, notwithſtanding it was defended by the Knightes of *Rhodes*, called

called in other times more auncient the knightes of *Saint Iohn* of *Ieruſalem*: And abiding in that place ſince they were chaſed out of *Ieruſalem*, notwithſtanding they laye betweene two ſo mightie princes as the *Turke* and the *Soldan*, yet their vallour had preſerued it of long tyme, and to the right worthy glorie of their order, they had remayned as an aſſured rampier of Chriſtian religion in thoſe ſeas: And yet they were not without their imputacions and notes of infamie, for that hauing a continuall cuſtome for the better defending of thoſe ſhoares, to ſpoyle the veſſells of the infidells, they were thought ſometymes to make pillage of Chriſtian ſhipps: The Turke ſente into thilande a wonderfull greate armie, which remayning there manye monethes with no leſſe horrour to good men for their cruelties, then terrour to all men for their huge numbers, at laſte he came thither in perſon: And drawing to his deſire of conqueſt and glorie, the reſpect of profite and ryches which the victorie woulde yeelde, he loſte not one minute of tyme to vexe them, wherein his induſtrie was nothing inferiour to his vallour, for ſometimes he caſte monſtrous mynes and trenches, ſometymes he rayſed platfourmes of earth and wood whoſe height ouertopped the walles of the towne, and ſometymes he afflicted them with moſte furious and bloudy aſſaultes: In ſo muche that as theſe workes and engines were not perfourmed without a wonderfull boocherie and ſlaughter of his ſouldiours, ſo alſo the defence of them was ſo daungerous to the lyues of them within, that manye numbers were diminiſhed, manye bodyes maymed and made vnſeruiceable, and the reſidue made terrified by the calamities of their companions and friendes, to whome they coulde giue no other propertie of compaſſion then to mourne with them their common miſerie: Their aduerſitie was ſo muche the more intollerable, by howe muche theyr trauelles were without fruite, their wordes withoute comforte, and their vallour diſfauoured of fortune, and laſtely their ſtoare of gonne powder was conſumed, whiche is not the leaſt neceſſitie for the defence of a place: They ſawe affore their eyes huge breaches made into their walles with thartilleries of thennemies: They decerned ſeuerall mynes wrought into many partes of the towne, and they founde by lamentable experience that the leſſe good they did, the more paynefully they laboured, for that their fortune had reduced them to theſe tearmes of extremitie, that in abandoning one place to releeue an other, they putte bothe in daunger, not hauing numbers ſufficient to furniſhe the ſeruice, and leſſe exſpectation of reskewe amydde perilles ſo raging and deſperate: So that, what for that their neceſſities were greater then their hopes, and their defence leſſe hable by the continuall diminucion of their numbers, and laſtely holding it no breache of honour to preſerue by wiſedome and compoſicion, that they coulde no longer defende by their vallour and prowes, they gaue place to theyr deſtinie, and capitulated with the Turke: That the greate Maiſter of their order ſhoulde leaue the towne to him: That aſwell he as all hys knightes ſhoulde departe in ſafetie, wyth libertie to carie wyth them as muche of their goodes as they coulde: And for aſſurance of this capitulacion, the Turke ſhoulde withdrawe oute of thoſe ſeas, his fleete or Nauie, and retyre hys armye by lande fyue myles from *Rhodes*: By vertue of whiche capitulacion *Rhodes* remayned to the Turkes, and the Chriſtians paſſed into *Scicilie*, and ſo into *Italie*, keepinge theyr faythe and profeſſion vnuiolated: They founde in *Scicilye* an Armye by ſea compounded of a certayne number of veſſelles, wyth greate releeſe of vittayles and munitions, and readye to hoyſe ſayle at the nexte wynde to reuittle *Rhodes*. The ſlowneſſe of

Rhodes rendred vp to the Turke.

this reskewe was layde to the Popes faulte: After they were departed, *Soliman* for a more contempte of Christian religion, made his entrie into the Citie vpon the daye of the birthe of the sonne of God: whiche daye beeing celebrated in the Churches of Christians with noyse of musike and holy inuocations, he conuerted all the Churches of *Rhodes* dedicated to the seruice of Iesu Christ, into *Mosqueis* (so they call their temples) which after all the Christian rites and ceremonies were abolished, they made dedicated to *Mahomet*. This was the ende of the yeare 1522. infamous for the name and tytle of Christendome, and this was the fruite drawne of the discordes of our Princes, whiche yet mighte be somewhat tollerable, if at least thexamples of harmes past might make them better tempered in tyme to come.

As the discordes of Princes continued, so increased also the trauels & perplexities of the yere 1523. In the beginning of which the famulie of the *Malatestes* knowing howe vnhable they were to resist the Popes forces, were in thende contented by the mediacion of the Duke of *Vrbin*, to leaue *Rimini* and the Castell, albeit vnder this vncertayne hope, that there shoulde be reserued for *Pandolfe* some reasonable estate and meane to lyue, wherein nothing was done. Afterwardes the Duke of *Vrbin* wente to the Pope, with whome and with the moste parte of the Court, the glorious memorie of Pope *Iulio* working muche for him, he obteined absolucion from all paynes and impositions, and was eftsones reinuested in the Duchie of *Vrbin*, but with this exception, not to preiudice the rightes and application that had bene made of the countrey of *Montfeltre* to the *Florentins*, who sayde they had lent to Pope *Leo* three hundred and fiftie thousande duckets for the defence of that Duchie, and had exspended since his death in diuerse places for the preseruation of thestate of the Churche, more then threescore and tenne thousande: The Pope receyued also into grace the Duke of *Ferrara*, whome he dyd not onely inuest of newe in the imperie of *Ferrara*, and of all that he possessed apperteyning to the Churche affore the warre of Pope *Leo* agaynst the Frenche men, but also he lefte to him (not without a note of infamie bothe to him selfe and ministers that abused his ignoraunce) the iurisdiction of the borowes of *Saint Felix* and *Finale*: Which townes as he gotte at suche tyme as he began the warre agaynst Pope *Leo*, and afterwardes loste them before his death, so he had eftsones taken them of newe by thoccasion of the vacancie of the sea: For recompence of this grace and inuestiture, the Duke was bounde to ayde and succour the Churche in times of neede with certayne numbers of men, for so muche as belonged to the defence of hys imperie and estate: And in case hereafter he shoulde fall agayne and transgresse or offende the sea Apostolike, besides his submission to great fines and amarciamentes, he consented to haue this inuestiture made nothing, and to the priuacion of all his rightes: Moreouer the Pope gaue him great hopes to restore to him *Modena* and *Reggia*, notwithstanding afterwardes he estraunged his minde from hys promise, aswell for the importance of suche an indument whiche was afterwardes tolde him, as also for thinfamie of thexamples of his predecessors which coulde not but redounde vpon him.

The Castell of Millan rendred by the French.

About this tyme the Castell of *Millan* suffring no lesse wantes of all prouisions except bread, then being vniuersally afflicted with sicknes and diseases, agreed to deliuer vp their charge vnder condicion of life and goods saued, if they were not succored by the xiiij. day of Aprill: at which day the composicion being accomplished, the most part of the souldiors were found dead: Cæsar was contented to deliuer it

ouer

ouer into the poſſeſſion of Duke *Frauncis Sforce*, wherein he wonne no little reputation and prayſe amongeſt thItalians: And albeit there was no other peece in *Italie* that helde for the French men, except the Caſtell of *Cremona* whiche had as yet a plentyfull prouiſion of all thinges: yet theſe ſucceſſes did nothing qualifie thinfelicities and aduerſities of the peoples of that Duchie, who were wonderfully oppreſſed by the armie of Cæſar for that it was not payed: In which diſcontentment beeing gone to lodge within *Aſt* and the confines about it, and falling into tumult for the ſame cauſe, their diſorder led them to make pillage of the whole cõtrey euen as farre as *Vigeneua*: for regarde of which vniuerſall waſting, as alſo to auoyde the harmes and daungers of the countrey, thinhabitantes of *Millan* were driuen to make promiſe of their payes amounting to an hundred thouſande duckets: And yet the feeling of ſo many aduerſities and rigours, could nothing abate the hatreds of that people agaynſt the French, wherein the thinges that ſuſteined them were partly a feare through the memory of olde iniuries done agaynſt them by that nation, and partly a hope leaſt vpon ceaſing of the daunger the French king would eftſones aſſayle that ſtate, and alſo that they ſhould be deliuered from thoſe great burdens, for that it ſhould be no more neceſſarie for themperour to interteine in that Duchie any regimentes of ſouldiors.

The negociacion of the peace betwene Cæſar and the *Venetians* continued ſtill, and as for many difficulties that hapned, and diuerſe ſortes of delayes interpoſed by the *Venetians*, the mindes of men were holden in great ſuſpence what ſucceſſe or effect it would drawe: So one chiefe matter that made that action dilatorie and augmented the difficulties, was the death of *Ierome Adorno*, whoſe yeares albeit were not many, yet his experience was rare, and his witte rayſed to the comprehenſion of high thinges, whiche he well expreſſed in this treatie wherein his authoritie was greate and his capacitie ſingular: In his place was ſente from *Millan* for Cæſar, *Martin Caracciolo* pronotorie to the ſea Apoſtolike, who many yeares after was created Cardinall by Pope *Pavvle* the thirde: Manye monethes were ſpent in this negociation at *Venice*, where the Frenche kinge became no ſmall impediment to the reſolucion by the importunate labour and diligence of hys Embaſſadours, by whome he promiſed ſometymes by letters, and ſometymes by meſſaungers eſpeciall, that he woulde diſcende ſpeedilye into *Italie* with a right puiſſant armye: Theſe offers and promiſes bredde greate diuerſitie of opinions amongeſt the Senators, and continuall argumentes and diſputacions: for manye gaue counſayle not to abandon thalliance of the Frenche king, and reappoſed altogether vppon hys promiſe to ſende preſentlye an armye into *Italie*: Whiche hope the Frenche king labouring to feede with a wonderfull diligence, he had newely ſent to *Venice Ranſo de Cere*, not onely to enterteine and confirme his promiſe, but alſo to publiſhe the manyfeſt preparacion of thinges: Others remembring howe in the hope of many things paſt, the king had behaued himſelfe negligently, could not now exſpect any confidence in his promiſe to paſſe into *Italie*: wherein that opinion was confirmed in them by certaine aduertiſementes from *Iohn Baduere* their Embaſſador in *Fraunce*, who aſſured them that for that yere the French king woulde neyther paſſe in perſon nor ſende anye armye into *Italie*: An intelligence whiche he had from rhe Duke of *Burbon*, who was already very ſecretly conioyned with Cæſar, and wiſhed the *Venetians* to enterteine vnitie with him: An other ſort of the Senators wauering in minde, ſtoode terrified no leſſe by the yll ſucceſſe of the king, then by the good fortunes of Cæſar, wherevnto they

ioyned this consideracion that in *Italie* the Duke of *Millan*, the *Genovvayes*, the *Florentins*, together with all *Tuskane* followed the faction of Cæsar, and doubted also least the Pope woulde likewise concurre in that inclinacion: And out of *Italie* were for him his brother the Archeduke confining vppon the *Venetian* estates, and the king of *Englande* making continuall warre in *Pickardie*: In whiche diuersitie of opinions running no lesse amongest the principalls of the Senate, then the vniuersall multitude, the deliberacion could not long suspende, aswell for the forwardnes of things, as for thimportunities of Cæsars Embassadors, by whose continuall solicitacion the councel of the *Pregati* was assembled to pronounce the resolucion: In this Councell spake *Andrevv Gritti* in this sort, a personage of very high authoritie in that common weale: for the great offices he had administred, and of especiall reputacion throughout all *Italie* and with forreine princes, for the merite of his witte and dealing.

The oracion of Andrevv Gritti touching thalliance vvith Cæsar.

There is nothing more hurtefull in Counsellors then the passion of ielousie and suspicion, which drawing with it diuersitie and seperacion of willes, is so much the more preiudiciall, by howe muche it stoppeth oftentimes the libertie and freedome of well counselling: And for my parte albeit I am not ignoraunt that in giuing counsell at this present not to departe from the confederacion of the Frenche king, "some will interpret me to parcialitie, as though in me bare more respect and authoritie the long custome and conuersacion I haue had with the French, then the care "and affection which in nature and equitie I ought to expresse to the benefite of the "common weale: Yet I will rather laye my selfe downe to the imputations of men, "then kepe suppressed that fidelitie of counselling which in good office apperteineth "to euery good Citisen, in whom can not be exspected anye good propertie eyther "of a Citisen or a Senator that for anye occasion forbeareth to perswade to others "that whiche in him selfe he decerneth to be good for the common weale: And yet "I doubte not that amongest men of discression and wisedome this interpretacion "will finde no place, bothe for the consideracion of my customes and actions in all "tymes paste, and also for that I neuer negociated with the Frenche king nor his "counsell, but as your Agent, your Creature, your Commissioner, and your Deputie limited and regulated: But touching the present matter, I doubt not to accompanie my opinion and counsell with suche force of reasons and examples as shall "be hable to make me iustified euen with such as holde me suspected. We are assembled heare to dispute whether we oughte to make a new confederacion with themperour, both contrarie to the fayth we haue giuen, and agaynst the couenantes of "the league which we haue with the house of *Fraunce*: Whiche in my iudgement is "no other thing then to go about so to assure and confirme the power of themproure "already vniuersally redouted, that being without further remedie to moderate and "embase it, it rise not continually encreasing to our right great and apparant preiudice: We haue no cause wherein maye be taken any reason to iustifie that deliberacion, if we looke into the fidelitie and equitie of the French king: for that as he hath "for the most part fulfilled thalliance that he hath made with vs, and carefully restrained himselfe to the reasonable obseruacion of amitie & league, so though theffects "haue not followed so readily to renew the warre in *Italie*, yet in regarde of his proper "interestes therein concurring, that hath not proceeded of other matter then of "thimpedimentes growing vppon him in the kingdome of *Fraunce*: whiche albeit "maye for a tyme prolong or deferre hys counselles, yet lette vs not looke that "they wyll vtterly dissolue hys enterprise, for that he liues possessed with so great a desire

a desire to recouer the duchie of *Millan*, and hath his forces so mightie and readye, "
that hauing once susteined the first bruntes of his enemies, there will nothing lette "
him to renewe his armie and recontinue the warre in *Italie*: Wherin I maye aptlye "
vse for example the experience and memorie of king *Lovvis*, who hauing his coun- "
trey inuaded with armies farre more mightie then those that now vex him, for that "
almost all the nations and regions rounde about him rose into conspiracie agaynst "
him, yet did he so easily defende his estates by the greatnes of his forces, by the mu- "
nicion and defence of his frontiers and places confining, and with the fidelity & rea- "
dines of his peoples, that when in all reasonable consideracion it was thought that "
necessitie would driue him to retyre himselfe for a time and restrayne his minde to "
rest and tranquillitie, he raysed his thoughtes to the warres of *Italie*, and in that vni- "
uersall coniecture of his weaknes, sent thither so denly right huge & mightie armies: "
The king raigning dyd the like in the first yeare of his raigne, and euen then entred "
into the renouacion of the warre, when, both by his new ascending to the crowne, "
and also finding his treasors consumed by the infinite exspences of his predecessor, "
euery man looked that he would put of the warre till another yeare: Let vs not in- "
terprete sinisterly of his delayes and deferring, and muche lesse let vs laye them for "
an excuse of our variacions, seeing that confederate that is slowe not of will but by "
impedimentes, giues to his companion no iust cause to complayne, nor any honest "
cooller to depart from his confederacion: We ought in this case to iudge of the "
French king as in matters of amitie good men vse to measure friendship, that he that "
maketh a promise, albeit he performe late, yet he breakes not the law of promise, for "
that although he disappoynteth, yet he fayleth not: It is a great vnthankfulnes when "
we forget what we haue receiued of our friends: and when they are slowe to per- "
forme but small things, we are ready to rayse great complayntes agaynst them. But "
touching this deliberacion, if we looke well into the state of our affayres, we shall "
finde that if common honestie ioyned with the dignitie of our Senate, call vs to it, "
no lesse are we iustely prouoked by the regarde of our profite and proper safetie: it "
is easie to be discerned from howe many daungers, from how many suspicions, and "
from how many afflictions we shal be deliuered, if the French king recouer the state "
of *Millan*: and wise men with the same facilitie may finde out into what tranquility, "
into what assurance, and into what freedome of estate, our affayres will fall for many "
yeres, if he preuayle in that action wherin he hath cõcurring with his forces reason, "
conscience, and equitie: Of this we are warned by the examples of the yeres before, "
for at suche time as the king that nowe is went about to recouer it, it came to passe "
that we, who affore with many daungers & very great exspences, were skarce hable "
to defende *Padoa* and *Treuisa*, were made hable by his occasion, to reconquer *Bressia* "
and *Verona*: yea so long as he enioyed that Duchie in quietnes, we possessed in peace "
and suretie all our dominions and iurisdictions, and what else was of our imperie "
or our obedience: Which are examples that muche more ought to moue vs then "
the auncient memorie of the league of *Cambray*, for that the kings of *Fraunce* haue "
learned by experience that which they could neuer cõprehend by reason, how pre- "
iudiciall it hath bene to them to depart out of our alliance: A matter which without "
all comparison they may best discerne in the time present, wherin this king hath for "
his aduersary & competitor, an emperour, a prince whose amplitude of kingdomes, "
and whose redoubted power will keepe him in necessitie to esteeme dearly our alli- "
ance. But of the contrary, who seeth not into what daungerous tearmes our affayres "
will be reduced, when the French king shall finde him selfe merely excluded out of "

" the enterprises of *Italie*: for who can let themperour to appropriate to him selfe or
" to his brother the Duchie of *Millan*, of the whiche he woulde neuer to this daye
" transferre thinuestiture to *Frauncis Sforce?* And if he haue power to do so, what is
" he that can assure his will? who can staye the streame driuen by so violent a winde?
" yea, since the Duchie of *Millan* is so apte a ladder to lifte him to the Empire of all
" *Italie*, who will take vpon him to promise, that in themperour iustice and consci-
" ence will beare more swaigh, then ambicion and couetousnes, inclinacions naturall
" to all great Princes: If any man take any suretie by the moderacion and temperance
" of his officers which he hath in *Italie*, let him be aunswered that the moste of them
" are Spaniardes, a nation vnfaythfull, rauishing, and aboue all others moste insatia-
" ble: So that if themperour or his brother *Ferdinand*, make *Millan* their owne and
" possesse it, in what degree shall remayne our estate being enuironed by them bothe,
" on the confines of *Italie* and *Germanie?* what suretie, what succours, what exspecta-
" cion of remedie amidde so many daungers? The kingdome of *Naples* is in his posses-
" sion, the Pope with all the other Potentates of *Italie* are at his deuocion, and all our
" friendes being made naked of money and forces, there remaynes to vs no hope of
" ayde or comfort, and lesse possibilitie to finde fauour where fortune and so great di-
" uision of minds contende agaynst vs. But if the French king were lorde of the du-
" chie of *Millan*, then should things stande so euenly balanced betweene two so great
" Princes, that who so euer stoode in feare of the power of the one of them, shoulde
" finde peace and suretie by the might of the other, for that bothe pollicie and their
" proper ambicion would make them iealouse one of an others greatnes: yea the on-
" ly feare of his comming assureth all his neighbours, for that by it the Imperialles
" are restrayned from entring into armes, or to intangle them selues with any enter-
" prise: By whiche reason is made more ridiculous then terrible the vanitie of their
" threatninges to turne tharmie agaynst vs if we confederate with themperour, as
" though it were an easie enterprise to moue warre agaynst the state of *Venice*, and
" as thoughe there were present suretie of the victorie, and lastely as thoughe that
" were the onely meane and remedie to keepe the Frenche king from passing, and
" not rather the cause of the contrarie: for who doubteth that beeing prouoked by
" them, we would propound to the king by necessitie such conditions, that though he
" bare no inclination to them, yet they would induce him to passe? The same hapned
" in the tyme of king *Levvis*, when the iniuries and treasons that were done vnto
" vs by that nation, enforced vs so to incense and stirre vp that king (when of his
" prisoner I became your Embassadour) that euen when he stoode in the greatest
" feare to be mightily inuaded in his kingdome of *Fraunce*, euen then did he dispatch
" a strong armie into *Italie*, though with very yll succesSe: Let vs not beleeue that
" if thimperialls thought the waye to drawe vs to their amitie, or to assure them-
" selues of the Frenche king, were to sette vppon vs, that they had tyll this daye de-
" ferred thexecution: Perhappes their Capteines haue no desire to enriche them-
" selues with the profites and spoyles of warre, perhaps they haue had no necessitie,
" in disburdening those countreys that were friendes to them to drawe money from
" them, to nourishe tharmie in the countrey of an other: No rather they haue well
" founde oute, that by reason of our power it is too harde a matter to force vs:
" And muche lesse standes it with them hauing a continuall feare of the descen-
" ding of the Frenche, to intangle them selues with an other warre, nor to giue
" occasion to a state so mightie in men, money, and opinion, to allure with the
" greatnesse of offers the Frenche kinge to marche: So longe as they are hol-

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den in these suspicions and in these doubtes, they will not intrude for them selues vppon the Duchie of *Myllan*, neither will they seeke to offende vs but with vaine threatninges: Where if we assure them of that feare, they will haue in their power to doe both the one and other: And if they doe it as it is likely they will, where is our remedie, where are become our hopes, our councells, and our exspectacions, yea of whome maye we complayne more then of our selues: our owne feares willbreede our common daungers, our fraile suspicions will drawe on our propper calamities, and as a destinie we shall be driuen into warre by our immoderat desires to peace: which then is most holy and most to be embraced, when it puts men out of suspicion, when it encreaseth no daunger, & when it bringes a meane to sit downe in tranquillitie, and to cut of great exspenses: But when it appeareth in an other habit and forme & begetteth effects contrary, it abuseth then the name, the property, and the nature of peace, and vnder a corrupt resemblance of peace it taketh iustly the title of a daungerous warre, and vnder the show of a holsom medicine, it expresseth thoperacion of a mortall poyson: So that, as in confederating with thEmprour, we turne the French king from his enterprise of *Italy*, & leade thEmprour as it were by a lyne, to occupy at his will the Duchie of *Myllan*, and so to embase vs and our iurisdiction: so it followeth that by that action (with a right great infamie of our name and hazard of the faith of this common weale) we buy the greatnes of a Prince who hath giuen no lesse tokens of his ambicion then proofe of his power, and who (ioyning with him his brother) hath set downe this pretence, that all that we possesse in the firme land, apperteineth vnto them: And on the other side, we reiect and exclude out of *Italy*, A king who vnder his equitie and greatnes assureth the libertie of vs all, and is induced by a great necessitie and constraint to remeine straitly allied and conioyned with vs: These reasons so euident and sensible auoyd all matter of imputacion that I am not pushed on more by affection then by truth, nor more caried by any interest particular then with the loue I beare to the common weale, The sauetie and preseruacion of which we neede not doubt if God giue so great grace and felicitie to your councells, as he hath plentifully imparted amongest you the spirit of wisedom and forecast.

But against this speech, did oppose one *George Cornaro* a gentleman of equall authority, and of no lesse reputacion for grauitie and stayed condicion.

The oratiō of George Cornaro.

Right ielous were the office of Magistrates, if in matters of councell it were lesse lawfull to confute then to obiect, And no lesse doth it offend the estate and credit of their place, where it is not thought as greate a fidelitie to aunswer as to propone: Since such hath beene alwayes the law and libertie of councell giuing, to assure the truth against all sinister insinuacions: And albeit I am not ignorant that in nothing is more suspicion then to giue councell in matters of state, yet for myne owne parte, considering the equitie of this Senate affore whom I speake, I doubt not but the reasons I shall giue will suffice to assure myne innocencie against all imputacions. Assuredly the matter we haue in hand, is great and full of difficulties, both for the consideracion of the time & nature of many accidents concurring: And yet when I looke into thinfidelitie and ambicion of the Princes of this time, and howe much they differ from the nature of common weales, whose gouernment beeing not subiected to thappetit of one alone, but disposed by the consents of many, vse to proceede with more moderacion and regard, and obserue with great ceremonie (contrary to thexamples of Princes) not to depart from any thing that beareth apparance of iustice, honestie, or reason: I can not but conclude, that it is most hurtfull for vs and our af-

" fayres, to haue the Duchie of *Millan* poſſeſſed by a Prince more mightie then our
" ſelues, ſeeing that neceſſarily ſuche a neighborhood will ſo holde vs ſuſpected and
" afflicted, that thoughe we enioye peace, yet we ſhall alwayes liue in continuall
" thoughtes of warre, notwithſtanding all leagues of alliance or confederacion what
" ſo euer. Of this auncient ſtories giue vs many examples, which for good reſpectes
" I paſſe ouer for the preſent, leauing you onely to the lamentable experience of king
" *Lovvis* the xij. of whoſe doings I doubt not remayneth imprinted in the heartes of
" vs all a bitter remembraunce: This Senate brought him into the Duchie of *Millan*,
" and to that vnhappie reſolucion many of vs heare gaue aſſiſtance: we kepte with
" him iuſtly our fayth in all Capitulacions, notwithſtanding (vnder great offers and
" goodly occaſions) we were aduiſed by the Spaniardes and Launceknightes to leaue
" his alliance, as alſo his infidelitie gaue no ſmall cauſe to drawe vs therevnto, for that
" he ſolicited many practiſes agaynſt vs: But neyther the memorie of ſo many bene-
" fites receyued, nor the merite of our fidelitie ſo iuſtely obſerued, nor the conſidera-
" tion of ſo many perpetuall offices exhibited, could moderate in him his great de-
" ſire to vex vs: In ſo muche as in that ambicion, and for that cauſe, he made a wil-
" ling reconcilement with his auncient and greateſt enemies, and laſtly contracted a-
" gaynſt vs that moſt perillous confederacie of *Cambray*: If it be daungerous for the
" riche and poore to dwell neare together, for that in the wealth of the rich are ſowen
" the ſeedes of enuie to the poore, and by the wantes of the poore are bred humors
" of couetouſnes in the riche man to conſume him: farre greater harmes muſt growe
" by the neighborhood of great kings and princes, whoſe ambicion caryed on the
" wings of authoritie, runneth without limitte, and is no more repulſed by the reſi-
" ſtance of men, then a ſwift running ſtreame blowen by a violent winde to ouerflow
" his channell: And therefore to eſcape thoſe daungers that would alwayes hang o-
" uer vs by ſo yll aſſured neighborhood of great Princes, the neceſſitie of our affayres
" driues vs to addreſſe all our counſells to this ende, that neyther the French king nor
" themperour haue anye footing in the Duchie of *Millan*, but that it remayne to
" *Frauncis Sforce* or ſuche an other of his equalitie who were not borne vp with king-
" domes or large dominions: Vppon ſuch a choyſe dependes our ſuretie for the pre-
" ſent, and hereafter (if the condicion of tymes do chaunge) may depende a great en-
" creaſing and exaltacion of our eſtate. We conſult nowe, whether we ſhould con-
" tinue amitie with the French king, or confederate our ſelues with themperour: By
" the one of theſe two deliberacions *Frauncis Sforce* is excluded abſolutely from the
" Duchie of *Millan*, and an entrie left open to the French king, who is a prince farre
" mightie aboue vs: the other tendeth to aſſure and confirme in the ſame Duchie,
" *Frauncis Sforce* whom themperour offreth to comprehend as principall in our con-
" federacion, and hath made promiſe to the king of *Englande* to protect him: So that
" though he would ſeeke to depriue him of that eſtate, he ſhould not offende vs onely
" and the other potentates of *Italie* (to whom he ſhould giue cauſe to turne eſtſones
" to the Frenche) but alſo in that action he is both to diſpleaſe the king of *Englande*
" whom it behoueth him greatly to reſpect, and alſo to prouoke agaynſt him all thin-
" habitantes of the Duchie of *Millan*, who beare an vniuerſall inclinacion to *Frauncis*
" *Sforce*: And ſo laying him ſelfe downe to many difficulties and daungers, and to no
" leſſe infamie, he ſhould alſo go agaynſt his fayth, whiche till this daye we haue not
" founde by any token that he hath defiled, A matter which we can not proteſt on the
" behalfe of the French: yea he can not be touched with any demonſtration or ſigne
" contrarie to his fidelitie, hauing ſince the death of Pope *Leo* repoſſeſſed *Frauncis*
Sforce

Sforce of that eſtate, and redeliuered vp the ſtrong holdes in ſorte as they were conquered, and laſtly reeſtabliſhed him in the caſtell of *Millan* contrarie to the beleuing of many: why therefore ſhould we not rather embraſe that councell wherein is diſcerned an apparant hope to come to the end of our intencions, then to follow that which manifeſtly tendeth to an end contrarie to our affaires? Perhappes there are that will obiect againſt this, that this common weale would ſuffer greater daunger, if the Duchie of *Millan* were in the power of thEmperour, then if it ſhould diuolue into the handes of the french, for that neceſſitie would draw that king, both for the greatnes of Cæſar, and for themulacion and gelouſie he hath of him, to perſeuere in our alliance: But in thEmperour, all the contrarie, as well for his power & might, as for the claimes and rights which he and his brother pretende agaynſt our eſtate: Sure I beleue that who hath that opinion of the Emperour, is not beguiled, conſidering the nature and cuſtome of Princes which are mightie and great: But God graunt that he be not deceiued that holdeth not the ſame opinion of the frenche king: Many of the ſame reaſons made for his predeceſſor, yet ambicion and couetouſnes bare more dominion in him, then either common honeſtie, or his proper profit: And beſides, the cauſes that might keepe him conteined in league with vs, are not perpetuall, but ſubiect to chaunge from one time to an other according to the nature of humane things: for, bothe thEmperour hath his mortality as other men haue, and withall, ſtandes ſubiect to infinite accidentes of fortune, according to theexample of many Princes as mightie in greatnes as he: it is not long ſince, that all *Spaine* conſpiring againſt him, he ſeemed more needefull of pitie then of ſpite: And at the leaſtwiſe there is not ſo great difference betwene the one daunger & the other, as there is oddes betwene a councell that wholly excludes vs from our purpoſe, and a reſolucion which in ſimilitude of trueth and reaſon leades vs to the full accompliſhment of the ſame: Beſides, thoſe reaſons conſider only the time to come and farre of: But if we looke into the preſent eſtate of thinges, we ſhall diſcerne that to reiect thalliance of thEmperour, doth put vs for the preſent into greater perplexities and daungers: for, if we ſeparate our ſelues from the french king, it is credible that he will deferre the warre vntill better times and fitter occaſions, but if we continue conioyned with him, it may be that thEmperour will preſently make warre againſt vs, a matter which neceſſarily will heape vpon vs many troubles & exſpenſes: And in whether of theſe elections ſhall the iſſue of the warre be more daungerous to vs? If we ioyne with thEmperour it is not almoſt to be douted that the victorie will not fall on that ſide, which we can not ſo aſſuredly promiſe to our ſelues if we ſtand conioyned with the frenche king: And in confederating vs with thEmperour the victory of the french can not be ſo daungerous to vs, as it would be in the contrarie, for that in that caſe, all the forces of the victor would be turned againſt vs, and thEmperour would not only haue a leſſe bridle and weaker impedimentes, but alſo he woulde ſtande almoſt in an abſolute neceſſitie to occupie the Duchie of *Millan*: Touching thobiection made againſt the bond of confederacion it is eaſely aunſwered by the ſame reaſon that is vſed to ſatisfie queſtions of equitie, ſince our promiſe to the frenche king ſtretcheth only to aide him to defend his eſtates that he poſſeſſed in *Italie*, but not to recouer them if he ſhoulde loaſe them: The articles of the capitulacions beare not that, and the ſame reaſons make for vs that are brought in againſt vs: we accompliſhed the bonde of all duetie and office, when, after the loſſe of *Millan* hapning through the default of their prouiſions, our ſouldiours and men of ſeruice receiued more harmes then the frenchemen: We were acquited of our

" promisse,when *Monsr Lavvtrech* returning to the warre with the *Svvyzzers*, we
" sent him our bands of souldiours for his succours: yea we haue done more then rea-
" sonably might be required of vs, when, in exspecting so many monethes the com-
" ming of his armie, we receiued nothing from him but vaine hopes and dissembled
" promisses:if he were stayed by his owne will,why seeke we to support the imputaci-
" on of his faultes? if he were holden by necessitie, is not the same a sufficient reason
" to iustifie vs,though we stood bownd? I know not why we should be kept bownd a-
" ny longer to the French king,seeing he hath first abandoned vs: it can be no iniustice
" to retyre from the league,since we take our liberty by his example:how can we stand
" giltie in bond and office towards him,when he hath first broken the lawe of fidelitie
" and contract with vs? In matters of league and confederacion betwene parties, the
" breach of the one giues liberty to the other, and the bond that is once broken by the
" one,forbeareth afterwards to compell the other: I will not assure that thEmprours
" Capteines intend to moue warre at this time against vs, no more will I warrant the
" contrary,considering with what necessitie they are pressed to interteyne their armie
" in the estates of others,and the hope they may conceiue to draw vs by that meane to
" their allyance,specially if the french doe not marche: Of which who dowteth,dow-
" teth not without reason,both for their naturall inclinacions, for their necessitie and
" want of money,and for thimpediments of the warres which they haue on the other
" side the Mounts with two so mighty Princes,and of these impediments our Embas-
" sador hath already made credible relacion: Lastly, my replye conteyneth one selfe
" matter that we ought to foresee with all studie, that the Duchie of *Myllan* be trans-
" ferred to *Frauncis Sforce*,and consequently I menteyne that the councell that guides
" vs to that effect is more profitable,then that which makes reasons and arguments to
" exclude vs from it.

Thauthoritie of two such personages, together with the force of their reasons, did rather make doubtfull,then assure the mindes of the Senators, whose perplexities kept them so farre of from resoluing,that the Senat deferred to determine absolutely,inducing them thereunto their custom and nature, the greatnes of the cause, and their desire to see further aduaunced the preparacions of the french king: The many difficulties also that by necessitie hapned in thaccorde with the Archeduke, were some causes helping to their deferring: But the matter that most encreased the suspence of their mindes,was,that the French king,who with great industrie prepared him selfe to the warre,had sent the Bishop of *Bayeulx* to desire them to deferre to resolue any thing till the next moneth, by whome he assured them that before that terme,he would marche with a greater armie then had bene seene in *Italy* in the age of man: And as they stoode in this doubt and perplexitie of minde, *Anthony Gryman* Duke of the same citie dyed,and *Andrevv Gritty* was chosen into his place: An election rather preiudiciall to the French affayres then otherwaies: for,assoone as he was raysed to that dignitie,he referred wholly to the Senat the deliberacion & councell of that matter,and would neuer afterwards either in word or deede, showe him selfe enclyned to either part.But at last,because the king continued to send fresh corriers to the Senate, and was importunat in offers and promisses, And for that there was speciall aduertisement,that,to assure thexpectacion of the warre, *Anne Montmoransy* afterwards Constable of *Fraunce*,and *Federyk Bossolo*, were vppon their way to *Venice*: ThEmbassadors of thEmprour and the king of *England* (to whome this deferring was much suspected) began to protest to the Senate, that they would departe within three dayes, and leaue all thinges in their imperfection: By reason of

Andrea Gritty Duke of Venice.

which

which protestaciõ imploying a maner of thretning, & also that the fidelity that was gathered in the french promises, began to diminish finding nothing but vaine hopes, but chiefly by the aduertisement of their Embassador resident in *Fraunce*, they were cõstrained to determine to embrace the amity of thEmperour, with whom they entred into contract vnder these condicions: That betwene thEmperour, *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Austria*, and *Frauncis Sforce* Duke of *Millan* on the one partie, and the Senate of *Venice* on thother partie, should be a perpetuall peace & confederacion: That the Senate, in times of neede, shoulde sende for the defense of the Duchie of *Millan*, six hundred men at armes, sixe hundred light horsemen, and six thowsande footemen: That they should administer the like proporcion for the defense of the kingdom of *Naples*, but in case it should be inuaded by the Christians: for, the *Venetians* refused to be bound generally, because they would not stirre vp the Turke against them: That thEmperour should be bound to defend against all men, all that the *Venetians* possessed in *Italie*, and that with the like number and proporcion of men: That the *Venetians* should pay in eight yeares to th Archduke for appaisement of their auncient controuersies & for thaccord made at *VVormes*, two hundred thowsand duckats: vpon the end of this agreement, the Senate hauing dismissed *Theoder Triuulce*, chose *Frauncis Maria* Duke of *Vrbin* for gouernor generall of their men of warre with the same condicions.

Confederacion betwene Cæsar and the Venetians.

It was a common iudgement of most of the wisemen in *Italie*, that the frenche king finding those aides to be turned against him which affore had bene of his side, would put of the enterprise of *Millan* for that yere: Neuertheless, when they heard that the preparacions did not onely continue, but that the armie began to marche, such as stoode in feare of his victorie, fell (the better to resist him) to make a newe confederacion, wherein they perswaded the Pope to be chiefe and principall.

Here is to be remembred, that where the Pope, at his first descending into *Italie* stoode desirous to haue an vniuersall peace, and looking with great compassion into the harmes which grewe vppon Christendom by the victories of the Turkes, he sent to thEmperour, to the frenche king and the king of *England*, to depose for the time, their armes so hurtfull for the common weale of Christendom, and euery of them seuerally to sende Embassadors to *Rome* with fulnes of power to consult of the necessary remedies and releuing of the lamentable afflictions of the Christians: This was performed by them all in apparance, but beginning to treate more particularly of things, it was presently discerned that those labors were vaine for the infinite difficulties that fell out when they came to the point of peacemaking: so many impedimentes do follow the deliberacion of great causes, and so hard it is to reconcile controuersies of estate, which ordinarily draw with them their infinite suspicions and differences: for, a truse for a short time, was nothing agreable to thEmperour, neither did it in any sorte serue thexspectacion of his purposes: And the frenche king refused to make it for a longer time, (so hurtfull was it for him to protract or temporise) that had all his prouisions for the warre aduaunced: In which separacion of minde betwene these two great Princes, the Pope either for the auncient affection which eftsoones beganne to reuiue in him towards thEmperour, or for that he discerned the thoughts of the french king to be estraunged from peace and concord, discouered his inclinacion, and began more then he was wont, to harken to those that encoraged him not to suffer the french to possesse againe the Duchie of *Millan*: This oportunitie was obserued by the Cardinall *Medicis*, who, hauing remeyned at *Florence* for feare of the persecutions of his enemies, but chiefly of the Cardinall of

Volterro who ſtoode very great and gracious with the Pope, tooke to him a new corage, and came to *Rome* where he was receiued of moſt of the Court with great honor and reſpect: There, ioyning him ſelfe with the Duke of *Seſſo* thEmprours Embaſſador, and with thEmbaſſadors of the king of *England*, he fauored that cauſe, and furthered it all that he could with the Pope. It is ſeene often in the courſe and practiſe of worldly things, that the falling of one man is the riſing of an other, by which propertie of reuolucion is apparantly proued that mortal men are ſubiect to the law of nature and fortune: for, in this aduauntage of variacion and chaunge, the ill hap of Cardinall *Volterro* which almoſt alwayes troubled his wit, his pollicie, and all his drifts, heaped vpon him a great domage and daunger: And in that oportunitie was giuen to the Cardinall *Medicis*, a notable meane to enter into greater grace and authoritie with the Pope, who affore bare a conſtant inclination to the Cardinall *Volterro*, for that both by his induſtrie and apt inſinuacion of wordes, he had brought him to beleeue that he deſired nothing more then an vniuerſall peace throughout all Chriſtendom: This was thaccident: One *Frauncis Imperiale*, being baniſhed from *Sicile*, went into *Fraunce*, And being ſtaied at *Caſtelnoua* neare *Rome* by the deuiſe of the Duke of *Seſſo*, there was found about him a packet of letters written by the Cardinall *Volterro*, to his Nephew the Biſhop of *Xaintes*: By theſe letters he gaue councell to the French king, to inuade the Ile of *Sicile* with an armie by ſea, by which inuaſion thEmprours forces ſhould neceſſarily be turned to the defenſe of it, and ſo the enterpriſe of *Myllan* would become more eaſie to the French: The detection of this man troubled not a litle the Pope, who was ſo much the more aggreued againſt him, by howe much his diſſembled demonſtracions had beguiled him: And in that iuſt diſcontentment, he was vehemently furthered by the incitacion of the Duke of *Seſſo* and Cardinall *Medicis*, by whoſe induſtries he was committed to the caſtell *S. Ange* and afterwards examined by Iudges delegate as guiltie in the crime of violacion of the Popes maieſtie, for that he had incenſed the french king to inuade with hoſtilitie, the Iland of *Sicile*, A free hold of the ſea Apoſtolike: Wherein albeit they proceeded with lenitie and fauor, and after the actes of interogatories, he had libertie of councell to pleade for him, yet they proceeded not with the ſame moderacion againſt his goods, ſince the ſame day he was apprehended, the Pope ſent to make ſeaſure of all the moueables and riches that were in his houſe: And as one conſpiracie reuealeth an other, ſo by thimpriſonment of the ſayd *Imperialo* there was diſcouered an other detection for the French king in *Sicile*, for the which were executed by iuſtice the Count *Camerato*, the maiſter of the ports, and the Treaſorer: The veritie & conſideracion of theſe matters, inſinuated in the Pope a great diſpleaſure againſt the French king, in which ill diſpoſed inclinacion, he began to conſult more and more with Cardinall *Medicis*, And laſtly the rumor of the diſcending of the french armies redoubling daily, the Pope publiſhed manifeſtly his intencion to oppoſe againſt them: for which cauſe he ſummoned the aſſembly of the Cardinalls to whom after his accuſtomed proteſtacions of the preſent feares and daungers of the great *Turke*, he declared that as onely the French king was the cauſe why ſo great perills were not remoued from Chriſtendom, for that he refuſed with great obſtinacy to conſent to the peace that was negociated: So, ſeeing it apperteyned to him as the Viccaire of Ieſus Chriſt and ſucceſſor to *Peter*, to be carefull ouer the preſeruacion of Chriſtian peace, he was compelled by that zeale which he oweth to their vniuerſall ſafetie, to confederat him ſelfe with ſuch Princes as did what they could to defend *Italy* from troubles, for that of the quiet or trouble of that region, depended the tranquil-

Cardinall Volterro priſoner.

litie

litie or vexacion of the whole Christian parte of the worlde: According to this declaracion concurring with the industrie of the *Viceroy* of *Naples* beeing come to *Rome* for that purpose, a league was concluded for the defence of *Italie* the thirde daye of August, betweene the Pope, themperour, the king of *Englande*, tharchduke of *Austria*, the Duke of *Millan*, the *Genovvaies*, and the Cardinal *Medicis* and the state of *Florence* ioyntly: The publication bare also that it should continue all the time of the confederates lyues, and a yere after the death of euery of them: There was reseruacion of place and tyme for any other to come in, so that the Pope, themprour, and the king of *Englande* thought good, with this prouision, that in matters of quarrell and controuersie, they should vse iustice, and not armes: That they shoulde erect an armie to be opposed agaynst whom so euer would inuade any of the confederates, to which armie the Pope shoulde sende two hundred men at armes, themperour eight hundred, the *Florentins* two hundred, the Duke of *Millan* two hundred, and two hundred light horsemen: That the Pope, the Emprour, and the Duke of *Millan* should make all the prouisions of artilleries & munitions together with al exspences and charges apperteining: That to leauy the bands of footmen necessary for tharmy, & to furnish al other exspences requisite for the warre, the Pope should pay euery moneth xx. thousand duckets, the duke of *Millan* as much, & the *Florētins* the like summe: That the Emperour should pay xxx. thousand, the *Genovvaies*, *Lucquois*, and *Siennois* together, ten thousand, and the *Genovvaies* notwithstanding to remaine bound to the army by sea and other defraimentes necessary for their defence: To this contribucion they should be all bounde for three monethes, and so muche tyme ouer the three monethes as should be set downe by the Pope, themprour, and the king of *Englande*: That it should be in the power of the Pope and themprour to name the capteine generall of the whole warre, who it was sayde should fall vppon the person of the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, for whom the Cardinall *Medicis*, whose authoritie was great with thimperialls, labored what he coulde, chiefly for the hatred he bare to *Prosper Colonno*: The Marquis of *Mantua* was ioyned to this confederacion by an indirect meane, for that the Pope and the *Florentins* interteyned him for their Capteine generall at their common pay.

But neither the league made by the *Venetians* with themperour, nor the vnion of so many great Princes contracted with so ample contribucions and great prouisions, could alter the resolucion of the French king, who being come to *Lyons*, prepared to passe in person with a strong army into *Italie*: where the brute of his comming was no sooner spred, then newe tumultes began to appeare: for *Lionell* the brother of *Albert Pio*, recouered by surprise the towne of *Carpy* being negligently garded by *Iohn Coscia*, whom *Prosper* had created gouernor there, which he might do of good authoritie, for that thempror had giuen that towne to him after he had deposed *Albert* for his offence of rebellion to thempire: But in the duchie of *Millan* there was like to haue chaunced a greater accident, both more terrible for the property, & for the person of greater preiudice: This is the discourse of it: *Frauncis Sforce* riding frō *Monce* to *Millan* vpon a litle Mulet, & causing the horsemen that were for his gard to ride farre frō him to auoyd the trouble of the dust that in sommer time the traine of horses makes to rise in great abundance through all the playnes of *Lombardie*: *Boniface Visconto* a yong gentleman, better knowne by the noblenes of his house, then for his wealth, estates, or other condicions, offred him selfe onely to accompany the Duke being well mounted vpon a Turkishe horse: and as they came riding together vpon a partición of a way, *Boniface* being somewhat slipt behind, obseruing the

oportunitie of the place and the diſtance of the Dukes trayne, ſpurred his horſe, and ranne in a mayne race with his dagger drawne to ſtrike the Duke on the head: But what with the feare of the Mulet ſhrinking with the noyſe of his horſe, and the fierceneſſe of his horſe whom he could not ſtoppe, together with the difference of the height of his horſe from the Dukes mulet, the blowe that he made at the Dukes head ſwarued and fell vppon his ſhoulders, and afterwardes drawing his ſworde to accompliſhe the execution, the ſame impedimentes made it vayne, or at leaſt the hurt was light, beeing but a blowe ſlentwiſe: By this tyme manye of the horſemen making in to the Dukes reskewe, he fell to flying, hoping to ſhake off by hys fortune, the daunger that by his vallour he was falne into: Many of the horſemen of the Dukes garde had him in chaſe, amongeſt whom was a generall emulacion of hazarde and perill to kyll him that in ſo manyfeſt treaſon ſought the lyfe of their maiſter, but he founde more ſafetie in the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, then his followers founde remedie in their reuengefull deſires: And if fortune had aunſwered the vallour and induſtrie of the man, it might haue bene called one of the rareſt & moſt ſingular aduentures that euer was, that one man without armor, at noneday, in a plaine way, durſt ſet vpon a great prince in the middeſt of his eſtate, and enuironed with ſo great a ſtrength of ſouldiors and men armed, and yet to flee awaye in ſafetie: The cauſe of this deſperate reſolucion of this gentleman, was a malice that he had conceyued for the murder of *Monſeig. Viſconte*, who a fewe monthes affore, had bene ſlayne in *Millan* by one *Ierome Moron*, not without the Dukes will and priuitie as many ſuppoſed: The Duke vpon his hurte withdrewe him ſelfe to *Monce*, and for that he was ielouſe that there were of the conſpiracie within *Millan*, the Biſhoppe of *Alexandria* brother to *Monſeig.* that was ſlayne, was apprehended by *Moron* and *Proſpero*: At the firſt rumor of the facte, eyther to preuent the ſuſpicion that might goe on him, or to make his fauour the greater, he put himſelfe willingly into the handes of *Proſpero* vppon his fayth, and after he was ſounded by examinacion, they ſent him priſoner to the Caſtell of *Cremona*, ſome holding him guyltie, and ſome ſpeaking muche of his innocencie, as the iudgementes of men were diuerſe. It happned almoſte in the ſame ſeaſons, that *Galeas Biraguo* accompanied with thexiles of *Millan*, and with the ayde of certayne French ſouldiors which were already in the countrey of *Piemont*, was receiued into the towne of *Valence* by the capteine of the Caſtell who was a *Sauoye* man: But *Antho. de Leua* lying within *Aſt* with one part of the light horſmen and Spaniſh footemen, being aduertiſed of thaccident, went immediatly to incampe before it, and taking the vauntage of the weaknes of the towne which thenemies had no time to reduce to fortification, he planted his artilleries, and tooke it the ſeconde daye, and with the ſame ſucceſſe battred the caſtell: There died about foure hundred bodies aſwel in the action of the towne, as in thexecution of the Caſtell, beſides many made priſoners, amongeſt whom was *Galeas* principall leader of thenterpriſe.

The French armie marcheth.

According to the great preparations made in *Fraunce* for the warre, the armie marched at laſte, and bandes of ſouldiors paſſed continually ouer the mountes: After whome the perſon of the king prepared to paſſe whiche he had effectually accompliſhed, had not the conſpiracie of the Duke of *Burbon* which nowe beganne to come to lighte, giuen impediment to his going: he was of the blood royall, and therfore his reputation more great & generall: for the dignitie of his office beeing great conſtable, his authoritie was abſolute & ample: by his large eſtates & riches, his credite was currant in *Fraunce*: and by his naturall vallour, he was mightie and

ſtrong

ſtronge in the opinions of men: But he had not bene of longe time in the grace and fauor of the king, and in that abiection, was not admitted to the ſecret affayres of the Realme, nor reſpected according to the merit of his place and greatnes: he was diſcontented with the oppreſſion of the kinges mother, who reuiuing certeine auncient rights, made open clayme to the greateſt part of his lands and dominions in the open parliament at *Paris*; And for that he found in the king no diſpoſicion to doe remedy to that griefe, he ſuffred indignacion to enter into his hart, & in that diſcontentment admitted confederacion with thEmprour & with the king of *England* ſolicited by *Monſr de Beaurin* of great confidēce with thEmprour & his chief chamberlaine: Betwene whom, to aſſure things with a more faſter and faithful knot, it was agreed, that thEmprour ſhould giue him in mariage his ſiſter *Elenor* the late widow of *Emanuell* king of the *Portugalls*: The execucion of their councels was grounded vpon the french kings determinacion to goe in perſon to the warre: In which reſolucion to nouriſh him the more, the king of *England* had giuen him conning hopes, that he would not moleſt the realme of *Fraunce* for that yeare: That the Duke of *Burbon*, aſſoone as the king ſhould be ouer the Mountes, ſhould enter *Burgondy* with an army of twelue thowſand footemen that were ſecretly leauied with the moneyes of thEmprour & the king of *England*: Wherein he doubted not well to acquite him ſelf in that ſeruice, both for the abſence of the king, & for the vniuerſall grace and opinion which he had through all the Realme of *Fraunce*: And touching thoſe thinges that ſhould be conquered, the Earledom of *Prouence* ſhould remeine to him, and in place of Earle, he ſhould put on the name & title of king of *Prouence*, chalenging that ſtate to apperteine to him by the rights of the houſe of *Aniovv*: And all the reſidue gotten by this warre to diſcend to the king of *England*: The Duke of *Burbon* then abiding at *Monlyns* a principal towne of the Duchie of *Burbon*, feyned him ſelfe to be ſicke, to haue the better excuſe not to follow the king into *Italy*: The king in his iorney to *Lyons*, made *Monlyns* in his way, where being already poſſeſſed of certeine light tokens of the Dukes conſpiracie, he gaue him an inkling that albeit many went about to bring him in diſtruſt & ſuſpicion with him, yet for his part, he beleued leſſe in the rumors & informacions which might be full of incerteinty and errour, then in his faith & vallour, whereof he had ſo good experience: But the diſſimulacion of the Duke exceded the roundnes & plainnes of the king, for, keeping his intencions ſmothered, he gaue thankes to God that had appointed him to liue vnder ſuch a king, afore whoſe equity & grauity could not ſtand the falſe accuſations & imputacions of malicious men: And in that cōpaſſion he promiſed the king to follow him whereſoeuer he would go ſo ſoone as he was deliuered of his malady, which he ſaid could not cōtinue long, for that it drew with it no daūgerous accidēts: But the king was no ſoner come to *Lyons* then he had aduertiſement that many bands of laūceknights were moſtred vpon the frōtiers of *Burgondy*, which confirming the tokēs of ſuſpicion that he had before, together with certein letters ſurpriſed detecting more plainly the conſpiracy, he cōmitted to priſon forthwith *Monſr de S. Valier*, *Monſr de Boiſy* brother to *Monſr la Paliſſe*, the poſtmaſter, & the Biſhop of *Autun*, all pertenors of the practiſe: And thinking to make the action perfect by apprehēding the head, he diſpatched in great diligence to *Monlyns*, the great maiſter with fiue hundred horſe & foure thowſand footemē, to take the Duke of *Burbon*: But his ſuſpicion was ſwifter then their celerity, for, dowting no leſſe the detectiō of things, then fearing leſt the paſſages would be ſtopped, by his forecaſt he preuented the perill that the kings indignacion prepared for him, & eſcaped ſecretly into *Franche counte* in diſguiſed attyre: ſo ſuttle in man,

Confederacie betwene thēprour, the k. of England and the Duke of Burbon.

« is the ſuſpicion of perill, and ſo ſwift are the winges that carieth him from the miſ-
« chief which he feareth.

The french army in Italy.

By reaſon of this euaſion, and thimportance of the conſpiracie that depended of it, the king thought it beſt not to purſue in perſon the warres of *Italy:* And yet would he not wholly giue ouer thexpedicion, but reteining with him ſelfe one part of the ſouldiours prepared for this new warre, he committed to *Monſr. Boniuet* then Admiral of *Fraunce*, the cõduction of his army, which conteined a thowſand eight hũdred launces, ſix thowſand *Svvizzers*, two thowſand *Gaſcoins*, two thowſand *Valeſiens*, ſix thowſand launceknights, twelue thowſand French men, & three thowſand *Italyans:* with which army aſſoone as the Admiral was paſt the mounts, & drawing neare the confines of the ſtate of *Millan*, he made ſhow that he would deale firſt with *Nouaro:* And by that demonſtracion, the citie being not tenable, both for the want of ſouldiours, & inſufficiencie of the rampiers, it yelded by the conſent of the Duke of *Millan*, who reteined the caſtel, *Vigeneua* did the like ſuffring the ſame wants & impedimẽts, & by their examples all that part of the contry which is beyond the riuer of *Theſin*, fell into the power of the French men: *Proſpero Colonno* lying ſicke of a long malady, would neuer beleue that the French king would ſtande firme in his reſolucion to inuade the Duchie of *Millan* for that yeare, both for the confederacion that the *Venetians* had made againſt him, and for the detection of the conſpiracie of the Duke of *Burbon:* And therfore he had not with that diligence & ſpeede that was neceſſary, aſſembled the ſouldiours & men of warre that lay diſperſed in diuers places, & much leſſe had made cõpotẽt prouiſions for ſo great a reſiſtance: But now that thenemies were vpon the way & approching, he ſent to mooſter his cõpanies in all haſt, the oportunitie of the time being againſt the ſpede he made, & his diligence as litle auailable as the ſeaſon was contrary: he thought aboue all things to ſtoppe their paſſage at *Theſin*, not remembring what hapned to him at the riuer of *Adda* againſt *Monſr. Lavvtrech*, And of that he made him ſelf ſo aſſured promiſe, that he tooke no care to reedify the baſtilliõs & rampiers of the ſubburbs of *Millan*, of which the greateſt part lay already on the ground, ſo ſmal was the care that was had of them: he aſſembled his army vpon the riuer betwene *Biagraſſo*, *Bulfaloro*, & *Turbiguo*, A place very apt for that purpoſe, & no leſſe conuenient for *Pauia* and *Millan*: But the French men who were now come to *Vigeneua*, finding the water of the riuer lower then *Proſpero* beleued, began foure myles from thImperiall campe to paſſe ouer, part by the foard, and ſome in boates & barkes, building a bridge for their artilleries in a place where they found nether gard nor other impediment: By the neceſſitie of this vnexſpected accident, *Proſpero* was driuen to chaunge all the councells of the warre, and therefore diſpatched forthwith *Antho. de Leua* with an hundred men at armes & three thowſand footemen, to the garde of *Pauya*, him ſelfe with the reſidue of tharmie, drewe to *Myllan*, where after he had called the Capteines to councell, they were all of this minde, that if the French made their approches forthwith, there was no poſſibilitie to defend *Myllan*, for the ruine of the rampiers of the ſubburbs whereof there had bene made no reckoning ſince the laſt warres: The confidence that *Proſpero* had to defende the paſſage of *Theſin*, was the cauſe that they were not repaired, neyther coulde they be made defendable in the ſpace of three dayes: And that they had to make a reſolucion aſwell for the one as the other of theſe two accidents: both to labor with vniuerſall diligence at the rampyers, and alſo to ſtande vppon a prepared readines to departe, if the Frenche men came eyther the firſte, the ſeconde, or the thirde daye, And to retyre to *Coma* if they tooke the way of *Pauya*,

or

or else to goe to *Pauia* if they marched by *Coma*: But the siniſter deſtinie of the frenche, both blinding their eyes that they coulde not ſee, and bindig their handes that they coulde not execute, woulde not ſuffer them to vſe ſo great and happie an occaſion: for, either through their negligence, which is a chiefe ennemie to enterpriſes, or to exſpect the whole armie, whereof a greate parte was behinde, they wandered three dayes along the riuer of *Theſin*: And being all aſſembled into one ſtrength betwene *Myllan*, *Pauya*, and *Binaſquo*, they marched afterwardes to *Saint Chriſtopher* within a myle of *Myllan* betwene the gate of *Theſin* and *Rome* gate: There, after they had made the waye euen to paſſe their artilleries into the vauntgard, they made as though they woulde aſſault the towne: But without doing any other enterpriſe, they incamped in that place, and leauying their ſeege from thence within few dayes after, they went to lodge in the Abbay of *Clereuault*, from whence they founde meanes to deface the mylnes and cut the water from *Myllan*: And ſo they thought rather to beſeege then aſſault *Myllan*, for that there was within the walls eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horſemen, foure thowſand ſpaniſh footemen, ſix thowſande fiue hundred launceknightes, and three thowſand *Italians* (beſides the popular ſorte which were well furniſhed with weapon and reſolute in their auncient diſpoſicion againſt the french.)

The death of Pope Adrian.

In this eſtate of affaires, paſſed into the other life the foureteenth of September, Pope *Adrian*: His death was not without great diſcommoditie and domage to the confederates, for that there did not onely faile in them, the authoritie pontificall, but alſo the contribucion of money, whereunto he was bounde by the capitulacions of the league: he dyed leauing behind him a very ſmall opinion and eſtimacion, either for the litle time he raigned, or for his want of experience in affaires: But his death was not a litle plawſible to the whole court, for the deſire they had to liue vnder a Pope naturall of *Italie*, or at leaſt ſuche one as had had his traininge there.

By the death of the Pope, many troubles began to kindle in the townes of the Churches iuriſdiction, and in them as appeared ſmoaking before his ſickeneſſe, many ſmall ſparkes of a fire to come, ſo in the time of his life, they had eaſely burſt out to a flame, if they had not bene quenched, partely by chaunce, and partely by the diligence of others: for, where before the Popes paſſing into *Italie*, the colleadge of Cardinalls had giuen to *Albert Pyo* the keeping of *Reggia* and *Rubiero*: The ſayd *Albert* helde ſtill for him ſelfe the caſtells, making ſmall accompt of the inſtance that was made to him to render them, wherein he had no leſſe readie his colours and excuſes, then he was apt to take occaſion by the ſlender experience of Pope *Adrian*: Beſides, he had ſolicited that as ſoone as the beginning of the warre appeared, *Ranſe de Cere* with certeine horſemen and footemen ſhoulde enter within *Rubiero*, to gouerne vnder thoportunitie of that place, the waye of *Rome* that paſſeth betwene *Modena* and *Reggia*: His intencion was both to giue impedimentes to the money and other diſpatches that ſhoulde be ſent from *Rome*, *Naples*, and *Florence*, to *Myllan*, and to proceede to other greater enterpriſes as occaſion ſerued: But *Frauncis Guicciardin* gouernour of the ſame Cities, diſcouering in good time this plot, and communicating with the Pope to what end tended the ſweete words and requeſts of *Albert*, together with the daungers that would fall on theſtate eccleſiaſtike on that ſide, induced the Pope to make demonſtracion by threatninges, that he woulde vſe force, and ſo conſtrayned *Albert*, to reſtore to him the caſtells: Neither durſte he oppoſe him ſelfe againſt the Popes will, for that the

Frauncis Guicciardin.

French were not as yet very ſtrong in *Italie*. Since the faction of *Pio* had recouered the towne of *Carpi*, *Proſpero* in whom was no ſmall deſire to haue it agayne, procured to be retayned in the name of the confederates, *Guido Rangon* with an hundred men at armes, an hundred light horſemen, and a thouſande footemen, ordeyning withall that a thouſande Spaniſhe footemen whom the Duke of *Seſſo* had leauyed at *Rome* to ioyne with the reſidue at *Millan*, ſhould remayne for the ſame cauſe at *Modena*. And whileſt theſe things were in preparing, *Ranſe de Cere* (to whom reſorted dayly both horſemen and footemen, caryed no leſſe by hope of pillage then for the authoritie of his name) began to commaunde the wayes, and trouble the whole countrey: Beſides, loſing no tyme to the libertie he had, he began one night to aſſalt vpon the ſodeine the towne of *Rubiero*, with two thouſande footemen, but his vndiſcrete attempt being reſiſted both by the vallour of the defendantes, and the difficulties of the place, he was repulſed, leauing as priſoner behinde him, *Triſtram Corſo* one of the capteines of his footemen.

Theſe forces aſſembled in theſe places for diuerſe cauſes, were thoccaſion of greater things: for after the death of the Pope, the Duke of *Ferrara* beeing made wearie with the hopes that were giuen him touching the reſtitucion of *Reggia* and *Modena*, began to conſider that in reſpect of thabſolucion which he had obteined of *Adrian*, it would be leſſe harde to get pardon for things taken away, then reſtitucion of things loſte: and therefore being of the vniuerſall perſwaſion with all men, that it would be a long time affore they would chooſe a newe Pope, both for the ordinary tract of time vſed in that election, and alſo for the diſcordes of the Cardinals which were by many degrees increaſed euer ſince the death of Pope *Leo*: he determined to deuiſe by what meanes he might recouer *Modena* & *Reggia*: and in that inclinacion he was puſhed on (amongſt other oportunities) with the commodity & offer to knit with him *Ranſe de Cere*, who had already leauied a ſtrength of two hūdred horſemen and more then two thouſande footemen: So that after the Duke had waged three thouſande footemen, and ſent to *Ranſo* three thouſande duckets, he marched towardes *Modena*, In which Citie was no other ſtrength of men of warre then the regiment of the Count *Guido Rangon* who had bene reteyned by the league: And albeit the people bare no affection to the iuriſdiction of the houſe of *Ferrara*, yet both by the weakneſſe of the walles which were not flanked after the auncient manner, and the filling vp of the diches ſuffring of long time no reparacion, it ſeemed there was neede of a greater garriſon: And therefore the gouernour and the Count diſpenſing with their priuate quarrels that had bene betwene them, began to proceede with a ioynt diligence to aduaunce the former reſolucion, to let into *Modena* the Spaniſhe footemen, who beeing arryued already in *Tuskane*, marched ſlowly, and made diuerſe and doubtfull aunſweres when they were asked whether they woulde remayne at *Modena* or paſſe further: Neuertheleſſe after many intreatings, they were at laſte content to enter: When this matter was related to the Duke of *Ferrara* being then come to *Finalo* with two hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horſemen, and three thouſande footemen, it ſtayed him almoſt for paſſing further: And yet becauſe the matter was not abſolute, and hoping at leaſt that knitting with *Ranſe de Cere*, he might happly take *Reggia*: And nothing diſpayring that by the difficultie of paymentes, ſome diſorder might fall amongeſt the footemen of thenemies, he confirmed his firſt intencion, and determined to paſſe on: Thoſe hopes were not lightly conceyued by the Duke, for that the Colledge of Cardinalles, to whom the gouernor had ſignified with great diligence the perills that were toward,

were

were so careleſſe to make prouiſion, yea not vouchſafing to giue aunſwere to the letters and meſſages that were ſent, that there was no meane to paye the ſouldiors, of the publike purſe: And where happly the daye was come wherein the Spaniſhe ſouldiors ſhould receyue the paye of the ſeconde moneth, yet if they had bene all payed, there was no hope to wage a greater number: And beſtowing part of them within *Modena* and the reſidue in *Reggia*, that ſeparacion would take away the ſuretie from both the Cities, beſides that there were no ſouldiors within *Reggia*, and the diſpoſicion of the people farre other then they of *Modena*: Amidde which difficulties, the gouernor and the Count *Guido* determining eſpecially to preſerue *Modena*, as a towne of greateſt importance both for the neighborhood of *Bolognia*, and neareſt affinitie with theſtate of the Churche, bearing alſo the apteſt oportunitie to carye to it ſuccours and other prouiſions: They ſent to *Reggia* fiue hundred footemen vnder the leading of *Vincent Maiato* of *Bolognia* and one of the Count *Guidoes* ſouldiors, charging him, that if he were not hable to defende the towne, to retyre into the Citadell: which for that they hoped would holde out at leaſt for certayne dayes, they ſent money to *Iohn Baptiſta Smeraldo* of *Parma*, who was capteine there, to leauie three hundred footemen, and made requeſt (though in vayne) to them of *Reggia* to contribute ſome proporcion of money for waging of the like number, ſeing there was no leſſe queſtion of their ſuretie, then of the ſafetie of the Church eſtate: Touching the daunger of *Modena*, the gouernour hauing no meane to defende it for want of money, called affore him many of the Citiſens, declaring to them that things were drawne into that ſtraite, that if the Spaniſh bandes were not payed, and a rate of money rayſed to furniſh other exſpences, there would be compulſion to let the towne fall into the handes of the Duke of *Ferrara*: He ſayde he could yet defende it if there were prouiſion of money, which could not otherwiſe be leauyed but by taxing and rating themſelues for the preſent, aſſuring them that eyther the newe Pope, or the College of Cardinalls, woulde make prouiſion for that that might happen afterwardes: That there was not one amongeſt them who had not proued the yoke of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the gouernment of the Churche, and therefore it were too ſuperfluous to debate by argumentes whiche of the two were moſt heauie or light, and no leſſe vayne to perſwade by diſcourſe of reaſon the thing that their owne experience and memorie were agaynſt: Laſtely he deſyred them not to ſtande muche vppon that trifling ſumme of money that was demaunded by waye of loane, for that both touching publike intereſt or profite priuate, it was a matter of ſmall conſideration in regarde to haue a lorde to their more lyking and contentment. Theſe wordes ſlyding eaſily into the mindes of them that had the ſame inclination, did the rather induce them to fall to taxing and rating themſelues, and ſo leauyed the money that was demaunded: So eaſie were they to beare a light burden amongeſt them all, to thende to auoyde a heauyer yoke which laye ready to be layde vpon them: With this money were payed the ſouldiors, and other prouiſions accompliſhed for the better bearing out of the warre: A comfort both for the qualitie and oportunitie of it, which tooke from them all feare of the armes of the Duke of *Ferrara*: who preſuming no further of his forces then was conuenient, forſooke thenterpriſe of *Modena* and left it on the left hande, and ioyning with him *Ranſo de Cere* by the way, he drewe neare to the towne of *Reggia*, which did not only receiue him, but the day following the Capteine put into his handes the Citadell, ſuffring but a ſmall ſummãce of the Cannon. Touching which action the Capteine alleaged for his iuſtification, that both *Vincent Maiato* being called by him, refuſed

The taking of Reggia by the duke of Ferrara.

to enter, and the money sent to him by the gouernour, was taken away neare *Parma*, whither he had sent to leauy bandes of footemen: This iustification was accepted, though not for the equitie of it, yet for the necessitie of the time not seruing to further examinacion. Assone as the Duke had taken *Reggia*, *Ranso de Cere* being sente for by thadmirall of *Fraunce*, went to him: and the Duke, being followed but with a slender strength of footemen, wandred certayne dayes along the ryuer of *Secchia*, and from thence went to incampe before the towne of *Rubiere*, to the keeping wherof the Count *Guido* had vsed in confidence the olde man *Couiano* with two hundred footemen: And albeit the Duke had no great hope to take the towne, both for his harde scituacion of place and good fortification of large and deepe diches, together with great rampiers all along the walles: yet beginning the daye following to execute the wall ioyning with the gate, the capteine of the footemen, eyther by secrete intelligence, or for feare of the townesmen who began to ryse, lept ouer the walles and presented himselfe before the Duke, offring to his discression both himselfe and the towne: An offer so muche the more precious and welcome, by howe muche it came vnexspected, holding more of fortune then of vallour: But this being a line to leade the Duke into the towne, and taking further courage vppon that felicitie, he planted his artilleries before the Castell, which so terrified the capteine named *Titus Iailleser* of *Parma*, that notwithstanding the Castell was strong and fully furnished of men, munition, and all other prouisions necessarie, yet being made feareful by the fortune of the towne, he yeelded it vp before night, not abyding one bullet of thartilleries: Wherein when the Duke was possessed and established, he aboade there with his armie, hoping that for the long vacation of the sea Apostolike, the regiment of footemen within *Modena* would eyther dissolue or disorder: He fed him selfe also at the same time with hope of other things, which in their place shall be declared.

The taking of Loda by the French.

About this time *Monsr Bonniuet*, who laye incamped at *S. Christopher* betweene the gates of *Thesin* and *Rome*, a place inuironed with waters and diches, beganne to dispayre to take *Millan* by force: And therefore after the taking of *Monce*, he sent capteine *Bayard* and *Federike Bossolo* with three hundred launces and eight thousand footemen, to take *Loda*, whither was come the Marquis of *Mantua* with fiue hundred horse and fiue hundred footemen, which was the regiment with the which the Church and the *Florentins* had interteined him into their paye: But hauing feare of his person, he retyred to *Pontuique*, by which occasion the Citie being abandoned, receyued the French men. After the taking of *Loda*, *Federike* builded a bridge vppon the ryuer of *Adda*, and passed with his companies vpon the lands of *Cremona* to succour the Castell of *Cremona*, which the defendantes the same day that thadmirall approched *Millan*, had compounded to render, if they were not reskewed by the xxvj. of September: to which composicion they were compelled both by thextremitie of hunger, and not knowing that the Frenche armie was past into *Italie*: *Federike* drewe neare to the Castell without any resistance or difficultie, and after he had refreshed it with vittells and other releefes, he determined to assault the towne vpon this confidence, that *Prospero Colonno* had left a very slender garrison, notwithstanding to helpe that feare, the Marquis of *Mantua* had sent thither an hundred men at armes, an hundred light horsemen, and foure hundred footemen: But he finding the difficulties to great to enter the Citie on that side towardes the Castell, for the fortifications which the defendantes had made, the same deuiding the Citie frō the Castell: he turned on the right hande, & determined to batter the wall in places

where

where he founde it moſt weake: And after he had played a while with thartilleries, he prepared his ſouldiours to the aſſault, but without effect, which was the cauſe that he began againe the batterie, to beate wider the breache, though with no better ſucceſſe then the firſt, the ſame driuing him to retyre to *S. Martins*, there to tary for *Ranſe de Gere*, who was to come from *Reggia* with two hundred horſemen and two thowſand footemen: And when he was come, they incamped eftſoones affore *Cremona*, doing great execucion vppon the walls for many howers to great effect, neuertheleſſe what by the impedimentes of the great raines that fell, and diſcerning by the preſent difficulties how hardly they ſhould preuaile, they forbare to doe any further execucion: for that the ſame day, *Mercurio* with the light horſemen of the *Venetians* (whoſe bands were muſtered at *Pontuique*) paſſed ouer the riuer of *Oglio*, and made incurſions euen to their tents: After the vaine triall of this exployt, *Federike* and *Ranſe* brake vp their ſeege from before *Cremona*, as well for lacke of vittells, as for the breaking away of the footemen which *Ranſe* brought thither, picking this quarrell that they had receiued no other money then that which the Duke of *Ferrara* had giuen: From *Cremona* they marched to incampe affore *Sonzin*, where they found no better ſucceſſe in their affaires: Afterwards they fell to ſacking the towne of *Carauagge* where they abode certeine dayes, of which lingring was bred this excuſe or impediment to the Senate of *Venice* for not ſending to *Millan* thoſe proporcions of men which they were bound vnto: for that, taking their excuſe in temporiſing ſo long, vpon the common opinion that the Imperiall Capteines had, that in reſpect of their ſeparacion with the french king, the french armie would not march that yere, they aſſured to ſend them aſſoone as the companies that lay vpon the territories of *Cremona* ſhould be repaſſed the riuer of *Adda*.

In this condicion of affaires, both the parties diſtruſting not to be hable to put a ſpeedie end to the warre, either partie dwelt in his ſecurity, and would offer nothing to hazard: The Admirall who neuer looked to take *Millan* by force, exſpected, either that thennemies would diſſolue for want of money, or at leaſt that neceſſitie of vittells would compell them to abandon *Millan*: Where notwithſtanding there was corne in great plentie, yet the multitude of mouthes to eate it was more innumerable, beſides that he had cut from them their water, and the vſe of their milnes: for this cauſe the Admirall called home thoſe bandes that lay along the riuer of *Adda*, and beſtowed them betwene *Monce* and *Millan*, to thend that the people of *Millan* from whom was ſtopped the trafficke of vttells by the wayes of *Loda* & *Pauia*, ſhould alſo remeyne depriued of all ſuch releefe as was wont to paſſe from the hill of *Brianſo*: But theſe experiences were not ſufficient to accompliſh theffect that th Admirall deſired: On the other parte, albeit *Proſpero Colonno* (as touching his bodie, was vehemently oppreſſed with a great ſickenes, and no leſſe trauelled with emulacion in minde, as not brooking the comming of the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, for that he had deſire to be the principall man: Yet, by his councell was done what coulde be done, to ſtoppe the paſſage of vittells that came to the ennemies from the partes beyond the riuer of *Theſin*, the rather for that the fortificacion of the place where they were incamped, gaue no hope to driue them away by force: Therefore *Proſperos* care was that the Marquis of *Mantua* ſhoulde enter into *Pauya*, whoſe comming putting the frenche into feare leaſt he woulde winne their bridge, they builded an other at *Torglien* within fiue and twentie myles of *Pauya*: Beſides, he ſolicited *Vitelly* to paſſe the riuer, who, with the companies of men of warre which the *Florentins* had geuen him (and by them was ſent to *Genes* in the beginning of the warre,) together with

three thousande footemen payde by the *Genovvayes*, had commaunded all the contrey beyonde *Pavv*, except *Alexandria*: That was to giue impediment to the vittels which came to the Frenchmen from the contrey of *Lomellina*: But the Duke of *Genes* would not consent to it for the feare he had of tharchbishop of *Fregosa* who laye in *Alexandria* neare to *Genes*: And because the *Venetians* whose bands were passed *Oglio*, refused so long as that part of the Frenchmen which was gone from *Caravage* remayned neare *Monce*, to passe *Adda* for the perill of *Bergamo*, *Prospero* wonne them to sende foure hundred horsemen, and fiue hundred footemen to *Treffa*, to stoppe the course of vittels wherewith they liued.

Whilest both partes were in the action of these matters, there was performed no exployte of warre other then light skirmishes, incursions, and pillages, wherein alwayes the French men had the worse, and so returned eftsones with great losse and domage. It hapned one day amongst others, that as *Iohn de Medicis* issued out with two hundred men at armes, three hundred light horsemen, and a thousande footemen, he met with fourescore French launces, being moste parte of the companies of *Barnabie Visconte*, and offring to chase them, he sodenly fell to retyre, and by that stratageme cunningly drewe them vppon an ambushe of fiue hundred harquebuziers which he had layde, and there made slaughter of the moste of them, and tooke the residue prisoners. In like sort in an other encounter *Socchor Burguignon* brake a trowpe of threescore men at armes of the company of the maister of the horse: Besides, the bandes of Spanishe footemen, had many conflictes with the French footmen that warded at those trenches which were made to goe in couert euen to the rampiers, where they slew many of them that garded the trenches. And at the same tyme *Paule Lusasquo* who remained at *Pisqueton* with an hundred and fifty light horsmen, ouerranne the countrey all about, and distressed not a little those that were in *Cremona*. Neither did the ambushes succeede more happly to the Admirall, then his other exployes: for hauing conspired secretly with one *Morgant* of *Parma* a commaunder vnder *Iohn de Medicis*, that when it shoulde fall to his turne to warde at a Bastillion of a gate which was caste out of the rampiers, he shoulde receyue in his souldiors: When the night appoynted came, *Morgant* thinking it necessarie to communicate the matter with some other of his companions for the better execution, brake it with one especiall souldior of his bande, who making as though he consented to the treason, gaue him counsell to goe and commaunde the Sentinells in the name of *Prospero* not to stirre what brute or noyse so euer they heard, as not to let him whom he would sende to call the souldiors of the campe to come to the bastillion, for that thadmirall had that night drawne neare to that side, fiue thousande soldiers to be ready at the signe giuen, and had set in order the whole armie: But
" such is the infirmitie of treason, that it hath no further assurance then the party hath
" confidence: For, whilest *Morgant* went to execute the deuise, the other who coulde not be faythfull in conspiracie, reuealeth the whole practise to *Iohn de Medicis*, who making speede to the Bastillion, taketh the offendors, and after iudiciall examination had, he maketh them to passe the pikes according to the iustice of warre.

It seemed nowe that the affayres of the French began to decline on all sides, both for the fertillitie of the countrey about *Millan*, which ministred some releese to the wantes of the towne: and for the deuise of the townesmen inuenting handemilnes to supplie the vse of grinding, by which engin was taken away the Admiralls hope that thinhabitantes would fall into wante of meale: It was beleeued also that the French had lost in those encounters more then fifteene hundred horse aswell of seruice

uice as of common sort: Whiche brought them into that astonishment, that they forbare to issue out of their tentes, but in times of neede to garde the vittellers and forragers, and that alwayes in strong trowpes: The infamie whereof the Admirall conuerting to his speciall honor, he would often say, that touching the managing of the warre, he would rather obserue the moderacion and temperaunce of thItalians, then be gouerned by the furious importunities of the Frenche capteines: and yet when so euer any encounter was giuen eyther by their footemen or horsemen, they shewed more readines to flee then to feight. So that the capteines of themperour beeing nowe assured of the feare of hunger, and the forces of thennemie, yea hoping to giue impedimentes to the vittels of thennemie, there was nothing remayning to trouble them but want of money, without the which if it were a harde matter to conteine the souldiors within *Millan*, it could not almost but be impossible to leade them out of the towne howe so euer the affayres and occurrances of the warre required: So harde is it to leade souldiors to seruice where is no assurance of money, and more daungerous to minister discipline where no paye is performed: But to remedie these difficulties, many meanes were sought out, and amongest others, *Prospero Colonno* by the priuitie of the *Viceroy* of *Naples* and Duke of *Sessa*, had immediatly vpon the Popes death begon to treate with the Duke of *Ferrara*: who after he had refused many offers made to him by thadmirall since the action of *Reggia*, to goe affore *Cremona*, couenanted at laste with *Prospero*, that if he reconquered *Modena* by his meanes, he would paye him immediatly thirtie thousande duckets, and twentie thousand more within two monethes: That conquest seemed a matter of easie execution, since *Prospero* commaunding to depart from *Modena Guido Rangon* souldior of the league, and also the regiment of Spanishe footemen, what other remedie remayned to that Citie so abandoned, then to compounde with the Duke, and laye themselues downe to his order: The benefite of the army was one consideracion that drewe *Prospero* to this practise, but the thing that more violently ouerruled him to it, was his priuate affection, the auncient amitie he had with the Duke of *Ferrara*, a desire common also to all the other Barons of *Rome*, to embase the greatnes of the Popes, and a hope that *Modena* and *Reggia* remayning no more to the Church, *Parma* and *Plaisanca* would with more facilitie diuolue to the Duke of *Millan*: This matter albeit was labored with great secrecie, yet beeing discloséd by the Count *Guido* to *Guicciardin*, he sawe there was no other meane to stoppe it, but to perswade the Spanishe capteines who were well vsed and largely payed, and had good will to continue in that citie, that where they were not subiect to thauthoritie of *Prospero Colonno*, they should of themselues refuse to go from *Modena* but by the commaundement of the Duke of *Sessa*, by whose appoyntment they came thither: And albeit *Guicciardin* was not ignorant that the whole deuise was wrought by the consent of the sayde Duke of *Sessa*, yet he considered that the Duke being themperours Embassador at *Rome*, and the College making instance to him of the contrarie, would not onely not giue out suche a commission, but also would refuse at the requeste of the Cardinalls to giue open order to the contrarie: This deuise drewe a succesSe according to the plot that was layde: for when *Prospero* sent to commaund Count *Guido* and the Spaniardes to goe to *Millan* for the necessitie of the warres, the Count excused him with many reasons, and alleaged that he was subiect to the Churche and to them of *Modena*: as also the Spanishe capteines being perswaded by him and the gouernor, made aunswere that in that case, they were to obey none but the Duke of *Sessa*: Which matters being signified by the gouernor to the Col-

leadge of Cardinalls, they ſummoned forthwith into the conclaue the Duke of *Seſſo*, who, to auoyde ſuſpicion as well in him ſelfe as in th Emperour, could not refuſe their demaunde to wryte to the Capteines that they ſhould not ſtirre: And moreouer, as it often hapneth that in worldly dealings thinges oftentimes ſucceede farre otherwiſe then men thinke, ſo in this was diſcerned this accident, that certeine letters of *Proſpero* intercepted by the gouernor, were red in the colleadge, by the which as was diſcloſed how all things went, ſo the Cardinalls that were for the frenich king by thimpediment of whom the prouiſions of money were lingred which by Cardinall *Medicis* working was begon to be ſent to *Modena*, knowing how daungerous it would be for the king that that matter ſhould come to effect, began with open hand to help forward the ſending of the money to *Modena*: wherein the Cardinall *Colonno* ioyned with them, to declare to the reſidue that he preferred the vtility of the ſea Apoſtolike affore all other things: But notwithſtanding this ſhow of diligence was ſufficient to deferre the execucion of the couenauntes made with the Duke of *Ferrara*, yet the fundacion of thoſe thoughts being remoued, they reteyned this in deuiſe that the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, who (though with ſlow remouinges) was come to *Millan* with foure hundred launces & two thowſand footemen, ſhould lead away with him the regiment of ſpaniſh footemen as he paſſed by *Modena*.

In this time at *Millan* did increaſe the plentie and abundance of vittells, for that th Admirall fearing leaſt the ſouldiors within *Pauia*, would occupy the bridge which he had made vpon *Theſin*, by the which were conueyed neceſſary prouiſions to tharmie, he drewe from *Monce* the armie that was there being the leſſer parte: And of them he ſent three thowſand to the gard of the bridge, called ſome of them to him ſelfe, and diſtributed the reſidue, parte within *Marignan*, and parte within *Biagraſſo*, places verie neare neighbours to the bridge: By which meane thimperialls that recouered *Monce*, had a farre greater commoditie of vittells. The french campe ſtretched from the Abbay of *Clereualt* vntill the way of *Pauia*, and was towards that way, within gunſhotte of *Millan*: And at that time there was in the frenche armie eight hundred light horſemen, ſix thowſand *Swvizzers*, two thowſande *Italian* footemen and tenne thowſand as well frenche as *Gaſcoyns*: They had at the bridge of *Theſin*, a thowſand launceknightes, and a thowſande *Italians*: The like numbers at *Biagreſſa* where was *Ranſe de Cere*: two hundred launces within *Nouaro*: and two thowſande footemen as well in *Alexandria* as in *Loda*: And within *Millan* were eight hundred launces, eight hundred light horſemen, fiue thowſand ſpaniſh footemen, ſix thowſand launceknightes, and foure thowſand *Italians*, beſides the multitude of the people who were very violent againſt the french both in hart and action: The Marquis of *Mantua* was within *Pauia* with fiue hundred launces, ſix hundred light horſemen, two thowſande footemen *Spanyards*, and three thowſand *Italians*: Laſtly there were in newe caſtell in *Tortoneſe*, three thowſand footemen with *Vitelli*, who, as certeine frenche bandes were paſſed into *Alexandria*, retyred notwithſtanding a litle after to *ſeruella*, fearing leaſt the way of *Genes* woulde be ſhut vp from him: The *Venetians* alſo had ſix hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, and fiue thowſand footemen, of whom they ſent a thowſande to *Millan* at the requeſt of *Proſpero*, who deſired to ſerue his turne with the fame & reputacion of their ſuccours: And ſoone after they diſpatched an other parte of their forces to *Cremona* by reaſon of a ſuſpicion of ſome intelligence.

The frenchmen breake vp from before Millan.

At laſt th Admirall, what by the difficultie of vittells which grewe extreame, the compulſion of the time, which was colde, the vehemencie of ſnowes, which were violent,

violent, and the important instance of the *Svvizzers*, whose impaciencie could not suffer so many incommodities, determined to breake vp and go further from *Millan*: Notwithstanding before he published his resolucion, he procured *Galeas Visconte* to obteine leaue to go see & to do reuerence to *Madame Clara*, of great name for her singuler beauty, but of greater fame for the loue that *Prospero Colonno* bare to her: And being within *Millan*, he preferred the parley of truce, whervpon did assemble the day following vpon the rampiers, capteine *Alarcon*, *Paule Vettory* the *Florentine* Commissioner, and *Ierome Moron*: And for the Admirall, *Galeas Viscounto* and the generall of *Normandy*: They commoned of a surceasing of armes vntill thende of May, and both partes to be bound to distribute their armies in the townes, and in the end they had consented to reduce all their forces beyonde *Thesin*, had it not bin for thimpedimentes of themprours capteines, who obiecting matter of reprofe that with the truce they went about to take from them the hope they had of the victory, made aunswere that they had no power to deliberate any thing without the will of the *Viceroy*: So that thadmirall within two dayes after caused his artilleries to march before day, towards *Thesin*, him selfe following with the whole armie at the full appearing of the day: he marched in so good order, as though he would not (vppon occasion) refuse the battell: And on the other side, thinhabitants of the towne seeing his discamping, together with the souldiors, made sute with vniuersall voyce that they might be ledde to the fielde to charge them: In this demaunde were also concurrant the capteines and personages of greatest authoritie, who redoubling thinstance to *Prospero Colonno*, layde before him the facilitie of the victorie, both by thaduauntage of their disorder, which caste vpon them an vnappeasible feare, the comparison of their forces nothing inferior to theirs, and their courage & resoluciō farre aboue them, & also thoportunitie of their retract wherein lurked some secrete terror to the most part of the armie, the same being confirmed at that instant by the relation of certaine Italians that stragled from tharmy: They put him in remēbrance of the infinit glory & perpetuall memory of his name, if he would with his last reputacion confirme the renowme & triumph of so many victories gotten by him: Lastly they persuaded him that a noble leader of warre caried as great fame by his readines to embrace good occasions, as by his resolucion to execute when necessitie called him: But *Prospero* in whom was fixed a setled minde to forbeare as muche as he could, to commit the credite of his vallour to the arbitracion of fortune, tolde them howe farre it was from the office of a discrete capteine, to be caryed with popular voyces, and how vnworthy the name of a generall, to leade men to the fight, where was no other hope thē in the force of their armes: That though many other worldly matters might be put to aduenture and hazard, yet the life and honor of men required counsell, forecast, and depest prouidence: That they had won glory enough in compelling thenemy to go his way without bloud: That the desire of men ought not to be infinit, and lesse exspectacion in the suretie of fortune, whose mutabilitie worketh most in matters of warre: That that army is ill guided, where in the euent and issue of the field the losses are greater then the benefites: That he knew by experience, that thinfamy that fell vpon the generall by his rashnes, did make a greater wound in his name & credite, then the glory of the victory made him rich or renowmed, for that as no man would haue interest in the infamy but the leader, so almost euery particular would cōmunicat in the cōmendacion: That such were the humors of men, that they would lay the losse of a field vpon the general only: That as he had hithervnto with tēperance guided al his enterprises to an honorable end, so now that

he was vppon the lateſt yeare of his age, he woulde not enter into newe courſe and newe councelles, and deliuer vp to fortune ſo many valiant bodyes as reappoſed theyr lyues on him, nor exchaunge thoſe rules which from the beginning, had led him to that eſtate of glorie, reputacion, and greatnes, wherein he nowe ſtandeth: The Frenche men deuided themſelues into two partes, the Admirall with the greateſt entred *Biagraſſo* within fourteene miles of the towne of *Millan*, and ſent the reſidue to *Roſa* which is within ſeuen miles.

Cardinal Medicis is created Pope and taketh the name of Clement the ſeuenth.

Almoſt aſſoone as the Admirall was gone from before *Millan*, the Cardinalles created a newe Pope hauing alreadie conſumed in the conclaue more then fiftie dayes: At the beginning, there was in the conclaue but a preſence of xxxvj. Cardinalles, and being afterwardes increaſed with three more, they ſpent much tyme in ſundrie contencions: For they ſtoode deuided amongeſt themſelues not only for the different wills of Themprour and Frenche King, but alſo for the greatnes of the Cardinall *de Medicis*: Who being puſhed on by all ſuche as followed the Kinges authoritie, and ſome others that depended of Themprour, had at his deuocion, the full voyces of ſixteene Cardinalles: They were determined either to chuſe him, or at leaſt to name no other without his conſent: Beſides, he was ſecretly aſſured of fyue other Cardinalles and their voyces, together with the fauour of Themprours Embaſſadour with all the reſidue that folowed his authoritie: Of all which furtherances and foundacions albeit he was aſſured almoſt at the death of Pope *Leo*, yet he entred nowe into the conclaue with a more conſtant reſolucion not to abandon his hopes, neyther for the tract or length of tyme, nor for any accident what ſo euer, making this his chiefeſt piller and grounde, that in the election of the Pope, it was neceſſarie that of that preſence of Cardinals that was there aſſiſtant, a third part of voices ſhould bee concurrant: But ſo obſtinate were the controuerſies of the Cardinalles, that they could not diſſolue theyr diuiſions, neither for the common daunger of *Italie*, nor for the perticular eſtate of the Church, but according as the affaires of the warre proceeded, both the partes ſought to prolong and deferre the election for the ſupportacion they hoped in the victorie of their fauorers: And it had bene yet longer deferred, both if there had bene amongeſt the olde Cardinalls of the College (aduerſaries to the Cardinal *Medicis*) one agreement to chuſe an other, and alſo, ſhaking of their couetouſnes perticular, they had ſtande vpon this point, not to ſuffer the cardinal *Medicis* to riſe to the ſoueraign ſeat: But it is a hard matter for mē by concord to aſpire to the end they ſeeke for, when their concord is intangled with diſcord or ambicion: The cardinal *Colōno*, an ancient enemy of the cardinal *Medicis*, and of a nature proud & hautie, fel into indignation againſt the other Cardinals that were ioyned with him, becauſe they refuſed to elect for Pope, Cardinall *Iaccobaccio*, a Romaine, a mā of the ſame factiō & wholy at his deuociō: In which deſpite of mind, he made a willing offer to the Cardinal *Medicis* to ioyne with him in the electiō, & for recōpēce, he receiued of him a very ſecret promiſe of the office of Vicechauncellor which he held, & of his Pallace being very ſumptuous, builded by cardinal. *S. George*, and giuen to him by Pope *Leo*: a matter which aptly agreing with the couetouſnes of Cardinal *Colonno*, ſo puſhed him on, that he drew to him cardinall *Cornare* & two others, betwene whō was made a reſolute cōſent to chuſe Cardinal *Medicis* for Pope: And as it often hapneth that in electiō exāple doth much, ſo aſſone as their inclinaciō was knowē, many others, either for wāt of ſtomake, or by too much ambiciō begā to preſſe on with the formeſt, to ſpeak in his fauor: Inſomuch as the ſame night, he was honored as Pope by the vniuerſal agrement of thē al, & the next morning being the

the ninetienth of Nouember, thelection was made perfect by ſolemne lott according to the cuſtome: This dignitie hapned to him the ſame day two yeares that he entred victorious into *Millan:* It was thought that amongeſt other things, his great reuenues of benefices and eccleſiaſtike offices, did muche to make him Pope: For that the Cardinalles, when they entred the conclaue, ſet downe this conſtitucion, that the reuenues of him that ſhould bee elected Pope, ſhould bee ſhared by equal diſtribucion amongeſt the others: A foule cuſtome of couetouſnes in a Cleargie, whoſe handes ſhould bee no leſſe innocent to take, then their hartes naked of fraude and guile, and in whoſe preferment ſhould bee moſt reſpected their ſinceritie of lyfe and doctrine: He would haue continued ſtill his name of *Iulio*, but beeing caryed with this ſuperſticious obſeruation of ſome of the Cardinals, that ſuch as after their election refuſing to chaunge their name, dyed within the yeare, he tooke vppon him the name of *Clement* the ſeuenth, eyther for the nearenes of that idolatrous feſtiuall, or els by alluſion, that immediatly after his election he had pardoned and receyued into grace the Cardinall *Volterro* and reconciled all his faction: And albeit Pope *Adrian* in his latter dayes, had declared this Cardinall to bee vnable to aſſiſt or enter the conclaue, yet he had his place there by the permiſſion of the Colledge, and was euen to the laſt houre, altogether agaynſt thelection of *Iulio:* Great was thopinion of this newe Pope throughout all the worlde, and as it hath not bene ſeene of long tyme that the Conclaue hath ſo long temporiſed and ſtand vppon the naming of one, ſo yet they thought the tract and exſpectacion well recompenſed in that they had raiſed to that ſupreame ſeate, a perſon of ſo great authoritie and vallour, both for that he had confounded and conioyned by his arbitrement the power of theſtate of *Florence* with the iuriſdiction of the Church, and had in the tyme of Pope *Leo*, gouerned many yeares the whole pontificacie, and was iudged a man graue and conſtant in his deliberations, and alſo for that many thinges being by ſiniſter imputacion impoſed vppon him that proceeded from *Leo*, many affirmed that *Leo* was full of ambicion, full of pryde, full of trouble, and full of deſire of innouacion and newe thinges: To which good partes that were founde in him, adioyning his modeſtie and abſtinence from pleaſures, and full of care and ſtudie to attende affaires, there were fewe who did not exſpect of him verie great and extraordinary matters: His election euen in the beginning put the eſtate of the Church in great ſuertie: For, the Duke of *Ferrara*, not a litle aſtoniſhed that ſuche a Pope was mounted into the holye ſeate, and hoping no longer to get *Modena* for the comming of the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, and leſſe exſpectation in the Frenche, who affore, by the ſolicitacion of *Theoder Tryvulce* newly come to his Campp, made him great offers ſo that he would ioyne with them: Returned to *Ferrara* after he had left ſufficient garriſon within *Reggia* and *Rubiero*: In lyke ſort all controuerſies were reappeaſed in *Romagnia*, where *Iohn de Saßatella* who had bene expulſed by the power of the *Gebelins* during the raigne of *Adrian*, was eſtſones reentred with a traine of *Guelffes* vnder couller to oppreſſe the contrary faction, but in trueth at the incenſing of the French.

But ſithens the Frenche armie was diſtributed to *Biagraſſo* and *Roſa*, the Admiral, with whom were remeining but foure thouſand *Svvyzzers*, diſmiſſed (as vnprofitable for ſeruice) all the footmen of *Dauphine* & *Languedocke:* He ſent alſo his great artilleries beyonde *Theſin*, with intencion to tary there for the ſupplies which the King prepared for his ſuccours, not fearing that thenemie would make any inuaſion vppō him in a place ſo ſtrong, and conteyning ſuche plentie of vittelles: And yet becauſe

he woulde not enterteine the tyme idelie, he ſent *Ranſe de Cere* with ſeuen thouſande Italian footemen to take *Arona*, a towne of great ſtrength, and hath his ſcituacion in the confins of the Lake *Maior*: This towne was poſſeſſed by *Anchiſes Viſcounte*, and to the reskew of it, *Proſpero Colonno* ſent from *Myllan* a regiment of twelue hundred footemen: But becauſe the Caſtle of *Arona* doth ſo muche commaunde the towne, that who holdeth not the Caſtle doeth vnprofitably poſſeſſe the towne, *Ranſe* layde his plott to winne the Caſtle, but his fortune being inferior to the difficulties he founde, after he had giuen many aſſaltes wherein he loſt many men conſuming almoſt a moneth in that enterpryſe, at laſt he leauied his ſeege and went away, confirming the vniuerſall opinion that had bene conceyued of him for many yeares, that his actions helde no compariſon with the reputation he had got in the defence of *Crema*.

The death of Proſpero Colonno, and his qualities.

About this time, *Proſpero Colonno*, hauing lyen ſicke eight moneths, began to draw to his lateſt houre, not without ſuſpicion of poyſon, or els ſome amarous potion: He was carefull by his lateſt end, to confirme the credit he had gotten in the race of ſo many yeares paſt, and therefore where affore he could not wel brooke the comming of the Viceroy, he now ſolicited it with great affection, as knowing that he was no more able to manage the affaires of the warre: So agreeable was the modeſtie and temperance of his laſt dayes, with the vallour and courage of his younger tyme: No leſſe honorable was the behauior of the Viceroy, who aſſoone as he came neare to *Myllan*, ſtaied without and would not enter for certeine dayes, to ſhowe what reuerence he bare to the vertue and reputacion of ſuche a Capteine: And yet when he vnderſtoode he was reduced to the laſt action of lyfe and had loſt all ſenſe and knowledge, he entred the towne for a deſire he had to ſee him, notwithſtanding ſome hold that he would not enter till he was dead, which was the laſt daie ſauing one of that yeare: He was a Capteine of great name & merit during the whole time of his life, and in his lateſt yeares, had wonne ſinguler reputacion and authoritie: He was a father of ſoldiours, a director of their councelles, a framer of their diſpoſicions, an example of vertue, and a guide to true glorie and fame: He was not apte to embrace lightly all occaſions that the diſorders of thennemies might offer, for, this propertie was ioyned to his wit, rather to doubt too much, then beleue too haſtely: And ſo ielous was he ouer the ſafetie and ſuertie of his people, that he would not eaſily giue any aduauntage to thennemy to oppreſſe him: He would alwayes ſaye that in a Generall, the glorie was greater to feare a miſchiefe and foreſee it, then to runne with occaſions which can not bee without their hazardes: He was by nature eaſie & ſlow in his actions, and ſeeking alwayes to adminiſter warres more with councelles then with the ſword, he left to others this propertie of example, to defend eſtates by temporiſing, and not without great neceſſitie, to commit the euent of battelles to fortune: For, in our tyme, the managing and gouernment of warres hath farre differed, ſince that affore *Charles* the eight paſt into *Italy*. The brunt of the warre being more borne out with horſemen armed at all partes, then with footemen, and no leſſe inconuenient and troubleſome the engines wherwith they were wont to take townes, notwithſtanding the armies came oftentymes to the ſhock of battell, yet the ſlaughter was litle, & very rare the bloud that was ſpilt: And townes alſo that were beſeged defended themſelues with ſuche facilitie, not for that they had more knowledge in defenſe, but through ignorance to take them, that there was not ſo litle or weake a towne, which was not able for many dayes to reſiſt great armies of enemies: At that tyme Princes did not intrude vppon theſtates of others without very great

great difficulties: But when King *Charles* made his first discending into *Italy*, the regions of that nation were so repleniſhed with terror & astoniſhment, what through the feare of new nations, and the vallour of the footemen whose feight was in an other manner, but most of all through the furie of thartilleries, by whose vnacquainted roaring noyse the ignorant people feared no lesse then if the frame of the world had falne, that there was no hope for any Prince to be able to defende himselfe, that were not strong enough to keepe the fielde: For, men that had no knowledge to defende townes yelded at the first approach of thenemies, and if happly any towne stoode to her defence, it was taken within fewe dayes, suche was the furie of thartilleries, and suche the ignorance of men that had yet no custome nor familiaritie with them: By that meane the realme of *Naples* and the Duchie of *Millan*, were no sooner inuaded then they were conquered: In that sort the *Venetians* being vanquiſhed in one battell only, left abandoned immediatly all their iuriſdiction in the firme land: And in that sort the Frenche men hauing skarcely seene thenemyes, left the Duchie of *Myllan:* But since, the witte of man comprehending better the furie of batteries, began to oppose engine and induſtrie for their defence, and fortefied townes with mountes, trenches, flankes, rampiers, and Baſtillions, which they made apte to bestow artilleries vppon: And being planted in a place which men seeke to defend, doe farre more hurt, then that that is braked without: So that at this daye it is verie harde to take a towne where is any reſiſtance made: And happlie those inuentions began in *Italy* in the dayes of our fathers, when the towne of *Ottranto* was reconquered vppon the Turkes, wherin when *Alfonso* Duke of *Calabria* entred afterwardes, he founde that the Turkes had made many rampiers and fortifications, suche as were vnknowen to the *Italians*, but yet those sortes of fortificatiõs remeined rather as images in the myndes of men, then that they were folowed: *Proſpero* either was the only man, or the first man of all other that with greateſt reputacion, hath twise by those meanes defended the Duchie of *Myllan:* And aswel in offending as in defending, and cutting of thenemies from vittelles, as also in prolonging the warre with suche cunning that pouertie, disorders, and other extremities consumed them, he hath borne out the warre and vanquiſhed without once aduenturing the battell, without breaking of a Launce, yea almost without drawing a sworde: So that he standing in example to others that haue come after, many warres (continued for many moneths,) haue bene ouercome more with induſtrie, with ſtratageame, and with temporiſing, then with the force or fortune of armes.

These thinges were done in *Italy* in the yeare 1523. And the yeare folowing were made beyond the mounts preparacions of right great exſpectation and yet brought forth no effectes worthy of so mightie Princes: For, where the Emprour & the King of *Englande* had cõtracted & promiſed the Duke of *Burbon* to enter with a strong armie, the one into *Piccardy*, & the other into *Guyen:* The mouing of the King of *Englãd* was to smal purpose, & thẽterpriſe of the Duke of *Burbon* to inuade *Burgõdy* was turned into a moũteine of smoke: For that wanting mony to paie his Laũceknights, besides the diminuciõ of their nombers by the practiſe of certein Capteins that stoale away to the Frẽch king, he diſpaired to do any thing in *Fraũce*, & in that mind wẽt to *Millan:* There themprour hauing no mind that he thold paſſe into *Spain*, perhaps because he wold not haue the mariage of his ſiſter go forward which the Duke of *Burbon* desired, sẽt to hĩ *Mõſr de Beaurain* to perſuade hĩ to staie there, & gaue him thauthority & title of his lieftenãt general in *Italy*, to induce him with better wil to abide there: Neither did things happẽ more happily to Thẽprour on the coast of *Spaine*, for that

The Duke of Burbon not able to doe any thing in Burgondye commeth to Myllan.

albeit in a burning desire to the warres he was come to *Pampeluna* to passe in person into *Fraunce*, and had already sent his armie beyond the Mountes *Pireney*, where he had taken *Saueterra*, which is not farre from *S. Iohn de pied de Port*, yet drawing with him many other imperfections, he founde at last that his readines was farre greater then his power, for that as for the want of money, he was not hable to enterteine so great forces as were necessarie for so great an enterprise, so for that want also he was not able to assemble his armie vntill the latter ende of the yere, when the nature of the season doubled vpon him his difficulties, and tooke from him the libertie of the wayes: These impediments compelled him to dissolue his armie erected almost agaynst the counsell of all his capteines, which made the Duke of *Albe* a prince of great authoritie say in the heate of the warre, that themprour who in many things resembled king *Ferdinand* his grandfather by the mother side, did in this deliberacion beare moste similitude and likenesse with his grandfather by the father side.

Nowe came on the yere a thousande fiue hundred twentie and foure, when the difficulties of the Frenche men stirring vp themperours capteines to looke to put ende to the warre: They called to *Millan* the Duke of *Vrbin* and *Peter Pesero* treasorer of *Venice* to consult of the maner of proceeding in the warre: In whiche counsell they were all of opinion, that assone as the six thousande launceknightes which the *Viceroy* had sent to leauye, were arriued at *Millan*, the Emperours armie ioyning with it the *Venetian* forces, should affront thennemies to thende to chase them out of the Duchie of *Millan*, eyther by force or by famine: And albeit they thought themselues strong ynough to performe it, yet there was one thing that hindred thexecution of the counsell, which was want of mony, of which for that there were great summes due to the men of warre for their payes paste, they thought they should not be hable to get them to issue out of *Millan* or any other towne vnlesse their payes were first satisfied: And for that tharmie was to continue in the fielde, it was no lesse necessarie to set downe order hereafter for the payes of the souldiours to be performed in their due tyme, and safely to bee conueyed to the campe to aunswere the dayes of payment: But the inhabitantes of *Millan* desirous to be discharged of the burden of the warre, offred to remoue these difficulties in lending to the Duke fourescore and ten thousande duckets, an action wherevnto they were the more easily induced by example of the laste good dealing, when the money which they had lent at suche time as *Monsr Lavvtrech* laye affore *Millan*, was readily repayed vpon the Dukes reuenues: In like sort the Pope, who by the remembrance of things past, helde muche suspected the victorie of the French, put to his hande, notwithstanding with a wonderfull conning he made demonstracion of the contrarie to suche as the king had sent to him: he caused to be deliuered with great secrecie to themprours embassador twentie thousande duckets, and solicited also the *Florentins* (on whom the *Viceroy* required a newe contribucion by vertue of the league made in the time of Pope *Adrian*) to paye as their last rest, thirty thousande duckets: And yet the Pope had no meaning hereafter to showe more propertie of fauour to the one then to the other: But where immediatly vppon his election the one of them had sent to him *Monsr Beaurain*, and the other *Monsr Saint Maixan*, to drawe him particularly to them, yet his intention was, assone as the present daungers should cease, to beare betwene them that moderacion and temperance which orderly apperteineth to thoffice of Popes when Christian Princes be in discord, and laying aside all parcialitie and suspected inclinacion, to be a worker for peace and

vnitie

vnitie betwene them: A resolucion which was so muche the more agreable to the French king, who feared least the Pope was of the same disposicion towardes hym that he was when he was Cardinall, by howmuche it was contrarie and disagreable to themperour, who helde it not reasonable that he should seperate him selfe from him, both for the last alliance that was past, and also for that by his ayde he mounted to the Popedome: In which regarde it brought no litle griefe to him to be certified from the Pope, that notwithstanding he willed him as muche good as he dyd before, yet for that he was nowe no more a person priuate, but a father indifferent to all, he was bound by the respect and office of his place, to do nothing whiche were not for the common profite of all.

But whyleſt the *Viceroy* prepared himselfe to go finde thenemies, he sent *Iohn de Medicis* before *Marignan*, which towne yeelded to him together with the Castell: And where the Marquis of *Pisquairo* disdayning to followe the warre vnder *Prospero Colonno*, would not come to the campe but when he was aduertised that he drewe towardes his lateſt howre, and hearing nowe that capteine *Bayard* was within *Rebecca* with three hundred horse and many bands of footemen, he ioyned himselfe with *Iohn de Medicis*, and marching with no lesse diligence then resolucion of minde, he founde them of *Rebecca* so ouersleeping in their securitie, and so litle doubting of his comming, that he tooke the most parte of the footemen, and gaue the chase to the residue, returning immediatly to *Millan* as not to giue leasure to the enemies within *Biagrasse* to pursue them: In this enterprise he was muche esteemed for his industrie and for his vallour, but muche more for his celeritie and diligence, for that *Rebecca* which is not past two myles from *Biagrassa*, is from *Millan* from whence they went, more then seuenteene myles.

But as the affayres of the warre were reduced to this degree, that to the Frenche were left no other hopes then that wantes of money would fall vpon their enemies: And thimperialls were fedde onely with this exspectation, that the Frenche would suffer great skarcitie of vittels, and yet neyther of them were without their hopes of succours, the one of Launceknightes, and the other of *Svvizzers*: So the Admirall loasing no oportunitie wherein occasion was offred, set fyre vpon *Rosa*, and retyred to *Biagrassa* those bandes that were within it, disposing his forces to distresse thennemies, and make incursions and burnings ouer all the countrey. But by this time were the Launceknightes arriued at the emprours campe, which conteined in the whole six hundred men at armes, fifteene hundred light horsemen, seuen thowsande footemen Spanish, twelue thousande Launceknightes, and fifteene hundred Italians, vnder the leading of the Duke of *Millan*, the Duke of *Burbon*, the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, and the Marquis of *Pisquaira*: They left within *Millan* for the garde of the place, foure thousande footemen, and marched with the residue to incampe at *Binasqua*, where not many dayes after the Duke of *Vrbin* ioyned with them, with fixe hundred men at armes, six hundred light horsemen, and seuen thousande footemen of the *Venetians*: At what time the Castell of *cremona* being no more hable to beare out the rage of hunger, and *Federike Bossolo* that was within *Loda*, hauing in vayne aduentured to succour it, yeelded vp to the Imperialls. Afterwardes the armie marched to *Cæsera*, a towne within fiue myles of *Biagrassa*, there the Admirall had distributed within *Loda*, *Nouaro*, and *Alexandria*, two hundred launces and fiue thousand footmen, and kept himselfe incamped with eight hundred launces, and eight thousande *Svvizzers*, to whom were ioyned within few dayes after, a regiment of three thousande others, together with foure thousand Italians and two thousand launce-

knightes: And notwithstanding all this multitude of companies, he felt no necessitie of vittells, hauing a full prouision for two monethes as well in the armie as in the places thereaboutes: It was not possible to assaile them in a place so strong without their manifest daunger: By reason whereof, the Imperialls who many times had assayed to passe the riuer of *Thesin* to stoppe vittells from the frenche on that side and to get into those townes which they held beyonde *Thesin*, and also to giue impediment to the succours that were to come out of *Fraunce*, determined at last to passe, iudging, by the confidence they had in the people of *Millan*, that there was no necessitie to kepe there a great garrison: So that the Duke, accompanied with *Ihon de Medicis*, returned to *Millan* where was remeining a strength of six thowsand footemen: Thus they passed the seconde daye of May, the riuer of *Thesin*, vppon three bridges beneath *Pauia*, the battell lodging at *Gambala*, and the residue of tharmie in the villages thereaboutes: But the Admirall, when he knew they were passed *Thesin*, dispatched speedily *Ranse de Cere* to gard *Vigeua*, and fearing to lose that towne, with other peeces in the countrey of *Lomellina*, whiche being taken from him, he should stand as it were besieged, he drewe thither within fiue dayes with the whole armie, leauing within *Biagrassa*, an hundred horsemen and a thowsande footemen: he bestowed his vauntgard about the partes of *Vigeua*, and sent the battell to *Mortaro*, a towne within two myles of *Gambalo* where the *Viceroy* was: That place was full of many commodities, since besides the strength and scituacion, it ministred vittells at commaundement, both for the suretie of the wayes of *Mountferat* of *Verceill*, and *Nouaro*, and also for the continuall oportunitie and assistance of other places, yeelding course and trafficke from one towne to an other as if it had bene a streame of water: The Admirall offered two dayes together, the battell to thennemies, who refused to accept it, not that they were lesse in numbers, or inferiour in vallour and resolucion of souldiours, but bicause they would not put in daunger the hope of the victorie which they helde almost certeine, for that by the surprising of certeine letters, they had intelligence that thennemie began to feele want of money and pay.

The imperials passe the riuer of Thesin.

After thEmperours army was passed *Thesin*, the Duke of *Vrbin* leading the *Venetian* regiments, went to incampe before *Garlasquo*, a towne strong by scituacion, and well enuironned with ditches and rampiers: There was within it, a strength of foure hundred footemen *Italians*: And standing betwene *Pauia* and *Trumella* beyond *Thesin* where he had an intencion to bestowe him selfe, it did not only cut the course of vittells from him, but also depriued the whole residue of tharmie: he had in short space made a breache, and the same day followed on with thassault, and being almost repulsed, many of his souldiours, holding all peril lesse then their vallour, tooke the water and swamme ouer the ditches, by whose example certaine bands of footemen of *Iohn de Medicis* did the like, with whom in one resolute aduenture they beganne to assaile it with suche furie, that their vertue vanquishing all resistance, they entred it by force making great slaughter of such as they founde within: afterwards the army approched *S. Georges*, and drew towards the parish of *Cairo* to goe to *Sartirano*, a towne of good strength and hath his scituacion vppon the hither shoares of *Pavv* in a place verie apt to hinder their vittells, and for the keeping whereof, were *Hugh de Popoly* and *Iohn Biraguo* with certeine horsemen, and six hundred footemen: *Iohn* of *Vrbin* who was sent thither with thartilleries, & a regiment of two thowsand footemen *Spanyards*, tooke first the towne, and then the rocke, making slaughter of the most part of the men that were within, & committing the Capteines prisoners.

The

The French men remoued their campe to ſuccour *Sartirano*, but beeing preuented by the diligence of their enemies, they ſtayed al their armie at *Monce*, after they were aduertiſed by the way what was hapned.

Neither had the affayres of the French men, better ſucceſſe in other places of the Duchie of *Myllan*: for, thoſe regiments of ſouldiours that were left within *Millan*, compelled to render the towne of *Saint George* which ſtandes aboue *Monce*, whoſe inhabitants conſtrained by the extorſion of the ſouldiers, had called home thoſe bands of footemen that were in *Loda*: *Pavvle Luſaſquo*, encowntring with certeine light horſemē of the French, put them to flight: And *Federyk Boſſolo*, being departed from *Loda* to ſet vppon *Piſqueton*, in place of the victorie, brought home wounds & hurts, beſides the loſſe of many of his men: Onely there were certeine light horſemen of the French who running vppe betwene *Plaiſanca* and *Tortone*, ſurpriſed a treaſor of foureteene thowſand duckats which was ſent to th Emprours armie.

Amyd theſe difficulties, th Admirall had two hopes, the one to haue the warre diuerted, and the other to be ſuccoured: for, the king had already cauſed to marche, foure hundred launces by the Mount *Geuenera*, to whome were to be ioyned tenne thowſand *Svvizzers*: Beſides, *Ranſo de Cere* led to the territorie of *Bergama* by the way of *Valdeſaſina*, fiue thowſand *Griſons*, who were to paſſe from thence to *Loda* to ioyne with *Federyk Boſſolo*, with whome were already many bands of *Italian* footemen: And laſtly th Admirall ſtoode firme in this perſwaſion, that th Emprour would be conſtrained for the ſewertie of *Millan*, to repaſſe the riuer of *Theſin*: Againſt theſe companies, the Duke of *Millan* ſent out *Iohn de Medicis* with fiftie men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, and three thowſand footemen, And taking to him alſo a ſtrength of three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, & foure thowſand footemen of the *Venetians*, he drew neare the ennemies who were nowe come to the village of *Crauina* betweene the riuers of *Adda* and *Brembo* eight myles from *Bergama*: he ronne with one part of his people euen vp to the places where the *Griſons* were incamped, who the third daye after, complayning that they had not found at *Crauina* neither money for their payes, nor horſemen for their ſtrength, nor other bands of footemen promiſed by *Ranſo de Cere*, ſet them ſelues at libertie and returned to their contrey.

The diſcending of the *Griſons* being thus turned into a mounteine of ſmoke, *Iohn de Medicis* vſing thoccaſion of their retyring tooke *Carauago*, and afterwards paſſing *Adda*, he bet downe with his artilleries the bridge which the french had made at *Bufaloro* vppon *Theſin*: And thoſe townes that are betwene *Millan* and *Theſin* there was but *Biagraſſa* left in the power of the French: It was plentifully prouided of vittells, and garded with a ſtronge garriſon of a thowſand footemen vnder *Ieronimo Caraciollo*: But becauſe it hath his ſituacion vppon the great channell, & by that meane ſtoppeth the courſe of vittells which that channell is wont to bring in great plentie to *Myllan*, *Frauncis Sforce* ſent for *Iohn de Medicis* to come to him being followed with all the youth of *Millan* beſides his ordinarie bandes of ſouldiers: They ioyned their forces together, and went to beſeege it, And playing with their artilleries from Sunne riſing vntill Noone, he ſent the ſouldiours to thaſſalt, whoſe vallour being no leſſe to enter then the artilleries were furious to make breaches, they tooke it the ſame day with a ſinguler commendacion of *Iohn de Medicis*: In whom that day was not onely diſcerned a vertue excelling all the other ſouldiers, but alſo a grauitie, readines, and gouernment worthy of a right noble Capteine: ſo needefull is the preſence of a generall in any action of importance, and ſo conducible his example to

carie the mindes of his ſouldiours to contemne all perill, and leaue nothing vndone that vallour, or reſolucion can finde out: Capteine *Caraciollo* was taken, and many of the footemen committed to the ſworde, beſides certeine companies which *Iohn de Medicis* put to the gibbet, for that they had run from him a litle before: The conqueſt of the towne, tooke from the caſtell all hope of ſuretie, and yeelding to the fortune of the towne, it was rendred, reſeruing the liues of them that were within: The people of *Millan* were vniuerſally glad for this ſucceſſe, but as there is no worldly bliſſe without his bale, & no proſperitie ſo abſolute which is not intangled with alteracion, ſo the aduerſitie that hapned by it was farre greater without compariſon, then their ioy, for that by tranſporting to *Millan* the ſpoyles and booties of *Biagraſſa* where the plague was, they brought wrapt vp in the packes of their welth & riches, the ſeedes of that peſtilent contagion, which ſpredde it ſelfe ſo vniuerſally ouer all complexions, that within few monethes, there dyed only in *Millan*, more then fiftie thowſand bodies.

But the force and ſtrength of the warre was on the other ſide *Theſin*, where th Admirall after the loſſe of *Sartirano*, and diſcerning thenemies to approch him of new, abandonned *Mortaro*, and retyred in two remoues, to *Nouaro*: his numbers were much diminiſhed, for that not onely many of his footemen, but alſo certeine of his men at armes, were ſtolen from the campe and returned into *Fraunce*: By which weakenes, the Admirall was driuen to temporiſe vntill the ſupplies of the *Svvizzers* were come, who were alreadie neare to *Yurea* and almoſt eight thowſand fighting bodies. On the other ſide, th Emperours Capteines ſtudying to ſtoppe their comming, and to reduce thennemies into difficultie of vittells, made them ſelues Lordes of the townes neare to *Nouaro*, making ſlaughter of thoſe vnhappie frenchmen which they found in garriſon: And after they had beſtowed within *Verceil*, certeine bands of ſouldiours, to defende the *Svvizzers* for entring there, they went to encampe at *Biandra* betwene *Verceil* and *Nouaro* in a place inuironned on all partes with ditches, trees, and waters, matters of great importance to the fortificacion of a place.

The frenchmen go from before Millan.

At laſt the Admirall vnderſtanding that the *Svvizzers* that had paſſed *Yurea*, were ſtayed a long the riuer of *Steſia* which they could not paſſe ouer for the great abundance of waters there, and deſirous to ioyne them to his armie, more to goe away in ſuretie, then to fight with thennemie, he went from *Nouaro* to lodge at *Romagnia* vpon the ſhoares of the ſame riuer: where, what by the want and neceſſitie of vittells, and the continuall diminucion of his men, he was driuen to build a bridge betwene *Romagnia* and *Catinara*: And on the other ſide, the ennemies, being come from *Biandra* to *Briona*, went to incampe within two myles of *Romagnia*: The frenchmen diſcerning vpon what ſtraite tearmes they ſtoode, brake vp and paſſed the riuer the daye following, when it was beleued, that if thennemies had bene carefull to watch their diſcamping, they had caried that day a moſt glorious and full victorie: But the Capteines being deuided in opinion and councell, ſome bearing a forward deſire to fight, and others to let them goe without charging them, their emulacions woulde not ſuffer them to vſe thoccaſion that was offered: It ſeemed alſo that the armie was not gouerned as apperteyned, for that as the Marquis of *Piſquara* onely, proceeding in all his actions with his accuſtomed vallour, ſeemed worthy in whom ſhoulde be reapoſed the whole direction of affaires, ſo there were others that bare enuie to his vertue, and they ſeeking to darken his glorie by detracting his doings, were content to put to hazard the whole eſtate of the warre, rather then to ioyne

them

them selues to his councels. But albeit the armie Imperiall was not in sufficient time aduertised of the discamping of the French men, yet after it was once knowen many light horsemen and many bands of footemen that passed the foard of the riuer without order, and without ensignes, following them with such diligence, that they ouertooke the rearegard and began to skirmish with it: And albeit the French men, somtimes fighting, and sometimes marching, receiued the charge and susteined it a long time, yet in the end being not able to flee with the same vallour wherwith they were followed, they were constrained to leaue on the place seuen peeces of their artilleries, a great proporcion of their municiõs, with no smal quantitie of vittels, & many of their horsemen & footemen put to the sword, besides the losing of many of their enseignes. The french men made as though they would incampe at *Cattinaro* which is within a mile of *Romagnia*, and vnder that semblance, they caused secretly to passe on their artilleries & baggage: But as thenemies who beleued they would incampe there, had begonne to retyre them selues, so they drewe to *Rauisingua* towards *Yurea* which is six miles further: The Imperialls without any impediment, incamped the same night vppon the riuer, which they passed immediatly vppon the rising of the Moone: But they were not followed of the *Venetians*, for that being entred vppon the lands of the Duke of *Sauoye*, they thought they had passed the bonds of confederacion, by the which they were bownd to no further matter then to the defence of the Duchie of *Myllan*: The French men marched with slow pase in battell aray, and had bestowed in the arearegard, the bands of *Svvyzzers*, by whome were repulsed the first horsemen and footemen that came in disorder to charge them: And albeit the French by this time were gon from *Rauisingua* about two miles, yet the Marquis of *Pisquaira*, ariuing with his light horsemen, they were eftsoones recharged, Not that they forbare notwithstanding to march, although Capteine *Chabanes* was slain, and Capteine *Bayard* made prisoner hauing a wound with a shot whereof he dyed within fewe dayes after: But the Marquis looking into the good order thennemies kept, and no lesse carefull not to follow his fortune further then good councell called him, notwithstanding many bands of souldiers were come to him, yet he thought not good to pursue thennemies further, both for that he was vnfurnished of artilleries, & had not with him but one part of tharmie: By which meane the French were deliuered of further troubles, & returned together with the *Svvizzers* to their houses, hauing left at *Baury* beyond *Yurea*, fiftene peeces of artilleries in the gard of three hundred *Svvizzers* and one of the Lordes of the contry: But those artilleries were no better preserued then the others, for that thEmprours Capteines hauing aduertisement of them, sent out to take them. After this the Victors deuided them selues into diuerse partes: The Duke of *Vrbin* was sent to *Loda*, and the Marquis of *Pisquara* to *Alexandria*, which two cities onely were holden for the king, for that *Nouaro* was rendred being fearefull of the Duke of *Millan* and *Iohn de Medicis* drawing thether with their forces: The *Viceroy* was appointed to goe against the Marquis of *Rothelin* who was come ouer the Mounts with foure hundred launces, Neuertheles assoone as he vnderstood of the fortune of the Admirall, and that he was retyred, he returned also into *Fraunce*, holding it vaine for him to followe further thenterprise when the principall forces were dispersed: Besides, *Monsr de Boysy* and *Iulio Saint Seuerin* to whom was committed the gard of *Alexandria*, made no resistance: In like sort *Federyk*, after he had demaũded respit of a fewe dayes to know if the Admirall were passed the Mountes, compownded to yeeld vp *Loda*, vppon the condicion that was accorded to them of *Alexandria*, to leade into *Fraunce* the bands of *Italian* foote-

men, who conteining a regiment of fiue thousande men, did speciall seruice to the King afterwardes: This was the end of the warre that was managed against the Duchie of *Myllan* vnder the gouernment of the Admiral of *Fraunce*: By the which, neither the kings power being much weakened, nor the rootes of harmes remooued, much lesse that so many calamities were cleane taken away, seeing they were but deferred to an other season, and *Italy* in the meane while remeining discharged of troubles present, but not of suspicion of further aduersities to come: And yet Themprour no lesse by the incitacion of the Duke of *Burbon*, then by the hope that the authoritie and name of that man might serue him to speciall purpose: Was of minde to transferre the warre into *Fraunce*, to the which also the King of *Englande* showed a readines and dispositicion.

In the beginning of this yeare, Themprour had sent his Camp to *Fontarabie*, a towne of verie smal circuit, standing vppon the debatable lands that deuide *Fraunce* from *Spaine*: And albeit the towne was very wel manned, and furnished with artilleries and vittelles, and leasure sufficient to them within to make it fortefied, yet the fortifications being ill made through the ignorance of the Frenche men, the towne laye open to the fury of thenemies, who heaping vppon the defendants one necessitie after an other, constrained them at last to giue it vp only with the safetie of their lyues. He was not satisfied with the recouerie of this place, but stretching his thoughtes further, he made his ambicion no lesse then his fortune, and in those conceites being raised to further enterprise, he kept no reckoning of the comfortes and authoritie of the Pope, who hauing sent in the beginning of the yeare, to Themprour, the Frenche King, and to the King of *Englande* to solicit a peace or a truse, he found their mindes very ill disposed to giue ouer the warre: For, the French king, consenting to a truse for two yeares, refused to make peace for the small hope he had to obteine thereby suche condicions as he desired: And the Emprour reiecting the truse, by the which was giuen good tyme to the Frenche King to reordeine his forces to folow a new warre, desired to haue peace. And touching the King of *Englande*, any sort of composicion that was offred to be made by the Popes meanes, was displeasing to him, as in whom was alwayes a desire that the treatie of thaccorde might bee wholly referred to him: To this he was induced by the ambicious counselles of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, who (seruing as a true example in our dayes of an immoderate pride) notwithstanding he was of very base condicion, and no lesse abiect for his parentes and discending, yet he was risen to suche an estate of authoritie and grace with the King, that in most of the actions of the realme, the kings wil seemed nothing without thapprobacion of the Cardinall: as of the contrary, what so euer the Cardinall did deliberate, was either absolute, or at least had very great force: But both the King and his Cardinall kept dissembled with the Emprour that thought, & by apparances showed a very forward inclination to moue warre against the realme of *Fraunce* which the King of *Englande* pretended lawfully to apperteyne to him: He grounded his claime vppon these reasons: King *Edvvard* the thirde, after the death of the Frenche King *Charles* the fourth called the faire, who dyed without issue male in the yeare of our saluacion 1328. and of whose sister the sayde King *Edvvarde* the third was borne: Made instance to be declared King of *Fraunce* as next heire male to the French king deceassed: Neuertheles he was put by by the generall Parliament of the realme wherein it was set downe, that by vertue of the lawe *Salyke* an auncient lawe of that kingdome, not only the persons of women were made vnable to the succession of the Crowne, but also all suche as discended and came of the women

The claime of the Kings of England to the Crowne of Fraunce.

women line were excluded: But he not satisfied with this order brought in to take away his right, armed him selfe soone after, and taking vpon him the title of the king of *Fraunce*, he inuaded the realme with a mightie armie: And as in that action he obteined many victories both agaynst *Phillip de Valois* published by vniuersall consent lawfull succesor to *Charles* the fayre, and also agaynst king *Iohn* his sonne, who being ouerthrowne in battell, was ledde prisoner into *England*: So after long warres he forbare further to vex the realme, and making peace with the sayde *Iohn*, he reteined many prouinces and estates of the kingdome, and renounced the title of king of *Fraunce*: But after this composicion which was neither of long continuance, nor of great effect, the quarrell was eftsones renewed, and sometimes followed with long warres, and semetimes discontinued with tedious truces: vntill at laste king *Henry* the fift entring confederacie with *Phillip* Duke of *Burgondy*, who bare a minde estraunged from the Crowne of *Fraunce* for the murder done vpon Duke *Iohn* hys father, preuayled so muche agaynst *Charles* the sixt somewhat simple of vnderstanding, that he commaunded almost the whole kingdome together with the towne of *Paris*: And finding in that Citie the French king accompanied with his wife and the Lady *Katherine* his daughter, he tooke to wife the sayde Lady, and brought the king to consent (hauing no great vse of witte) that after his death the kingdome shoulde apperteine to him and to his heires, notwithstanding his sonne *Charles* did suruiue him: By vertue of which title, assone as he was dead, his sonne king *Henry* the sixte was solemnly crowned at *Paris*, and proclaymed king of *Englande* and *Fraunce*: And albeit, after the death of *Charles* the sixte, his sonne *Charles* the seuenth, by reason of great warres happning in *Englande* betweene the Lordes of the blood royall, had chased thEnglishe out of all that they helde in *Fraunce* except the towne and territories of *Callice*, yet the kinges of *Englande* dyd not leaue for all that to continue and vse the title of King of *Fraunce*. These causes might happly moue king *Henry* the eyght to the warre, the rather also for that he stoode more assured in his Realme then anye of his predecessours had done: for that the kinges of the house of *Yorke* (that was the name of one faction) hauing suppressed the kinges of the house of *Lancaster* (whiche was the other faction) and the partakers with the house of *Lancaster* seeing there was no more remayning of that house, raysed to the kingdome *Henrye* of *Richemont* for his proximitie and nearenes with them: Who after he had subdued hys aduersaries, to thende he might raigne with more suretie and with more authoritie, tooke to wyfe one of the daughters of *Edvvarde* the laste king but one of the house of *Yorke*: by whiche coniunction of houses, all the rightes and claymes of bothe the one and the other houses, were absolutelye and lawfully transferred into the person of king *Henry* the eyghte borne of that maryage: These houses for the enseignes and cognizanses that they bare, were called commonly the *Redde rose* and the *VVhite rose*.

But touching the mouing of the king of *Englande* to make warres in *Fraunce*, he was not so muche caryed by hope to winne the Realme of *Fraunce* by armes, for that he was not ignoraunt of the innumerable difficulties that woulde contende agaynst him, as he was importunatelye pushed on by the ambicious desire of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, who layde this plotte, that the long and tedious trauells and infinite necessities of the warre, woulde in the ende bring his king to be the onely arbitrator and appoynter of the peace: And knowing that the negociacion of it shoulde depende muche of his authoritie, he thought in one time both to make his name great through all the worlde, and also to enterteine hym-

ſelfe in the good grace and lyking of the French king, to whom he ſhowed ſecretly to beare ſome good inclinacion: And therefore the king of *Englande* ſought not to binde him ſelfe to thoſe condicions whervnto it was neceſſarie he ſhould be bound if he had had a forwarde minde to ſo great a warre.

Thus Themperour was ſtirred vp to the warre by that occaſion, but much more by a hope, that through the fauour, authoritie, and popular opinion whiche the Duke of *Burbon* caryed in that kingdome, the commons of the realme would draw to commotion: And therfore notwithſtanding he was aduiſed by many of his firme and aſſured friends, that both for his want of money, which brings no ſmall impedimentes to enterpriſes, and for the doubt of his confederates whoſe fidelitie was vncertayne, he would giue ouer to beginne a warre ſo harde and intricate, and conſent that the Pope mighte treate vpon the ſurceaſing of armes: yet he capitulated with the king of *Englande* and Duke of *Burbon* in this ſorte: That the Duke ſhould enter the Realme of *Fraunce* with that parte of tharmie that was in *Italie*: And aſſone as he ſhould be ouer the Mountes, the king of *Englande* to paye an hundred thouſande duckets for the defraymentes of the firſt monthe of the warre: That it ſhould be in the election of the ſayd king eyther to continue this contribucion from monthe to monthe, or elſe to paſſe into *Fraunce* with a ſtrong armie to make warre from the firſte daye of *Iulie* vntill the ende of December: And in that caſe the countreys of *Flaunders* to furniſhe him of three thouſande horſe, a thouſande footmen, and ſufficient artilleries and munitions: That if the victorie fell to them, there ſhould be rendred to the Duke of *Burbon* all thoſe landes which the Frenche king had taken from him: That *Prouence* ſhould be transferred to him, to the which he already pretended by the reſignacion that was made after the death of *Charles* the eight, by the Duke of *Lorreine*, to *Anne* Ducheſſe of *Burbon*: That he ſhoulde holde it by the title of king of *Prouence*: That firſt he ſhould make an othe to the king of *Englande* as to the king of *Fraunce*, and do him homage, whiche if he did not perfourme, then this capitulacion to bee voyde: That the Duke of *Burbon* ſhoulde not treate nor practiſe nothing with the Frenche kinge withoute the conſent of them bothe: That thEmperour at the ſame tyme ſhoulde make warre on that ſyde towardes *Spayne*: Laſtely that thEmbaſſadours of thEmperour and the king of *Englande* ſhoulde procure the Potentates of *Italie* to bee concurrant with their money in this enterpriſe, to thende to be for euer aſſured agaynſt the warre of the Frenche: A matter whiche neuer ſorted to effect, for that the Pope did not onely refuſe to contribute, but blamed expreſly thenterpriſe, propheſying that not onely it would haue an yll ſucceſſe in *Fraunce*, but alſo it would be the cauſe to returne the warre agayne vpon *Italie*, and that with a greater puiſſance and perill then before.

The Duke of *Burbon* refuſed conſtantlye to acknowledge the king of *Englande* for kinge of *Fraunce*: And albeit after the confederacion was made, he gaue counſayle to marche with the armie towardes *Lyon*, to thende to drawe neare hys owne landes and Countreys: yet it was reſolutely determined, that he ſhoulde paſſe into *Prouence*, both for that Themperour ſhoulde with more facilitie ſende him ſuccours out of *Spayne*, and alſo to bee more apte to take the ſeruice and oportunitie of the armie by ſea which was in preparing at *Genes* by the commaundement and with the money of Themperour. The Marquis of *Piſquairo* was declared capteine generall for Themperour in this warre, for that he coulde not be brought to obey the Duke of *Burbon*: The plotte and proceedinges of this expedi-

expedicion were, that the Duke of *Burbon* and with him the Marquis, shoulde passe to *Nice*, and yet with forces farre lesse then such as were appoynted, for that where, to the forces they had already with them which was fiue hundred men at armes, eyght hundred light horsemen, foure thowsande footemen Spanyardes, three thowsande Italyans, and fiue thowsande launceknightes, there shoulde haue bene ioyned three hundred men at armes of the armie in *Italy*, and fiue thowsande other launceknightes: these laste companies fayled to come for want of money, And the *Viceroy* kept reteyned the men at armes for the garde of the contrey, hauing no meane to wage newe companies of footemen according to the resolucion sette downe in the firste councells, to thende to make heade agaynst *Michaell Angeo* Marquis of *Salusse*, who beeing departed from his estate, kept vppon the Mounteines with a thowsande footemen: There was added to this that thEmprours armye at sea (one of their principall hopes) beeing guyded by *Don Hugo de Mocado*, A man of muche malice and wickednes of life and a creature of the Duke *Valentynois*, appeared farre inferior to the nauie of the Frenche king, which beeing parted from *Marseilles*, was stayed in the port of *Villefrancho*. Neuertheless thEmperours armye entred into *Prouence* where were *Monsr de la Palissa*, Capteyne *Fayetto*, *Ranso de Cere*, and *Pederyk Bossolo*, All Capteynes of the French kinge, and were nowe withdrawen into townes, for that they were not stronge enoughe to make heade in the fielde: One parte of the armye drewe alonge the sea side, and tooke the tower that commaundeth the port of *Tovvlon*, where were taken two Canons that were drawen to the armye: Besides, the towne of *Aix*, whiche for his authoritie and for that the parlyament is there resident, is one of the chiefe townes of *Prouence*, was rendred, whose example drewe with it many other townes of the contreye: The Duke of *Burbon* in whome was no lesse emulacion then vallour, desiered that from *Aix*, the armye might marche further leauing the sea side, Wherein he perswaded that seeking to passe the ryuer of *Rhosne*, there might bee loste no tyme to enter deeper into the bodye and intralls of *Fraunce*, whileste the kinges prouisions were yet but weake and not confirmed: for, by reason the kinge was consumed of treasor and money, the men at armes of *Fraunce* had suffered muche and were very ill payed, and also not expecting that his ennemies would passe out of *Lombardye* into *Fraunce*, his forces and companyes of men of warre were falne into that disorder that they coulde not bee readdressed with suche speede: Besides, the kinge hauing no confidence in the vallour of the footemen of his owne kingdome, was constrayned before he coulde marche into the fielde, to tarye for the comming of certeyne footebandes of the *Svvyzzers* and launceknightes: during which exspectacion, as the Duke of *Burbon* thought he shoulde be able to doe some matter of importance in passing ouer *Rhosne*, so the Marquis of *Pisquairo* with the other Spanishe Capteines were of an other aduise: They desiered that bothe for the oportunitie of the sea, and to satisfie thintencion of thEmprour, *Marseilles* might bee conquered, A hauen moste conuenient to vexe the Realme of *Fraunce* with sea armyes, and also no lesse apt to passe in sauetye out of *Spayne* into *Italie*: These Capteynes what by thauthoritye of their multitude, and thefficacye of their reasons, so preuayled agaynste the will of the Duke of *Burbon*, that they pytched their campe before *Marseilles*, wherein was newely entred *Ranse de Cere* with those bandes of footemen which had beene ledde into *Fraunce* from *Alexandria* and *Loda*: They laye fortye dayes before *Marseilles* without dooinge anye exployte of marke

or memorie: And albeit they executed the walles in many places with their artilleries, and not preuayling with batteries labored to worke their entrie by myning, yet they founde obiected many difficulties, and their great labors resisted bothe by the fortune and fortification of the towne: they had contending agaynst their industrie, the strength of the wall bearing an auncient forme and building: The vallour of the defendants moste resolute in the quarrell of their libertie: The disposicion of the people, bearing greate deuocion to the name of the Frenche king, and very hatefull to the glorye of the Spanyardes: And lastely the hope of succours aswell by sea as lande, for that the Frenche kinge was comen to *Auignon*, (A citye of the Popes, standing vppon the riuer of *Rhosne*) where he assembled with greate diligence, A mightie armie: Moreouer want of money beganne to fall vppon thEmprours Capteines, and their hopes no lesse diminished that the Frenche king beeing inuaded in other places woulde bee letted to conuert to one onely part, all his forces and prouisions: for that the king of *England* notwithstanding he had sent to the Duke of *Burbon* Maister *Richard Pase*, did both refuse to paye the hundred thowsande duckats for the seconde moneth, And also made slender showes to moue warre in *Piccardye*: No, hauing receiued into *Englande Iohn Ioachin de Spetio* whome the Frenche king had sent to him, and also the Cardinall of *Yorke* making straunge aunswers to thEmprours Embassadors, he gaue the Duke greate occasion bothe to doubt and distrust him: And touching *Spaine* and thexspectacion there, the powers and forces did not aunswer the willes of men nor the promisses that were made: The reason was, for that the Courtes of *Castillo* (so are called the congregacions of the Deputies assembled in the name of the whole kingdom) had refused to ayde thEmprour with foure hundred thowsand duckats, A contribucion which they are wont to make both in the great neede of their king, and vppon any action of importance: by which occasion there could no money be sent to the armie that was in *Prouence*, & much lesse any leauie of men made against the french king in the frontyers of *Spaine*, other then very weake, and not worthy to beare reckoning: So that the imperiall Capteines, bothe dispairing to sacke *Marseilles*, and also fearing to ronne into some greater daunger when the king shoulde approche, brake vppe their campe the same daye that the king sette from *Auignon* with his whole armie, hauing also marching with him a regiment of six thowsand *Swvizzers*.

The same reasons that moued thimperiall Capteines to leauie their seege from before *Marseilles*, caried them also to turne their faces towards *Italy*: And as in men there is nothing more violent then the passion of feare, whose mocions are swifter then the winges of the winde, so in thimperialls was seene no lesse diligence to hasten into *Italie*: then to breake vp their seege, showing one care to preuent the perill that might fall vppon them, if either all or parte of the French kinges armie, should encownter them in the contry of thennemie: And on the other side, the king saw a faire occasion offered to recouer his Duchie of *Millan*, what by the puissance of the armie he had leauied, by the fidelitie of his Capteines, by the plentie of his prouicions, by thintelligence he had of the weakenes of his ennemies, and lastly by his hope that taking the neareste waye he shoulde bringe his armie into *Italye* affore those that went from *Marseilles*: In which estate and aduauntage of thinges, he determined to ioyne industrie to the present oportunitie, and to followe the benefit that fortune presented to him: he imparted this resolucion with all the Capteines of tharmie, to whome he declared that as he had vowed in him

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selfe an irreuocable promise to passe in person into *Italie*, so whosoeuer woulde rise vp to councell him the contrarie, muche lesse that he would graunt him audience, seeing he would not forbeare to holde him in ill opinion and affection: That therefore euerie one shoulde goe to his charge, and shewe the same will to execute thenterprise, which they had done to consult and to conclude it: That God who was a louer of iustice, and thinsolencie and rashinesse of thennemies, had at last layed open a meane to reconquer that that had bene violentlie rauished from him against lawe, equitie, and reason: That they had to doubt no more of the victorie, then for his parte, he distrusted their vallours, for that God doth alwayes accompanie an innocent cause with a happie successe: To these wordes was correspondent, both his constancie in deliberacion, and his celeritie in execucion, for that he commaunded immediatlie his armie to marche, wherein were two thowsande launces and twentie thowsande footemen: He tooke a contrarie waye because he woulde not meete with the Ladie Regent his mother, who was come from *Auignion* to debate with him not to passe the mountes in person, but to performe the warre in *Italie* by his Capteynes: He gaue order to *Ranso de Cero* to furnishe his gallies with those bandes of footemen which he had at *Marceilles*: And to auoyde all practises and negociacions of peace, or at least that he somewhat distrusted the Pope, he forbad to passe further thArchbishoppe of *Capua* that was dispatched to him and so to goe to thEmperour: He sent him worde to tarie for him at *Auignon* in the Court of his mother and negociate with him by letters, or else to returne againe to the Pope: So firmelie had he fixed his minde vppon the warre, that nothing was more hatefull to him then to heare speake of peace, against the which he had cloased his eares and shutte vp all inclinacion: And in that resolucion he followed the ennemies in the meane while with the greatest diligence he coulde: But they making small reckoning of the harmes and domages which the peasantes did to them, marched alwayes in good order along the sea side: At last they gotte to *Monaco*, and there they brake into peeces their artilleries, which for more facilitie of cariage, they laded their Mulets withall: As soone as they came to *Finalo* they vnderstoode with what haste the king marched after, which made them double their pase to thende to bee hable in good season to defende the Duchie of *Myllan*, wherein were not remeyning forces sufficient to make resistance.

The frenche king determineth to passe the mountes and to follow the ennemie.

Thus both the one and thother armie drawing towardes *Italie*, the same daye that the frenche king came to *Verceill*, the Marquis of *Pisquairo* arriued at *Albo* with the horsemen and bandes of Spanishe footemen, beinge followed one dayes iorney behinde by the Duke of *Burbon* and the Launceknightes: The Marquis not takinge leasure to pawse, or scarcelie to breathe, went the daye followinge from *Albo* to *Voginero* being fortie myles distant, to the ende he might the next daye gette into *Pauya*: And there he ioyned his forces with the *Viceroy* who was come thither from *Alexandria*, for the garde of which towne he had lefte a strength of two thowsande footemen: This was in a tyme when the frenche armie beganne to drawe fast vppon the shoares of the riuer *Thesin*, their diligence in marching being farre swifter then was the opinion of thenemies: In this place they consulted with *Ieronimo Moron* of the estate of their common affaires wherein their first deuise was, that leauing sufficient garrison within *Pauia*, they should dispose all their forces to the defense of *Millan*, according to the obseruacion and custome of the other warres: In this councell, it was set downe that *Moron* should goe thither

forthwith to make prouision for things necessarie, and the Duke of *Millan* to follow him whome they had sent for: And they with their companies marched the right way to *Millan*, after they had left within *Pauia*, *Anthonie de Leua* with three hundred men at armes, fiue thowsand footemen being all *Spanyards* except certeine launce-knights: But such was the desolacion within *Millan*, that being still afflicted with the great plague that had runne thorowe the towne all the sommer, the Citie was sore shaken and litle remeyning of the former apparance and countenaunce: The sickenes had consumed infinite numbers of the people and bodies of good seruice, and many had abandonned the Citie to auoyde that mortall perill of their liues: it conteyned suche prouisions of vittells as it was wont to doe: The meanes to taxe and leauie money beganne to growe hard and desperate: And touching the fortificacions, the aduersity of the sickenes had taken away all care and remembrance of them, yea through the negligence of that time, al the bulwarkes and rampiers lay reuersed to the grounde: Suche are the domages of an vniuersall negligence, which euen amidde perills that be manifest and apparaunt, takes awaye the studie of thinges that most concerne sauetie and defense: And yet albeit the townes men and popular inhabitauntes, expressed no want of readinesse to laye them selues downe to all daunger and suffer all trauell whatsoeuer: Yet *Moron* iudging by the present estate and desolacion of the towne, that to enter with an armie, woulde be more to the ruine then to the defense of the Citie, tooke an other councell, which he published in the presence of a greate assemblie of the townesmen in this manner of speaches: We may say nowe and with the same perturbacion of minde, the like wordes which our Sauiour Christ powred out in the middest of his perplexities: Truely the spirite is readie, but the flesh is weake: I knowe that in you wanteth not the same affection which hath alwayes caried you to honor, obey, and defende your Lorde *Frauncis Sforce*: And I am not ignoraunt, that in him doe make right deepe impressions the calamities and daungers of his deare people, for whose sauetie as I knowe he wanteth no inclinacion to offer vp his life and all his mortall estate, so in your faces I discerne an vniuersall readinesse to recompense him with the same compassion: But what anayleth it to be resolute where fortune hath made greater the perills and daungers, then either reason or nature can make assured the hope, and howe vainely is employed that fidelitie which is not accompanied with his due respectes to time, place, and propertie of thinges: I see your forces are nothinge aunswerable to your good willes and inclinacions, for that your towne is made naked of people, your treasories drayned of money, your stoare houses consumed of vittells, and your fortificacions reduced to extreame ruine, matters that of them selues doe offer the frenche men to enter without that you shall neede to beate open your gates or posternes: It brings no litle greefe to the Duke to be cõstrayned to leaue you abandonned, but it woulde bee more greeuous to him then death, if in seeking to defende you he should leade you to your last ruine and desolacion: In so great a face and multitude of euills, it is holden for good discression to make election of the least, & not to doubt of better seeing it is geuen to mortall men to hope for all things and to dispaire in nothing: In matters of perill it is no shame to flee, when the fleeing profiteth him that giueth place to his aduersarie, for this reason the Duke aduiseth you to obey necessitie and giue place to the fortune of the frenche king, reseruing your remedies for a better time which we can not but hope will happen for your speedie restoring: To giue place to necessitie and followe the lawe of tyme, is an office duly apperteining to wise men: For the present,

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the Duke will neither abandon him ſelfe,nor giue you ouer in tyme to come: Make your ſorowes no greater then is the qualitie of your loſſe, and frame your myndes apte to receiue this conſolacion,that tyme triumpheth ouer all the aduerſities of the world: You ſee your cauſe is iuſt, the power of Themprour mightie,his fortune incredible, and your enemies no other men then ſuche againſt whom your vallours haue ſo oftentymes preuailed: God will beholde your pietie towards the Duke, and his compaſſion towardes his countrey: With him are layde vp the iſſues of warres, & in his ſight is farre more acceptable the innocencie of your cauſe, then the might of your aduerſarie: Laſtly I wiſh you all to remeine thus reſolute, that ſuffring for a good end that which our preſent neceſſitie doeth conſtraine vs vnto, that mightie God whoſe rule goeth thorow all, will take to him ſelfe the reuenge of our proude enemies, & by a glorious victorie,redeeme vs from thoſe afflictions which we haue ſuffred ſo long in his ſight.

After theſe wordes,he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and cauſing vittells to be put within the Caſtle,he iſſued out of the towne.

The Duke not knowing any thing of that which *Moron* had done at *Millan*,tooke his way to go thether: But immediatly after he was come out of *Pauya*, he met with *Ferrand Caſtriot* hauing the conduit of thartillerie, who ſignifying to him that part of thenemies were paſſed *Theſin*, and that they had ouerthrowen Capteine *Succhar* a *Burgougnon* with his light horſmen vppon the ſhoares of the Ryuer, he returned to *Pauya* fearing to finde ambuſhes and impediments in the way: And albeit the Duke and *Moron* had proceeded with ſinceritie in theſe cauſes, yet the Emprours Capteines who were with the armie at *Binaſquo*, being ielous leaſt they had ſecretly contracted with the Frenche King, ſent to *Myllan* Capteine *Alarcon* with two hundred Launces, either to folowe him or to lye ſtill according to thaduertiſementes that ſhould bee giuen: He was no ſooner aryued there, then the people who were alreadie compounded with certeine exiles that negociated in the kings name, began to take hart and to publiſhe the name of Themprour and *Frauncis Sforce*: But Captein *Alarcon*, waighing with the litle hope that remeined of defence, the nearenes of the French Vawwarde which was then at hande, iſſued out of the gate called *Rome* gate and tooke the way to *Loda*, whether was alſo marched the whole armie: This was at the ſame tyme that thenemies began to enter by the gates of *Theſin* and *Verceill*, who,if they had not turned towards *Millan*, but put vppon them the chaſe and purſuing of Themprours armie both being weary with marching, and hauing loſt many of their men at armes and horſſes, it was beleeued for certeine that they had put the armie to the ſhocke and defeated with facilitie the forces which affore they feared: And moreouer, if after they were approched to *Myllan*,t hey had with the ſame diligence drawne towardes *Loda*,either Themprours Capteines would not haue dared to ſtaye there, or at leaſt paſſing with diligence the Ryuer of *Adda*,they had with the ſame fortune and facilitie,put to diſorder the reſidue of thenemies: But the king who happlie ſuppoſed it a matter of great importance to eſtabliſh and aſſure at his deuocion, *Myllan* a towne which had made the moſt principall reſiſtance agaynſt him, or happlie being caryed with ſome other cauſe, he did not only draw to the citie of *Myllan* wherein he would not enter nor ſuffer the armie to enter, but ſtaied to beſtow in it ſufficient garriſon,and to giue direction for beſeeging the Caſtle wherein were ſeuen hundred Spaniſhe footemen: He forbadde, to the great praiſe of his modeſtie and clemencie, that no diſpleaſures ſhould be done to thinhabitants, ſeeking by that inſinuacion to reduce a people whome he ſawe vntractable by all other

meanes after he had publiſhed his directions at *Millan*, he turned his armie towards *Pauia*, not holding it conuenient for the eſtate of his affayres, to leaue behinde his backe a Citie wherein were ſo many ſouldiors: The king had in his armie (reckning thoſe that remayned at *Millan*) two thouſande launces, eight thouſande launce-knightes, ſix thouſand *Svvizzers*, ſixe thouſand forerīders or aduenturers, and foure thouſand Italians: The number of theſe laſt encreaſed muche afterwardes.

About this time, the Marquis of *Piſquaro* was got within *Loda* with two thouſand footemen: And the *Viceroy* hauing reuitteled the townes of *Alexandria*, *Coma*, and *Treſſa*, was entred into *Sonzin*: with him entred *Frauncis Sforce* and *Charles Burbon*, who amidde ſo many difficulties and diſtreſſes drewe to them ſome courage by the going of the king to *Pauia*: They thought to readdreſſe their companies if the defence of that Citie would giue them libertie: and to that purpoſe they ſent into *Germanie* to leauie ſixe thouſand footemen, with the payes of whom and other expenſes neceſſarie, there was prouiſion made with the fiftie thouſande duckets whiche themperour had ſent to *Genes*, to employe them in the warres of *Prouence*: But the thing that gaue chiefe impediment to their counſells, was the neceſſitie and wante of money which they ſuffred: For, neyther had they meane to drawe any out of the Duchie of *Millan*, and leſſe hope to obteine of the Emperour for his diſhabilitie, any other matter then a commiſſion to offer to be ſolde at *Naples* the moſte of the reuenues of the kingdome: And touching their auncient confederates, they exſpected none at all or very little relieſe neyther of money nor men: for that as the Pope and *Florentins* ioyntly being ſued vnto for ſome contribucion of money, gaue them nothing but generall wordes and hopes more hurting then curing their calamities: So the Pope alone, who after the Admirall was gone out of *Italie*, ſtoode reſolutely fixed not to intangle himſelfe further in the warres betweene themperour and the French king, would neuer renew the confederacion made with his predeceſſor, nor contract newe leagues with any prince: And whiche more is, notwithſtanding he declared himſelfe inclined to themperour and the king of *England*, yet he had made a ſecrete promiſe affore to the French king, not to be any impediment to him in the recouery of his duchie of *Millan*: Moreouer when the *Venetians* were required by the *Viceroy* to furniſhe thoſe bandes of ſouldiors which they were bounde vnto by the capitulacions of the league, albeit they did not flatly refuſe them, yet their aunſwers were but colde and conteyned ſmall hope: Their intencion was to accommodate their counſells according to the trayne and proceeding of things, wherein they were caryed by one of theſe reaſons: eyther for that in many of them was renewed the memorie of their auncient alliance with the French king, or elſe they iudged that he could not but remayne victorious in regarde of his vallour, his fortune, but ſpecially the mightie forces he brought into *Italie* agaynſt enemies of ſo ſlender preparacion and worſe prouiſion: or laſtely for that themperours ambicion was more ſuſpected to them then before, for that he had not inueſted *Fraūcis Sforce* in the Duchie of *Millan*, A matter which the ſtates of *Italie* did no leſſe maruell at then grieuouſly complayne vpon: In this maner of doing alſo they were muche caryed by the authoritie of the Pope, to whoſe counſells and example they bare no ſmall reſpect in thoſe tymes.

The French king before Pauia.

The French king made his approach to *Pauia* on the lower ſide betwene the ryuer of *Theſin*, and the waye that leadeth to *Millan*: And after he had incamped his vauntgarde within the ſuburbes of *S. Anthonie* beyonde *Theſin* vpon the waye that goeth to *Genes*, he beſtowed himſelfe in the Abbey of *S. Lanfrank* which is within a myle

myle of the walles: There he drewe into consideracion all the wayes that could be deuised for the exployte of the towne, eyther howmuche the situacion did helpe, or what might be hoped for by the industrie of men, whiche partes were weakest for want of fortification, and howe to leauye the difficulties where were showes of resistance, yea he made a counsell with his Capteines of all things tending to suche a seruice: and after resolucion set downe, he aduaunced his artilleries, with the which for two dayes together he battred the walles in two places, and afterwardes raunging his armie into araye of battell, he began to giue thassault: But in the very firste charge he caused eftsones to sounde the retraite, both finding the rampiers within very strong and furnished, and the assurance and vallour of the defendantes resolute and singuler, and also discerning in his owne souldiors manyfest signes of feare by the spectacle of their felowes slayne in the charge: With this also he considered howe harde it would be to take by assalt, a towne that had for her defence so many braue men of warre, so many naturall impedimentes, so many artificiall difficulties, and lastely so plentifully prepared of all those things which eyther experience, industrie, or counsell could prouide, that there was nothing wanting which might be made for the helpe of their daunger, nor nothing vsed to their helpe which was not hurtfull to thenemie: Therefore he deuised to cast trenches and plotformes, wherin he employed the labor of a great nũber of pyeners, by whose working he sought to cut of the flanks, to giue more suretie to his souldiors when they should approch: And as to his desire to cary the towne, there was wanting no will to followe thexployte with charges and exspences, so albeit the worke was long and harde, yet he caused to make mynes in many places, hoping to preuayle by that engine, though in all other wayes should fall out imperfection or errour: The ryuer there about two myles aboue *Pauya* separates it selfe into two armes or hornes, and carying his streame of one violence and swiftnes somewhat belowe the towne, he meeteth in one agayne affore he fall into *Pavv:* The king deuiseth to take the oportunitie of this ryuer, wherein vsing the counsell of diuerse engenistes and water workemen skilfull in the course of the streame, he determined to turne that arme of the ryuer that passeth on that side to *Pauia,* and to make it fall into the lesser whiche they call *Graualone:* his hope was to preuayle with greater facilitie on that side, for that the wall by reason of his suretie which the depth of the water did giue, was not any way rampiered: The number of the defendantes was so great aboue his exspectacion, and their mindes so resolute in vallour and fidelitie, that he had no confidence of the victorie by any other meane then this: which made him consume many dayes in that worke, no lesse great for the labour employing multitudes of men, then grieuous for thexspences, drawing with it many extraordinary charges. The townesmen could not but be fearefull to see such a worke raysed to do them harme, and yet subduing through a setled confidence those mocions that made them tymerous, the vertue of their mindes brought them to contemne the thing that their nature and flesshe made them to distrust and doubt: But suche was the violent working of the water being muche encreased by certayne great raynes and landfluddes that were falne, that it began to reuerse the trenches and sluces which were made in the channell where the ryuer was deuided to force the course of the water to enter into the lesser arme: And albeit the kings hopes made him both to recontinue the worke, and to thinke to be hable to surmount the violence of the streame with the force of men and money, yet in the ende experience gaue him to knowe, that the force of a water carying a violent course can do more then eyther the trauell of men, orin-

duſtrie of engeniſtes: The priuacion of this hope, together with the difficulties that were deſerned to carie the towne by force, dryue the king to a newe counſell, wherin he determined to continue the ſiege, with the long tract and continuance wherof, he was not without hope to reduce the defendantes into neceſſitie of rendring.

During theſe preparacions and actions, the Pope hearing of the taking of *Millan*, was not a litle moued with the fortunes and happie beginnings of the Frenche: And therefore amidde ſuche alteracion of things, he ſtudied to aſſure his proper affayres, diſpatching for the ſame occaſion to the French king, *Gianniatteo Giberto* Biſhop of *Verona*, who was of no leſſe fidelitie and confidence with the Pope, then gracious and acceptable to the French king: he had in charge to go firſt to *Sonzin* to induce the *Viceroy* and the other capteines to peace, cõmunicating with them his legacion to the king for the ſame cauſe: But finding them recomforted by the reſiſtance of *Pauia*, and no leſſe aſſured in the hope of their proper vallour, they made him a braue anſwere, that they had no deuocion to any compoſicion which ſhould giue to the king any one foote of lande in the Duchie of *Millan*: He founde in the king a like, or happly a more hard diſpoſicion, rayſing his hart into high hopes both by the greatnes of his armie, and alſo for the good meanes he had to continue it and encreaſe it, A fundacion wherevppon he aſſured principally his paſſage into *Italie*, & not vnder a ſimple hope to preuent his enemies, notwithſtanding he would ſay, that in effect it was already ſucceeded to him: The king noriſhed in himſelfe an aſſured hope to carie *Pauia*, which he battred with a continuall fury and execution of his artilleries: This hope was eſpecially grounded vpon the workes which he caſt about the walles, ſuche as he was aſſured coulde not be troubled by thenemies for the want which they had of munitions, A matter eaſie to be deſerned by the little number of ſhottes which they made: He ſawe alſo into their penurie of vittells and breade, and was not without hope alſo to be hable in time to turne the ſtreame of *Theſin*, an action ſpecially importing thaduauncement of his victorie: And eſteming the conqueſt of *Millan* and *Genes* a recompence farre vnworthy thexſpenſes he had made, and a rewarde too ſimple for ſo great a glory, he rayſed his minde to higher thoughts, & in that ambiciõ deuiſed to inuade the kingdome of *Naples*, holding nothing the hardnes of thenterpriſe in regard of his fortune & glory, & more contemning the perill then well examining the partes and circumſtances of it: But after all this, the principall cauſe of the Biſhops legacion was debated betweene them, and brought foorth effect with very litle difficultie: both for that the Pope bounde himſelfe not to giue agaynſt the king any ſuccours eyther ſecret or manifeſt, in whiche couenant the *Florentins* did alſo communicate: And alſo the king receiued into his protection the Pope and the *Florentins*, comprehending eſpecially thauthoritie which the famulie of *Medicis* had within *Florence*: It was agreed that this accorde ſhould not be publiſhed but at ſuche time as ſhould ſeeme beſt to the Pope: Neuertheleſſe, albeit it came not for the preſent to the knowledge of themprours Capteines, yet they entred dayly more and more into ielouſie of the Pope: and therfore to be fully made aſſured of the certentie of his intention, they diſpatched to hym *Martin* Abbot of *Nagero* Commiſſary of the campe: his commiſſion was to propounde to the Pope at one time, both hope and feare: for of the one part they made him offer of very great'things, and of the other they gaue him to vnderſtande, that if themperour and the king came to the vttermoſt contencion, themperour coulde not but holde for enemies and agaynſt him, ſuche as ſtoode in ſhowe of newters and indifferent: But the Pope anſwered, that nothing could be leſſe ſeeming to him,

his

his eſtate, and place, then to giue ouer newtralitie in a time when warres ranne betwene Chriſtian Princes, both for that the office of a paſtour did ſo require it, and alſo ſtanding a newter, he might with a greater authoritie interpoſe in the action of peace: of the parts and couenants whereof, he treated at the ſame time with th Emperour, at whoſe Court ſince the taking of *Millan*, was arriued th Archbiſhoppe of *Capua*, to whom the Ladie Regent had giuen paſſeport to go from *Lyon* into *Spayne*: Where, after he had with the ſame reaſons excuſed the Pope in that he would not renue the league, a matter wherein th Emperour did inſtantly require him when he vnderſtoode the king drewe towardes *Italie*, he tolde him that in making peace or truſe, he ought to lay aſide armes: But that which wrought in th Emperour an inclinacion to accord, was the difficulties wherein he ſaw his armie reduced, the ſlender meanes he had to make leauies of money to releeue the affaires of *Italie*, the full felicitie which followed the frenche king, and the ſuſpicion that he had leaſt the king of *England* had ſecretly contracted with his ennemie: he grounded that icalouſie vpon this reaſon, that not only he refuſed to ſende to tharmie that was in *Lombardye* the fiftie thowſand duckats, for the which notwithſtanding he had giuen order, and prouided at *Rome* for the warre of *Prouence*: But alſo he demaunded of th Emperour (ſuffering ſo great neceſſitie) both reſtitucion of the money he had lent him, and alſo preſent payment of all ſuch ſummes as he was bound vnto: for, th Emperour ſince his paſſing into *Spaine* hauing a great deſire of coniunction with the king of *England*, and the better to remoue al difficulties that might hold him in ſuſpence, bound him ſelfe to pay him that penſion which he had yearely of the frenche king, and to aunſwere twentie thowſande duckats for the penſions which the frenche king payed to the Cardinall of *Yorke* and others, together with thirtie thowſande duckats payable to Queene *Blanche* the widow of king *Levvis*: of all which ſummes he had made no payment till that day: Neuertheleſſe th Emperour amidde ſo many aduerſities, made anſwere that it was not a matter agreeing with his dignitie, to make any conuencion ſo long as the french king lay vexing with armes and hoſtilitie the Duchie of *Millan*: This was his aunſwere no leſſe reſolute then worthie ſuche a greatnes of minde, being notwithſtanding no leſſe afflicted in thought and ſpirite, then verie ill diſpoſed of his perſon and bodie, being falne into a feuer quartine, either for the diſpleaſure he had conceiued when the difficulties to take *Marceilles* began to appeare, or for that his minde ill diſpoſed to giue place to thennemie, was not naturally made tractable by any difficulties, or for that he had a firme confidence in the vertue of his armie if once they came to the battell, or laſtly for that he promiſed to him ſelfe, that hereafter the fauors of fortune would follow him with as full a gale, as they had done in times paſt.

The fr. king ſendeth the Duke of Albanie into the realme of Naples.

The frenche king during theſe actions, had determined to inuade the realme of *Naples*, hoping that the importance of that kingdom would moue the *Viceroy* either to abandon *Millan*, or at leaſt ſurceſſe armes vpon ill condicions: a thing which the king began to deſire for the difficulties he ſaw to obteyne *Pauia*, and for that expedicion it was ſette downe, that *Iohn Stuard* Duke *d'Albanie*, iſſued of the blood of the kings of *Scotland*, ſhould marche to the realme of *Naples* with two hundred launces, ſix hundred light horſemen, and foure thowſand footemen: Theſe to be drawne out of tharmie, the one halfe to be *Italians*, foure hundred *Svvizzers*, and the reſidue launceknightes: And for the more glorie of the expedicion and ſurety of the victory, *Ranſo de Cere* was appointed to ioyne with them, and to deſcende at *Lyuorna* with thoſe bandes of footemen that were leauied for the armie at ſea, which for the diffi-

cultie of neceſſary prouiſions, was yet within the baye of *Villefranco:* he had alſo ſent directions to the ſame *Ranſo* and the *Vrſins*, to wage foure thouſande footemen in the countrey of *Rome*: This deliberation the French king ſignified to the Pope by his Embaſſador *Alberto* Earle of *Carpy*, by whom he required the Pope of ſuffrance to leauye bands of footemen at *Rome*, and to conſent to paſſage for his army through the Church dominion: This demaund brought no litle griefe to the Pope, to whom it could not but be intollerable that together with the Duchie of *Millan*, the crowne of *Naples* ſhould diuolue to the French king: But looking into the ſtate of the tyme, and leſſe hardie to make open refuſall of the kinges demaunde, he aduiſed him only by waye of counſell, not to embrace as yet that enterpriſe, and not to driue him to that neceſſitie not to accorde to him that which for many iuſt regardes he could not conſent vnto: Wherein he occupied with him this wiſe diſcourſe to proue the action to be agaynſt his proper weale and profite: That if in tymes paſt the deſire to reconquer the Duchie of *Millan* had ſtirred vp ſo many enemies, muche more would it moue in thoſe dayes, and in that eſtate of affayres, when the world diſcerned that he aſpired manifeſtly to the kingdome of *Naples:* That there was great peril leaſt ſuche an ambicion would drawe the *Venetians* to take armes for themprour, and to paſſe the bondes of their confederacion: That he had to conſider, that if hys affayres founde any difficultie in *Lombardie*, the warre would procede with ſmall reputation in the realme of *Naples:* That if his warres and armies ſuffred declinacion in eyther of theſe two places, it would be a materiall cauſe to bring foorth diminucion to both: That laſtely he ſhould remember what offices he had commended in him in putting vpon him a minde requiſite in a Pope, and that therefore it was not conuenient to compell him nowe to doe the contrarie. But this diſcourſe was made in vayne, for that the Duke *d'Albanie*, not attending for other aunſwere, and withall halfe aſſured of the Popes conſent, paſſed the ryuer of *Pavv* at the paſſage of *Stellato* which is in the duchie of *Millan:* And yet the fifte day after, he turned backe agayne by direction from the king, who vnderſtanding that the launceknightes began already to ariue, and that the duke of *Burbon* was gone to wage more, thought beſt to reſerue with him ſelfe his whole armie vntill his campe were poſſeſſed of the newe ſupply of *Svvizzers* and *Griſons* which he had ſent to leauye. In this meane while were made many ſhowes and demonſtrations of armes, though no action of importance was performed by neyther partie. The king continued the ſiege before *Pauia* working continually at the trenches, and watching to vexe them within with his artilleries: And the Imperialls ſtoode quiet, exſpecting the returne of the Duke of *Burbon:* Onely the Marquis of *Piſquairo*, vpon whoſe prouidence and vallour depended for the moſt part the counſels and executions of the whole affayres, iſſued one night out of *Loda* with two hundred horſmen and two thouſand footmen: with which ſtrength he ſurpriſed the towne of *Melzo* being negligently garded by *Ieronimo* and *Iohn Fermo Triuulco* with two hundred horſemen, and in the action tooke priſoners all the capteins with the moſt part of their ſouldiors, of whom *Ieronimo* died not many dayes after of a blow which he receiued in fight. By this were ariued in the kings campe the bands of *Svvizzers* and *Griſons*, by reaſon of whoſe comming the Duke *d'Albanie* repaſſed agayne the ryuer of *Pavv* at *Stradello* vpon the contrey of *Plaiſanca:* from which inclinacion the Pope was not hable to turne the king, not that he did what he could, but happly ſolicited it with very colde inſtance, for feare to make him enter into ſuſpicion: And therefore he thought it nowe time both to manifeſt to thimperialls the couenantes he had made with him before, and alſo to

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renew the mention of thaccord; hoping that no lesse the difficultie to obteine *Pauia*, then the daunger of the kingdome of *Naples* would make eyther partie lesse obstinate and lesse hard to embrase thaccord: To those endes he sent *Paule Vettorio* to the *Viceroy* to signifie to him, that notwithstanding the meanes and mediations he had vsed, yet he could neuer diuert the french king frō his purpose to inuade the realme of *Naples*: and that (as touching his owne particular, least he should pull vpon himselfe the warre which he could not resist) he had no reason to giue impedimēt to his passage: Neuertheless albeit he was constrayned by vehement compulsion to seeke his suretie with him by new contracts, yet he would neuer accord to any condicion which might be preiudiciall to themprour: for whom, like as amid so many difficulties, he saw nothing more profitable nor reasonable then to embrace peace: So to thend the negociacion of peace might be aduaunced afore the disorders grew greater or more immoderate, he perswaded the *Viceroy* to consent to a surceassing of armes, and to put into the hands of a person not suspected all those peces in the duchie of *Millan* which as yet were holden in the name of themperour and the Duke: Vpon which doings and their ful accomplishments, he hoped there would be found out some conuenient meane for peace, wherin he proponed this deuise, that the duchy of *Millan* being wholly seperate from the crowne of *Fraunce*, the kings seconde sonne should be inuested therin by themprour, to whom in recompence should be transferred some competent summe of money: That there should be ordeined some reasonable estate and assignation for the Dukes of *Millan* and *Burbon*: And lastly that the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentins* shoulde be bounde to confederate with themprour agaynst the French king, in case he would not obserue things promised. The Emprours capteins discerned well of the difficulties and daungers wherin they stoode, hauing at one time to support so great a warre in *Lombardie* in suche an vniuersall want & necessitie of money, and also to prouide for the safety of the kingdom of *Naples*, being no lesse desperate of ayde from the Pope & *Florentins*, then very certeine that the *Venetians* would abandon them: who, albeit they waged new bands of footmen, and studied to enterteine thimperials in hope to obserue tharticles of the league, yet they deferred thexecution with diuers excuses: In so much as the *Viceroy* being for his particular nothing estraunged from thaccorde, inclined to drawe with tharmy to the kingdome of *Naples* for the surety of the same: But the councel being assembled vpon the matter, the reasons & authoritie of the Marquis of *Pisquaro* preuailed, who expressing an equall correspondencie of wisdome and courage, proued how necessary it was to passe ouer the accompt of al other daungers, and to fix only vpon the warre of *Lombardy*, vpon whose victory al other things had their exspectation and depending: he sayd it was not the kings intention to inuade the realme of *Naples* with those armies and forces which coulde not so speedily be ledde into the kingdome, where both were multitudes of strong townes, and an absolute resolution & certentie of resistance by those bodies whom it cōcerned (for their proper safety) to defend it: By whiche occasion as it might be susteined for certeine monthes, So, in that respite and time, it was likely that the warre of *Millan* woulde be determined, of which if they obteined the victory, there could not but follow the speedy deliuering or rendring of *Naples*, yea though themprour had no other holdes or peces there, then one only tower: That holding good in *Lombardy*, it were easie to be victorious ouer *Millan* and *Naples*: where in marching to *Naples* were the only waye to lose *Millan*, and yet the kingdome not the more deliuered from daunger, for that the whole body of the warre would be trāsported thither: And being once reduced to a

The Pope counselleth the fr. king and themperour to peace.

ſtate of men vanquiſhed, with what hopes can we returne thither agayne? where, of the contrary the enemies would enter with ſuch a reputation and inclination of the people, who naturally eyther for feare or hatred, ronne before the fortune of the victor, that in the kingdom of *Naples* would be found no more defence then in the duchy of *Millan*: That no other thing moued the french king ſtanding as yet in dout of the ſucceſſe of *Lombardy*: both to deuide his army & begin a new warre (the firſt ſtill hanging & continuing) then the hope he had, that for the ouermuch care & ielouſy of the kingdom of *Naples*, they would at laſt leaue vnto him as a pray the eſtate of *Millan*: According to whoſe counſels & appetites, if the army ſhould moue that ſo oftē had triumphed in victory, it were no other thing then with eternal infamy to ſubiect to the vanquiſhed by compulſion of their threatnings, that honor, that reputation, and that eſtate of glory which ſo many times we haue won vpon thē by our armes, by our vallour, & by our weapons. This aduiſe was embraced, and as a ſentence ſet downe & folowed by the *Viceroy*, who accordingly diſpatched to *Naples* the duke of *Tracetta*, with direction to make as great leauies of money as was poſſible, and recōmend ouer the care & defenſe of the kingdom to *Askanio Colonno* & the other barons of the realme: And albeit he had modeſtly giuen anſwere to thembaſſage preſented to him frō the Pope, yet he wrote to *Rome* letters full of feuerity & bitternes, ſuch as gaue manyfeſt ſignification that he would not heare ſpeake of thaccord: By reaſon of this, the Pope declaring howe he was puſhed on by neceſſitie, for that the Duke *d'Albanie* aduaunced dayly, publiſhed (not as a thing done before) that he had contracted with the french king vnder a ſimple promiſe not to offend one another: This he ſignified by writing to themprours agents, alleging the cauſes that induced him, but ſpecially his neceſſities & perils increaſing: And when the ſayd writing was preſented by *Iohn Corſi* embaſſador of *Florence* with wordes conuenient in ſuche a caſe, themprour, who afore could not be perſuaded that the Pope would abandon him in ſo great a danger, fell into no litle emotion & trouble of mind: he ſet before his eyes the ſundry hopes he had giuen him, confirmed by many good offices and oblations, he conferred together the ſeuerall demonſtrations of amity, accompanied with no leſſe tokens of conſtancy & firmnes: laſtly making a iudgement betwene the former promiſes of the Pope, & his preſent effects, he burſt out into publike paſſion againſt him, accuſing with exclamation his frayltie & light condition: and in that heate of nature he anſwered thembaſſador, that neither hatred, nor ambition, nor any intereſt particular had ſtirred him vp to begin warre with the french king, but onely the perſwaſions, the ſuggeſtions, and the authoritie of Pope *Leo*, who (as he ſayd) was drawē vnto it by the Pope raigning, being at that time cardinall of *Medicis*, and perſwaded him with great vehemency of reaſons, that it was a matter of great importance for the publike ſafety & vniuerſall benefite, not to ſuffer the french king to poſſeſſe any thing in *Italy*: That the ſame Cardinall was the author of the confederacion made for that cauſe before the death of Pope *Adrian*: In which reſpects he pronounced with great griefe how much it troubled him, to ſee the Pope who aboue all others was bound not to be ſeperate from him in thoſe daungers wherin by his meanes he was entred, had made a chaunge no leſſe hurtfull to him, then without all neceſſity: That ſuch reuolt and ſeperation for the time, the place, and the whole manner and propertie of it, could be attributed to no other thing, then to a certayne ſeruile feare and tymerous impreſſion, ſuch as hath falne vpon him ſince they within *Pauia* haue holden out: In this humor he forgot not to debate the meanes and fauors he had vſed to encreace his greatnes alwayes ſince the death of Pope *Leo*, and ſpeci-

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ally his authoritie in two Conclaues together with his perpetuall desire to transferre vppon him the soueraigne election, onely for this opinion that by his meane mighte be reestablished the common libertie of *Italie:* And on the other side, he made collection howe little the Pope might assure him selfe of the French king, and howe farre he was eyther to feare or to hope of his victorie: Lastelye he stoode vppon this conclusion, that neyther for the Popes resolution whiche was agaynst all good office and exspectation, nor for anye other accident or fortune of what condition soeuer, he would not forget nor abandon him selfe: Wherein he protested, and therewithall wished that no man shoulde exspect that for wante of money he would chaunge or vary from his purpose, seeing he had vowed to set vp as a laste reast all his Crownes and kingdomes and hys life withall, desiring of God that his irreuocable deliberacion in the matter mighte not be preiudiciall to the health of his soule. To these complayntes thembassadour of *Florence* replied: That the Pope, since he was raysed to the soueraigne dignitie, was bounde to proceede no more as Cardinall of *Medicis*, but to put on the personne of Pope of *Rome*, whose office was to be carefull ouer the peace of Christendome: for whiche reason he had often debated with him the necessitie of peace and quietnesse, and for better negociation of it he had sent to him at two seuerall tymes the Archbishop of *Capua*, by whome he protested that by the othe and ceremonie of his office, he was bounde not to bee particular, but indifferent: That he had also admonished him thereof at suche tyme as the Admirall *Bonninet* departed oute of *Italie*, hauing no better season and oportunitie to treate of peace for him and more for his honour, wherevnto neuertheless he made him no other aunswere then that he coulde conclude no peace without the consent of the kinge of *Englande:* He desyred the Emperour to remember howe often the Pope had disswaded the passage and iourney into *Prouence*, bothe for that it troubled altogether the hope of the peace: and also (herein he seemed a diuine prophete of thinges to come) the necessitie wherein it woulde put the Frenche king to enter into armes, mighte bee the occasion to stirre vp in *Italie* a more daungerous combustion: That the Pope, by the negociacion of the Bishoppe of *Verona*, had declared to the French king then possessor of *Millan*, and also to the *Viceroye*, howe farre it concerned them to harken to peace, but neyther of them bare anye inclination therevnto: That since that tyme he had with manye reasons, and verye greate efficacie, refused to giue passage through thestate Ecclesiastike, to the bandes of menne of warre that marched agaynste the Realme of *Naples:* And yet neuertheless the kinge dyd not onely denie to heare his reasons, but also made his forces to march along the countrey of *Plaisanca*, withoute tarrying for hys aunswere: That for that cause he had lastely sente *Pavvle Vittorio* to induce the *Viceroye* to a surceassing of armes vnder condicions conformable to the tyme, and withall to certifie him by howe many reasons of necessitie he was to assure him selfe of the daunger imminent, seeing withall that both the *Venetians* stoode in suspence, and also the kinge of *Englande* woulde not be concurrante in the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, if at the same tyme both by Themperour and by him, the warre were not moued beyonde the Mountes: But seeing the *Viceroye* made no reckoning of anye offers or condicions he propounded, and that the kinges men of warre and armed bandes aduaunced daylye, he was constrayned to take fayth and suretie of the kinge without beeing bounde to anye other thing then not to offende hym. The Emperour complayned of the hardnesse of the condicion offered to the *Viceroy*;

for that it restrayned and bounde hym to leaue that which he helde, not expressing any mention that the Frenche king should do the lyke: And lastely he sayde, that albeit the Marquis of *Pisquairo* in counselling him to agreement, had signified to him that in the campe were manye disorders, and no lesse daunger to hys affayres, yet he coulde not frame his minde to peace, suche was his hope that through the vallour of his men he should carye the victorie, if the armies came once to the triall of a battell.

Duke of Ferrara aydes the French king during the siege of Pauia.

All this whyle continued the siege of *Pauia:* And yet for want of munitions they had somewhat ceassed to molest it with their artilleries: But to remedie that difficultie, the king hauing newely receyued into his protection the Duke of *Ferrara* with obligacion to paye him threescore and tenne thousande duckets in ready money, was content to accept twenty thousande of that summe in price and vallue of munitions, whiche he caused to be conueyed by *Parma* and *Plaisanca*, vsing the seruice of the horses and cariages of the contrey men: wherein the king was readily holpen by the commission and direction of the Pope, not without the complayning of the *Viceroy*, as though in that action he had ministred manyfestly to the ayde and succours of the king: Who, to thende the munitions might arriue in suretie, had sent affore *Iohn de Medicis* with two hundred horse and fifteene hundred footemen: This *Medicis* complayning in the beginning of the warre, both of the seueritie of the *Viceroy* giuing him discountenance, and also of his penurie of money, not hauing sufficient to make the souldiors to marche, was passed out of themperours paye, to the interteinment of the Frenche kinge: It seemed that these forces were sufficient to assure the munitions, the rather because the Duke of *Albanie* was at hande, hauing passed at the same tyme the ryuer of *Pavv:* And albeit the *Viceroy* and the Marquis of *Pisquairo* to stoppe their passage, caste a bridge neare to *Cremona*, and made their waye ouer *Pavv* with sixe hundred men at armes and eight thousande footemen, lodging the first daye at *Monticello:* yet they gaue ouer the enterprise, and returned agayne ouer the ryuer, beeing aduertised by credible espiall, that the king had giuen charge to the Lord *Thomas de Foix*, to go seeke them with one part of tharmie. Assoone as they were retyred the Duke of *Albania* passed thAppenine along the territories of *Reggia* and *Garfagnana*, onely he marched slowely, the same confirming thoppinion that was conceyued that the kinge embraced that enterprise, more to induce with suche feare thEmperours Capteines eyther to accorde, or at least to abandon thaffayres of *Lombardie*, then through hope to make anye greate aduauncement: *Ranse de Cere* ioyned with him neare to *Lucqua* with a regiment of three thousande footemen who were come with the armie at sea: This armie as they passed, tooke by composicion *Sauona* and *Varagina:* And the Nauie beeing eftsoones returned to the west ryuer of *Genes*, helde in feare and bridle that Citie.

1525. In the beginning of the yere a thousand fiue hundred twentie and fiue, *Dom Hugo de Moncado* departing from *Genes* with the Nauie, descended and tooke lande with three thousande footemen at *Varagina*, where were left in garrison, certayne bandes of French footmen: But the French nauie that was then at sea, being commaunded by the Marquis *Salusse* making to the succours of that place, the other fleete retyred being naked of footemen: when also the French regimentes of footemen discended and left their shippes, and so fiersly charged their enemies, that the whole armie being broken, diuerse were miserably put to the sworde, and the person of *Dom Hugo* vnfortunately taken prisoner.

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In the beginning of the same yere, the Duke of *Albanie* compelled the people of *Lucqua* to contribute to him twelue thousand duckets,& to lend him certeine peces of artilleries:with which munitions and prouisions he marched further through the lands of the *Florentins*,by whom he was receiued in amitie & friendship: And in that sort did he stay with his army neare to *Siena* at the Popes requeſt, who for that neyther by authority,nor with armes, he could not meete with all things that troubled him,resorted to his naturall condicion, & began to manage his purposes with art & industry: It nothing displeased him that the french should get the duchy of *Millan*, for that he made this coniecture,that whileſt themprour & the french king abode in *Italy*,both the sea apostolike & his pontificacy should stand assured frō the ambicion & greatnes of eyther of them, because they would kepe ielous eyes the one ouer the other: And yet by the same reason it was grieuous to him to see the French make a conqueſt of the kingdome of *Naples*, for feare that at one time that kingdome & the duchye of *Millan* were not reduced vnder the power & commaundement of one so puiſſant a prince: wherin to caſt impediments againſt the doings & fortunes of the king,he sought occasions to stay the Duke of *Albanie*, & made instance to the king, that as he passed he would readresse & reorder the gouernment of *Siena*, which the Pope (for the oportunity & seate of that citie standing in the midway betwene *Rome* and *Florence*) desired greatly might fall into the hands of some of his friends, like as was hapned not many monthes before by his meane & working: for as the cardinall *Petruccio* dying during the pontificacy of *Adrian*, his nephew *Frauncis* pretended to succede him in the gouernmēt: so by reason of his insolency,the chieftayns of *Montenouo* being neuertheles of the same faction,oppoſed vehemently agaynſt him, and made solicitacion to the Duke of *Seſſe* themprours Embaſſadour, and to Cardinall *Medicis*,to giue them an other forme of gouernment, as eyther to reduce it into libertie, or elſe to referre the whole authoritie into the handes of *Fabio* sonne of *Pandolffe Petruccio*, notwithstanding somewhat before he was secretely stolne away to *Naples*: This matter was long debated, and at laſte when *Clement* was elected Pope, the common consent of him and themperour concurring, *Fabio* was eftesones reeſtabliſhed in the place of his father: But both for that he had not the full authoritie of his father, and for the preſent inclination of the Citie bearing vniuersally to libertie, and also becauſe the famulie and faction of *Montenouo*, was neyther firmely knitte with him, nor of no assured agreement amongeſt them selues, the eſtate of thinges drewe to other effectes then aunswered thexspectation: for, by the debilitie that was discerned to be in the power of one onely,both hauing no fundacion vpon the affections and good willes of the Citisens, and also holding no gouernment absolute and without regard to the courſe and maner of tyrantes,there hapned one day by the incensing of his aduersaries,a popular tumult, by the which without the ayde of any forreiners,he was easily driuen out of the city,notwithstanding he had alwayes in the place a garde depending vpon him: The Pope making his aduauntage of this diuision, and reapoſing no confidence neyther in the populars, nor in any other faction, determined to put the authoritie into the handes of the *Montenouaes*, to thende afterwardes to create chiefe Ruler eyther *Fabio*, or anye other of them that shoulde bee beſte agreable to hym: A matter which as when men bee entered into suſpicion, they are wonte for the moſte parte to take all thinges in the worſte parte, so the manner of that dealinge increaſed this opinion in the Imperiall Capteines, that the capitulation made betwene the Pope and the french king,conteyned on all sides some matter of more aduauntage, and a

greater obligation then the bande of newtralitie: It happned by the ſtaying of the Duke of *Albania* vpon the confines of *Siena*, that thinhabitantes there, to redeeme their domages which they receiued of tharmie, gaue a moſt ample voyce & authoritie touching the gouernment, to thoſe Citiſens who were moſt of the Popes confidence and faction: And afterwardes the *Siennois* ſent certaine quantities of munition & money to the Duke of *Albania*, who paſſed on marching notwithſtanding as ſlowly as he was wont: He went from *Mountfiaſco* to *Rome* to ſpeake with the Pope, and afterwards paſſing *Tiber* to *Fiano*, he abode vpon the landes of the *Vrſins*, where did aſſemble the bands of footemen that were leauyed at *Rome* by the permiſſion of the Pope, who gaue ſemblable ſuffrance to the *Colonnois* muſtring at *Marina* for the defence of the realme of *Naples*, to wage regimentes of footmen at *Rome*: But bothe for that they aduaunced not muche, and that vniuerſally they were yll prouided of money, there was no great accompt made of thoſe leauyes or muſtrings, ſince the eyes, the eares, the exſpectation, the ſpirites and contemplacions of all men were altogether ſetled vpon the affayres of *Lombardie*: which pretending to one end and by diuers accidents, increaſed in both parties indifferently the humor of hope & feare.

The defendantes of Pauya in neceſsitie.

They that were within *Pauia* ſuffred no ſmal neceſſitie of money and munitions, the ſtore of wine beginning alſo to fayle and all other ſortes of vittels, except bread: By reaſon whereof the launceknightes aſſembled, and almoſt in maner of a tumult demaunded their payes, wherevnto, beſides their owne inſolent diſpoſitions, they were puſhed on by the incitacion of their capteine, who was feared to haue made ſome ſecret contract with the French king. On the other ſide, the Duke of *Burbon* approched and ledde with him from *Germany* 500. men at armes *Burgognions*, and 6000. launceknights payed vpon the treaſor of the king of *Romains*: The *Viceroy* alſo was gone to *Loda*, where they ment to aſſemble the whole armie, pretending that it ſhould be nothing inferior to that of thenemies: But as there was no preſent ſtore of money and leſſe exſpectation to get ſo much as would make march the ſouldiors and enterteine them: So alſo they were deſtitute of al hope to be ayded by the Pope or by the *Florentins*: Neither had they confidence in the *Venetians*, who after many excuſes and delayes, had at laſt aunſwered *Caraccioll* the pronotory and themprours Embaſſador at *Venice*, that they would procede according to thexãple of the Pope, by whoſe meane & working it was ſuppoſed that they had ſecretly made a contract of newtrality with the french king: yea it was thought that they priuily ſolicited the Pope, to procure to diſcende into *Italie* at their common charges, an army of tenne thouſand *Svvizzers*, to thend they ſhould not nede to feare the victory of eyther of tharmies: This was well allowed by the Pope, but both for want of money, & by the cuſtome and propertie of his nature, ſo ſlowly executed, that he ſent to late into *Svvizzerlande* the Biſhop of *Verulo* to diſpoſe the mindes of the *Svvizzers*.

The neceſſities & wants of *Pauia* were ſomewhat releeued by the induſtrie of the *Viceroy* and other capteines: for, ſending certayne vittelers of wine into the French campe, *Antho. de Leua* hauing a ſigne made, ſent out certayne trowpes to offer the ſkirmiſh on that ſide, by which occaſion the brute & alarme following, the vittelers breaking their greateſt veſſell, ranne into *Pauia* with a litle veſſell incloſed in the great, and wherin were beſtowed 3000. duckets: which though it did not to the full remedy their wants, yet it wrought ſuch an operacion of comfort amongſt thẽ, that the launceknights ſeing by that litle ſumme the difficulty to ſend them money, bare afterwards with more patiẽce their other extremities, wherin alſo the death of their capteine did conueniently concurre at the ſame inſtant. It was beleued that *Anthony de Leua*

de Leua procured him to be poysoned,to thende to take awaye both the matter and occasions of tumults: In this tyme the Marquis of *Pisquaro* went to incampe before *Casciano*, where were in garrison fiftie horsemen and foure hundred *Italian* footmen whom he compelled to render them selues to discression.

After the Duke of *Burbon* was ariued with his launceknights, there was nothing that more reteyned the Capteines (being very carefull ouer the daunger of *Pauia*) then the want of money,such as they had not onely wherewith to pay the regimēts of the men of warre,but also there was not to defraye necessarily the conduction of the municions and artilleries: In this necessitie, they were driuen to haue recourse to perswasions, wherein they forgot not to recommend to the bands of footemen, the glory & riches which the victorie would cast vpon them, And reducing to their memorie the reputacion of their conquests past, they labored also to inflame their mindes with the fire of enuie and hatred against the French men: By which commemoracion of glory and profit, they brought the spanish footemen to make promisse that they would follow the armie one whole moneth more without receiuing any money: And the launceknights were contented with that which should suffice for the prouision of their nurriture and necessary vittells. But they found many difficulties to winne the men at armes and light horsemen being lodged in the townes of *Cremona* and *Guiaradada:* They alleaged,that hauing receiued no money of longe time,it would be greuous to them to follow the armie where of necessitie they must be driuen to buy vittells to nourish them selues, and forrage to feede their horses: They brought also into complaint this iniury, that their paines and seruice was holden lesse acceptable and recommended,then the infanterie,to whome neuertheless had bene made many distribucions of money, without releeuing of them with one penny of long time: In which griefe they forgot not to insinuate their many merits, and making comparison of their reputacion and vallour,much lesse that they yelded to be inferior to thinfanterie either in vallour or fidelitie,but they challenged place aboue them both by their nobilitie and for their deseruings past: it was necessary for thexpedicion of the seruice to reappease this murmure, and by some present industrie to reassure the mindes that began so manifestly to shake,which office the Marquis of *Pisquaro* tooke vppon him, who trauelling to their particular lodgings, vsed those meanes that best agreed with the state of the matter he had in hand, taking his obseruacion of the wise Phisicion,who hauing found out the humor that offendeth, prepareth that ministracion and medicin that is most apt to cure and remedie: somtimes he serued his turne with excuses, which in suche cases haue their operacion, And sometimes he whetted them on with wordes of comfort, which to mindes wauering giue no litle edge and reuiuing: sometimes he reprehended them, which according to the persons might worke some notable office,And sometimes he confessed the equitie of their complaints,wherein he ouercame their generall griefe with his proper compassion: And hauing thus by the singularitie of his wit and industrie, reduced to moderacion their present murmures and discontentments, he followed his purpose with new incoragements,that by how much more they stoode to make their vertue apparant,and their vallour manifest,by so much more were they bound not to suffer so noble hartes,to be ouercome by an estate of infanterie or footemen either in fidellitie or affection to thEmprour: And as the present quarrell did not concerne the glory and honor of thEmprour alone,but also the succesſe of the condicion and whole estate of *Italy* was concurrant, so if they expressed not their readines and vallour equall with the greatnes of the occasion offered, they could hardly

acquite thexſpectacion that was conceiued of them, but ſitting downe with diſhonor and infamie, they would leaue to thEmperour an vnthankefull recompenſe for his benefits paſt: Laſtly he tolde them, that ſeeing they had ſo many times offered their liues to hazard in thEmperours quarrells, and no leſſe often had made waye by their vertue thorow all perills of warre and fortune for his ſake, it coulde not but intangle with ſhame and infamie the memorie of their merites paſt, if nowe they ſhoulde refuſe to goe to the warre for ſo vile a thing as a ſmall quantitie of money: What by theſe perſwaſions, and thauthoritie of the Marquis, they conſented to receiue for one moneth a ſmall allowance of pay: Inſomuch that the whole armie being thus aſſembled, which was ſuppoſed to conteyne ſeuen hundred men at armes, as many light horſemen, a thowſand *Italian* footemen, & more then ſixteene thowſand ſpaniſh and launceknightes: They brake vp from *Loda* the fiue and twentie of Ianuarie, and marched the ſame day to *Marignan*, making as though they woulde draw towardes *Millan*, either to make the king, being touched with the daunger of that Citie, to leauie his ſeege from before *Pauia*, or elſe to giue cauſe to the ſouldiours to go from *Millan* that were there in garriſon: Neuertheleſſe hauing afterwards paſſed the riuer of *Lambra* neare to *Vidigolffo*, they tooke manifeſtly the waye to *Pauia*: The king payed in his armie xiij. hundred launces, ten thowſande *Svvizzers*, foure thowſand launceknightes, fiue thowſand frenchmen, and ſeuen thowſand *Italians*: And yet what thorow the abuſes and robberies of his Capteines, and corruption and negligence of his officers, the numbers of the footemen were farre leſſe: *Theodor Triuulſo* lay in garriſon within *Millan* with three hundred launces, ſix thowſand footemen *Griſons* and *Valeſiens*, and three thowſand frenchmen: But aſſoone as the king diſcerned that the Imperialls turned towards *Pauia*, he reuoked to the army all the regiments of footemen, except two thowſand.

Aſſoone as the armie of thimperialls had taken the field, the french king began to deuiſe what was beſt to be done: And calling to councell his Capteines, *Trymouille*, *Paliſſa*, and *Monſr de Foix* with many others, aduiſed him to retyre his armie from before *Pauia*, and to go incampe either in the monaſterie of Charterhouſe, or at *Binaſquo*, which are places of good ſtrength, and likewiſe are found many ſuche in the contrie there, for the oportunitie of the channells deriuing, and do ſerue for the watering of medowes: They told him that in taking this courſe, he ſhould ſpeedily carie the victory without blood or daunger, the wantes and neceſſities of his enemies not ſuffering them to holde out many dayes, but woulde conſtraine them either to diſſolue, or diſperſe their companies into ſeuerall villages: That the launceknightes that were within *Pauia*, to thende to cut of all imputacion that they ſought to couer their feare and timerouſnes, with the excuſe that they were not payed, were content to beare with pacience the prolonging of their payes for many moneths: But aſſone as they ſaw the ſeege remoued, they would in inſolencie demaunde their payes, and not finding in their Capteines any aſſured meanes to ſatisfie them, and leſſe exſpectacion to enterteine them with credible hopes, it was to be feared they would draw to ſome daungerous tumult: That thenemies with no other thing kept them ſelues ſo orderly together, but with hope to giue ſpeedily the battell, but when they ſhould ſee the warre drawne out into longnes, and the commodity of offring the battell not preſented, then their exſpectacion would be fruſtrate, and the whole armie repleniſhed with difficulties & confuſion: That it could not be but daungerous to remeine betwene a towne wherein were fiue thowſande footemen of a moſt warlike nation, and an army that came to reskew it, which was no leſſe mightie in numbers of men,

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vallour and experience of Capteines and ſouldiours, then braue and reſolute by the glorie of their victories obteyned in times paſt, And who nowe had reappoſed all their hopes in the battell: That in warres it was no ſhame to flee, when the fleeing profiteth him that giueth place to his aduerſarie: That there could be no infamie in a retraite that was made by diſcreſſion and not by tymerouſnes, when it is done vpon this conſideracion not to put in doubt things that be certeine, And when in the yſſue and ſucceſſe of the warre is to be expreſſed to all the world the maturitie of the councell: That there is no victorie more profitable, more honorable, nor more glorious, then that which is obteyned without the domage, the ſpoile, and blud of ſouldiers: Laſtly that the firſt and chiefe commendacion of the diſcipline of warre conſiſted in this, that a generall ſhoulde not oppoſe his armie to daungers without neceſſitie, and rather with induſtrie and pacience to reuerſe and make vaine thenterpriſes of his aduerſaries, then through vallour & corage, to hazard the battell, which fortune and accidents may make doubtfull: The Pope concurred in the ſame councell and ſignified no leſſe to the French king though not ſo much for the kings intereſts, yet for the neceſſitie of his owne affaires, for that the Marquis of *Piſquaro* being not without his feare, in ſo great a neceſſitie had aduertiſed affore hand the difficulties of th Emprours army to be ſuch, as they almoſt cut from him all hopes of happy ſucceſſe: Neuertheleſſe the king (A deſtinie ineuitable can not be auoyded) who in his deliberacions followed only the councells of th Admiral, ſeemed to ſet before his eyes rather the rumors of men and brutes varying for euery light accident, then the firme and aſſured ſubſtance of theffects of thinges: he interpreted it to a great ſhame and infamie, that an armie royall led by his owne perſon, ſhould ſhowe more feare then vallour, and baſely giue place to the comming of thennemies, wherein he was alſo puſhed on by this vaine ſuggeſtion that he was bownd to followe and performe with deedes, the wordes that his raſh tongue had vainely promiſed, A reſolucion moſt vndiſcreete and diſhonorable to a Capteine: for, both he had vnder proteſtacion aſſured all the world, and many times ſignified by Meſſengers into *Fraunce* and all the partes of *Italy*, that he would ſooner chuſe to ſacrifice him ſelfe to death, then to retyre from before *Pauya* without the victorie: he ſtoode fixed vppon theſe hopes, that in the place where he incamped, he might eaſily fortefie him ſelfe to auoid all inconueniences by ſurpriſe: That through want of money euery ſmall delay, or the leaſt neceſſitie that might driue thennemies to temporiſe, would put them into diſorder, And hauing no meane to get vittells but by rauyne and pillage, they could not remaine long in one lodging: Laſtly he hoped to giue impediment to the vittells that were to come to their campe, whereof he knew the greateſt parte was appoynted from *Cremona*, wherein he was furthered by this helpe, that he had newly taken into his pay *Iohn Lodovvyk Paluoyſin*, either to thende he ſhoulde impatronize him ſelfe vppon *Cremona* where was a very ſlender garriſon, or at leaſt to lye to cut of the ſewertie of vittels that had an ordinary traffike from that citie to their campe.

The french king will not follow the counſells of his Capteines.

For theſe reaſons the king ſtoode reſolute not to leaue the ſeege of *Pauya*, And to haue the better way to empeach that thennemies ſhould not enter, he diſlodged in other manner, and gaue an other forme to the incamping of his armie: for, the king was lodged before in th Abbay of *S. Lanfrank* ſituated about a mile and an halfe beyond *Pauya*, beyond the way that leadeth from *Pauya* to *Myllan*, And vppon the riuer of *Theſin* neare to that place where was proued the diuerſion of the waters: *Monſr Paliſſa* with the vauntgard & the *Svvyzzers* lay within the ſubburbs neare *S. Iuſtynes* gate, hauing fortefied him ſelfe in the Churches of *S. Peter*, *S. Apolyne*, and *S. Ierome*:

And *Iohn de Medicis* with his horſemen and regimentes of footemen, was beſtowed in the Church of *S. Sauior*: But now, the king hauing informacion that thennemies were departed from *Loda*, he went & incamped within the parke in the right ſumptuous and ſtately houſe of *Mirabell* ſcituate on this ſide *Pauia*, leuing at *S. Lanfranke* the *Griſons* footemen, and yet chaunged not the lodging of the Vauntgard: At laſt the perſon of the king was lodged in the monaſteries of *S. Pavvle* & *S. Iames*, places beſides other commodities, very eminent and neare *Pauia*, & commaund the champion, but are ſomewhat without the ring of the parke: In the kinges place *Monſr d'Alenſon* with the Arearegard went to incampe at *Myrabell*: And as for their more conuenient ſuccoring one an other, they brake downe on that ſide the parke wall, ſo they helde and commaunded betwene them all that ſpace or circuit that ſtretcheth towards *Theſin* on that ſide below, and vntill the way that leadeth to *Millan* towards aboue: So that holding *Pauia* enuironned on all ſides, and hauing alſo at their deuocion the riuers of *Grabalon*, *Theſin*, and *Touretta*, which is right againſt *Darſina*, the Imperialls could not enter *Pauia*, onleſſe they paſſed the riuer of *Theſin*, or elſe made their entrie by the parke. The king for the managing of the armie, reappoſed him ſelfe wholly vpon the councells of th Admirall: he had ſingular confidence in his fidelitie, and ſo abſolutely referred things to his direction, that he diſpenſed with him ſelfe and paſſed the moſt parte of his howers in idlenes and vaine pleaſures without any ſtudy or care of his affaires or once to thinke vpon expedicions of importance: wherin ſuch was either his wilfull negligence or willing partiality, that if at any time he ſat in councell amongeſt them, he would referre the ſentence & reſolucion of all things to th Admiral, without accepting the aduiſe of other experienced Capteines: By him were ordered all the kinges deliberacions, though at times he ſuffered his eares to be gouerned by *Anne Montmerancy* and *Philip Chabot* Lord of *Bryon*, perſonages verie agreable to him in his ſportes, but of ſlender experience touching matters of warre: Moreouer the eſtate and numbers of his armie were not according to his deſire and opinion, and muche leſſe aunſwering to the brute that went: for, one parte of his horſemen being gone with the Duke of *Albanie*, and an other parte left for the garde of *Millan* with *Theodor Triuulce*, and many alſo being diſperſed into ſeuerall villages and borowes thereabouts, there was not found in the campe aboue eight hundred launces, and touching the footemen, the numbers were farre leſſe then was ſuppoſed as wel by the negligence of the kings officers, as through the deceit of the Capteines: of whom the greateſt abuſers were the *Italians*, who notwithſtanding they receiued payes for great numbers of footemen, yet their bandes were farre from their full cooplements: many of the french Capteines tooke counſell alſo by their corrupcions: And laſtly the regiment of two thowſande *Valeſiens* that were beſtowed at *S. Sauior* betwene *S. Lanfranke* & *Pauia* being ſodainly aſſaulted by thoſe that were within, were diſperſed and broken.

The Imperialls take the caſtell S. Angeo.

In this eſtate of affaires, the Capteines Imperiall hauing paſſed *Lambray*, made their approches to the Caſtell *S. Angeo*, which hauing his ſcituacion betwene *Loda* and *Pauia*, would haue giuen great impediments to the courſe of vittels that were brought from *Loda* to their campe, if it had not bene at their deuocion and in their power: *Pirrhus*, the brother of *Federike de Boſſolo* laye there in garriſon with two hundred horſe, and eight hundred footemen, and the king not many dayes before, to thend he woulde not raſhly commit his people to daunger, had ſent to viſite and conſider the place the ſame *Federike* & *Iames Chabanes*, who brought reapport that that ſtrength and garriſon ſufficed for the defenſe of the place: But experience made

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it knowen immediatly after, how farre they were deceiued in their reckoning, for, assoone as *Ferdinand d'Aualo* made his approches with the regiments of spanish footmen, and had cut of with his artilleries, certeine defenses and resistances, the feare of the defendants became greater then their vallour, and in those humors of timerous cowardise, they retyred the same day into the castell: And not many howers after (feare hath a vehement operacion in the mindes it possesseth) they compownded that *Pirrhus, Emylio Coriano*, and the three sonnes of *Phebus Gonsanguo*, should remein prisoners, and all the residue depart the place, without armor and horse, And beeing sworne not to beare armes for one moneth against the Emprour: In this time the king sent for from *Sauona* a regiment of two thowsand Italian footemen, parcell of those companies that had bene at the seege of *Marseilles*: But being come vpon the territories of *Alexandria* neare the riuer of *Yrba*: *Gaspar Mayne* lying there in garrison with a regiment of seuen hundred footemen, yssued out of *Alexandria* with a very slender strength and set vpon them: he found them very wearie with the longe way they had made, and without garde, for that they doubted no daunger by reason of which aduauntages he disordered and brake them easily, and in their feare being fled within the castell, they rendred them selues immediatly with seuenteene enseignes: There hapned no better succesſe to the enterprise that was committed to the charge of *Iohn Lovvys Paluoisin*: who, after he was entred with foure hundred horse & two thowsand footemen within *Casalmaior*, where was no wall, but ramparts which he had made, And hauing afterwards wonne *S. Iohn* in *Croce*, he began from that place to make incursions into the contrey, laboring with all the meanes he could to cut of their vittells: By reason of which violences, *Frauncis Sforce* lying then within *Cremona*, leauied with great celeritie foureteene hundred footemen, and sent them to *Casalmaior* with certeine trowpes of horsemen of the band of *Rodolffo Camerino* and the horsemen of his gard, vnder the leading of *Alexander Bentyuole*: As they were drawn neare to that place, *Paluoysin* reappoſing confidence in the aduauntage of his numbers without tarying for certeine succours of *Frauncis Rangon*, issued out the eyghteene of February and occupied skirmish with them: But he payed a deare price of his rashnes, and fell by equitie into the punishment of his hastie rashnes, for that in laboring to susteine his trowpes that fought and beganne to draw to retraite, he was striken from his horse and made prisoner, & all his souldiours broken and dispersed: There was also added to thaffayres of the French king, this further difficultie of great consequence: *Iohn Ia. Medicis* of *Myllan* Capteine of the castell of *Mus* whether the Duke of *Myllan* had sent him for the murder he had done of the person of *Monsr Viscounte*, hauing placed by night an ambushe on the side of the rocke of *Chiauenna* standing vppon a hil side at the head of the lake, and somewhat distant from the houses of the borough: tooke the Capteine prisoner as he walked without his castell & led him presently before the gate of the rocke, where threatning to kill him if he put not the rocke into his handes, his wife in whose presence his life was threatned to death, deliuered vp the rocke: After this first fortune, he caused to discouer an other ambushe with three hundred footemen with whom he tooke the towne making his entry by the castell: Whereuppon it hapned that the Cantons of the *Grisons*, taking suspicion vppon that accident, reuoked a litle before the battell, the regiment of sixe thowsand *Grisons* that were in the kings armie.

About this time, ariued in thimperiall armie, the knight *Gasalo*, whom the king of *England* sent thether with great promisses: That king beginning to be ielous ouer the prosperitie of the French king, and pushed on also with a certeine despite that in

the Skottiſhe ſeas the Frenche had taken certayne veſſells of thEngliſhe, threatned manifeſtly to make warre vpon *Fraunce*, and in that humor deſired the well aduauncing of thImperiall armie: In which forwardnes of diſpoſicion, he ſent to his Embaſſador *Pace* remayning at *Trente*, to go to *Venice* and proteſt in his name thobſeruation of the League, to the which his Maieſtie hoped they would be ſo muche the more eaſily induced, by howmuch themperour had ſent to the *Viceroy* thinueſtiture of *Frauncis Sforce*, with authoritie to diſpoſe of it by his diſcreſſion and according to the neceſſitie and reſpect of his affayres: The king of *Englande* alſo ſolicited the Pope by his Embaſſador, to miniſter ayde to themperour in his affayres: But the Pope excuſed him vpon the capitulacion made with the French king for his owne ſuretie, and not offending themprour, whervnto he added this complaint, that ſince the army was returned from *Prouence*, he was not able in the ſpace of twenty dayes to vnderſtande their purpoſes, nor whether they pretended to defende or abandon theſtate of *Millan*.

Thimperialls drawe neare to Pauia.

But now, litle auayled the trayties and intelligences of Princes, and of leſſe ſeruice were the negociations and labors of Embaſſadors, for that by the affronting and approching of the armies, the whole eſtate of the warre together with the difficulties and daungers ſuſteined for many monthes, were reduced to the fortune and hazard of a very fewe howres: for the armie imperiall paſſing further ſince the taking of *S. Angeo*, marched and lodged the firſt daye of Februarie at *Viſtarino*, and the ſecond day at *Lardiragno* and *S. Alexis* beyond the litle riuer of *Lolono*: a lodging diſtant frō *Pauia* foure miles, and from the French campe three miles: The thirde of February they marched towardes the gate of *S. Iuſtine*, the place of their incamping beeing ſtretched out betwene *Prati*, *Treleuero*, *la Motto*, and a wood on the ſide of *S. Lazarus*, places within two miles and an halfe of *Pauia*, within halfe a mile of the Frenche Vauntgarde, and not halfe a myle from the rampiers and trenches of their campe: By reaſon they were ſo neare affronted one to the other, they eſcaped not without their ſeuerall domages by the artilleries: The Imperialls commaunded *Belioyenſe*, with all the villages and countrey that laye vpon their backes, except *Saint Colombin* where lay a garriſon of French, but ſo ſtraytly beſieged as no perſon could iſſue out. They founde within *Saint Angeo* and *Saint Belioyenſe* great quantities of vittells, and to haue more plenty and abundance, they labored to commaund *Theſin* as they did *Pavv*, by the cōmoditie of which they gaue impediment to the french vittells: They helde *S. Croce*, and albeit the french king at that time when he went to incampe at *Mirabell* had abandoned the *Charterhouſe*, yet they forbare to go thither, leaſt their market of vittels ſhould be cut off: The french men kept *S. Lazarus*, but the furie of thartilleries of thenemies put them in feare to abide there: There was betwene the two campes a litle brooke or ryuer of running water called *Vernacula*: his head or ſpring was within the parke, and from thence making his courſe in the middeſt betwene *S. Lazarus* and *S. Peter in Verge*, hath his fal afterwards into the riuer of *Theſin*: This brooke the imperials to thend they might come on with leſſe difficulty, labored to paſſe as a matter of great importance: But they found a valiant defence made by the frenchmen, hauing both the ayde of the channell which was very deepe, and the commodity of the ſhores or bankes that were very high: By which impedimentes there was no poſſibilitie of paſſage without great difficultie: euery one with that art and care that the peril required, fortified their lodging & quarter: The kings lodging had in front, in backe, and in the left flanke, thicke & huge ramparts, enuironed with diches & fortified with baſtillions: and on the right flanke was the wall of the parke

of

of *Pauia* which was ſuppoſed to make the lodging verye ſtrong: The lodginges of thimperials caryed the ſame forme of fortification, hauing alſo the libertye of the whole contrey from *S. Lazarus* drawing towardes *Belioyeuſo*, euen vntill the riuer of *Pavv*, which miniſtred to them great abundance of vittels. Betwene the ramparts of both the one and other lodging, was no more diſtance then xl. paſſes, and the baſtillions ſo neare neighbours, that the ſmall ſhot played in great libertie. Theſe two armies were thus lodged and incamped the eyght daye of February: and albeit they loſt no time in skirmiſhing, yet euery one kept himſelf within his fort, not willing to do any thing to his diſaduauntage: The imperiall capteines made their reckoning, that they had gayned much till that day beeing approched ſo neare *Pauia*, that if it came to a day of battel, they might be ayded with the garriſons that were within the towne: And becauſe the ſouldiors within *Pauia* ſuffred want of municions, the imperialls ventred to ſend in fifty horſemen, euery one carying in croupe or behind him, a litle bag full of powder: who taking by night the way of *Millan*, & obſeruing the inſtant wherin their campe by a token giuen ſhould giue thalarme to the french men, they got ſafely into *Pauia*, their fortune being nothing inferior to their vallour. *Anth. de Leua* made many ſallyes out of the town, bringing with him in diuers maners many harmes and domages to thenemies, in one of which ſallies he charged thoſe that had the gard of the borow of *S. Lanfrank*, whom he did not only defeate & breake, but alſo with the ſame felicitie tooke from them three peces of artilleries, and foure wagons laden with municions. In this condition it was wonderfull to behold what was the ſtudy, the induſtry, and perpetuall toyle of body & minde of the Marquis of *Piſquaro*, who omitted no oportunitie wherin occaſion was giuen to vexe thenemie, ſometimes prouoking them with skirmiſhes, ſometimes traueling thē with alarmes, and neuer ceaſſing to kepe them awaked eyther with vndermining, intrenching, or rayſing of Mountes to annoy them: They cauſed to erect a cauallier or mount vpon the chānel: and for that the frenchmen with ij. peces of artilleries planted vpō *S. Lazarus*, made dangerous execution of thoſe that wrought vpon it, they planted there certein peces which reuerſed the ſaid place of *S. Lazarus* & compelled the french to abādon it: And as the artilleries of this cauallier annoyed thē much, ſo alſo they were no leſſe beaten by an other mount or Cauallier which they had made within *Pauia*: Beſides, the Spaniards had ſo fortified thēſelues with baſtillions & ramparts, & other preparatiues defenſiue, that they had great meane to greue the french campe, without receiuing much offence thēſelues: for which cauſe the frēchmen remoued their artilleries to beate thē in the flanke, the Spaniards not ceaſſing for al that to aduance and come on, & to winne aduantage by footmeale: and in this eſtate of procedings, in ſuch a neare neyborhood & affronting of tharmies, the skirmiſhes were very rife, wherin the frenchmen for the moſt part caried the worſe: and yet the practiſes and negociations of truce did nothing ceaſe, beeing continually ſolicited by the Popes Nuncioes reſident in both the armies: To whō were adioyned many of ſtrait familiaritie & fauor with the king, who ceaſſed not to admoniſh him, the Popes counſell alſo concurring, that to auoyde ſo great a perill it were his beſt to retyre his armie from before *Pauia*, by which meane the victory could not but fall vpō him with facilitie, & without effuſion of blood, the rather by the neceſſities of thenemies ſuffring great want of money. The xvij. day of February the ſouldiors within *Pauia* made a ſally, & charged the regimēt of *Iohn de Medicis*, who gaue thē a braue repulſe, & with no leſſe vallor compelled them to retyre: But immediatly afterwards as he returned to ſhowe to the Admirall the place of thincounter, with relation of things as they

passed, certayne loose shot lurking in a house, gaue him a wounde with the bullet a litle aboue the heele whiche brake the bone, for the curing of whiche hurte he was constrayned to be caryed to *Plaisanca:* This was an vnfortunate hurt or else vnhappily chaunced on that man, for that lyke as immediately after his wounding, the furie of the Frenche campe in skirmishing and assaulting, began to diminishe and abate, so it seemed to giue to them of *Pauia* a greater and more ready resolucion, for that their sallies were more familiar and furious, in whiche vehement inclination they burned the Abbey of *Saint Lanfranke*, and ceassed not fiercely to execute the French men, taking aduauntage of the diminution of their courage and fortune: In so muche that the night betwene the xix. and xx. daye of Februarye, the Marquis of *Pisquairo* issuing out with a regiment of three thousande Spanish footemen, assaulted the French bastillions, and winning the ramparts, he slew more then fiue hundred footemen, and cloyed three peeces of artilleries.

It was nowe not possible to thimperial Capteines any longer to maynteine their armie in that place, for want of money: They considered also that if they shoulde breake vp and retyre, the estate of *Pauia* woulde not onely remayne desperate, but also there woulde be leste little hope to be hable to defende their other peces which they possessed in the Duchie of *Millan:* There was also in them all a wonderfull confidence to obteine the victorie, bothe for the resolucion and vallour of their souldiors, and also through the infinite disorders in the Frenche armie, and the insolent departing awaye of diuerse of their footemen, in so muche as the bodies to feight did not by farre aunswere the numbers that were inrolled in their paybookes: Therefore partely to determine these difficulties, and partely to followe the humor of their hopes, the night before the fiue and twenty of February, a daye dedicated by the Christians to thapostle *Saint Matthevv*, and also the daye of the natiuitie of thEmperour, they determined ro marche to *Mirabell*, where laye incamped certayne companies of horsemen and footemen: In this marche they stoode vppon this intention, that if the French men moued, then they had set at libertie the siege of *Pauia:* and if they moued not, then to aduenture the fortune of the battell: Therfore the better to aduaunce this determination, all the beginning of the night they gaue many Alarmes, the more to keepe trauelled and wearie the Frenche men, making semblance as though they woulde charge them on that side towards *Pavv*, *Thesin*, and *Saint Lazarus*, and about midnight euery souldiour, by the commaundement of the capteines, put on a white cassakin ouer his armor to be knowen from the French men: They were cast into two squadrons of horsmen, and foure of footmen: In the first were six thousand footmen equally compoũded of launceknights, Spaniards, and Italians: This squadron was led by the Marquis of *Guast:* the second stoode only vpon certayne bands of Spanish footmen vnder the charge of the Marquis of *Pisquairo:* the thirde and fourth squadron were of Launceknightes commaunded by the *Viceroy* and the duke of *Burbon:* They ariued at the parke walls certayne howres before day, and by the working of their Masons & ready wills of their souldiors, they cast downe to the earth threeskore fadome of wall: by which breach being entred within the parke, the first squadron drew towards *Mirabell*, & the residue of the army tooke the way to the campe. Assone as the king vnderstoode that they were entred the parke, thinking they would draw to *Mirabell*, he issued oute of his lodging to feight in playne and open fielde, desyring to drawe the battell rather to that place then to anye other for thaduauntages whiche it gaue to the horsemen: he commaunded to turne the artilleries towardes thenemies, whiche beating

The battell of Pauia wherin the fr. king is take prisoner.

beating them in flanke, brought great domage to the arearegard: But in the meane while, the battell of the Imperialls gaue a furious charge vppon the kings squadron which ordinarely was the battell, but as the Spanyards went, it was the arearegard: The king fought valiantly and susteyned with great courage the violence of his enemies, who with the furie of their harquebuziers constrayned his men to giue groũd, vntill the reskew of the *Svvyzzers* came, when the Spanyards were repulsed aswell by them as by the horsemen that charged them in flanke: But the *Viceroy* being called in by the Marquis of *Pisquairo*, who brought to the fight his launceknights, they were easily broken, not without great slaughter of the *Svvyzzers*, who that daye did nothing aunswer the opinion of vallour which afforetymes they had wont so honorably to expresse in battells: The king kept alwayes the middell of the battell, being enuyroned with a great garde of men at armes, And albeit he did what he could to conteyne & confirme his people, yet after he had fought long with his owne hands, his horse being slayne vnder him, him selfe lightly hurt in the face and in the hande, he was striken downe to the earth and taken prisoner by fiue souldiours that knewe not what he was: In which misfortune the *Viceroy* pressing into the thronge, his maiestie discloſed him selfe to him, who, with great reuerence kissed his hand and receiued him prisoner in th Emprours name. At the same tyme the Marquis of *Guast* with the first squadron, had defeated the horsemen that were at *Mirabell*: And *Antho. de Leua*, who as was sayd, had to that ende cast downe to the earth so great a quantitie and space of wall, as an hundred and fiftie horsemen might sallye forth in front, issued out of *Pauya*, and so charged the French men behinde, that he put them wholly to flight: And in that feare they were almost all stripped and trussed except the arearegard of the horsemen, which being led by *Monsr d'Alenson* from the beginning of the battell, retyred almost whole: It is holden for certaine, that in this battell were slayne more then eyght thowsand men of the French campe, part by the sword, and part of bodies drowned in the riuer of *Thesin* seeking their sauetie by swymming: of this generall number were about twenty of the most noble and apparant Lordes of *Fraunce*, as the Admirall, the *L. Iames Chabanes*, the *L. Palissa* and *Trimouille*, the Maister of the horse, *Monsr d'Aubigny*, *Monsr de Boyssy*, and *Monsr de l'Escud*, who beeing taken greeuously wounded by his enemies, gaue to them his life in steede of a raunsom: The prisoners that were taken were the king of *Nauarre*, the bastard of *Sauoye*, the *L. Montmerancy*, *Saint Pauvle*, *Bryon*, *Aual*, *Monsr de Chandion*, *Monsr d'Imbercourt*, *Galeas Visconte*, *Federyk Bossolo*, *Bernabye Visconte*, *Guidanes*, with many gentlemen and almost all the Capteines that escaped the slaughter of the sword: There was also taken prisoner *Ierome Leandro* Bishop of *Brunduso* the Popes Nuncio, but by commaũdement of the *Viceroy*, he was eftsoones set at libertie: as also *Monsr Saint Pauvle* & *Federyk Bossole* committed to the castell of *Pauya*, brake prison a litle after by the corrupcion of the Spanyards that had them in charge: Of th imperialls side the vniuersall slaughter exceeded not seuen hundred bodies, and not one Capteine of name except *Ferrand Castriot* Marquis of *Saint Angeo*: The Marquis of *Pisquaro* was wounded in two places, and *Antho. de Leua* lightly hurt in the legge: The praye and spoyle of this battell was so great, as there had not bene seene in *Italy* more rich souldiours: Of so great an armie, there was preserued but the arearegard of foure hundred launces commaunded by *Monsr d'Alenson*, they neuer came to the fight, neuer suffered charge, nor neuer were followed, but leauing behind them their baggage, they retyred whole to *Pyemont*, their feare making them more hastye to flee, then carefull of their honor: And as one calamitie followeth an other, so the losse of the battell was

no sooner reapported at *Myllan*, then *Theoder Tryuulce* who laye there in garrison with foure hundred launces, departed and tooke his way to *Musocquo* all the souldiours following him by trowpes, Insomuch as the same day that the king lost the battell, all the Duchie of *Myllan* was made free from the iurisdiction of the French.

The day after the victorie, the king was led prisoner to the Rocke of *Pisqueton*, for that the Duke of *Myllan* in regard of his propper sewertie, consented hardly that the person of the king should be kept within the castell of *Myllan*: he was garded with great ielousie and watche, but in all other things except his libertie, he was vsed and honored as apperteyned to the state and maiestie of a king.

The ende of the fiftenth Booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE SIXTENTH BOOKE.

THe Pope is accorded with th Emprour: Many practises are made for the kinges deliuerie: Ierom Morono conspireth against th Emprour: The king is deliuered out of prison and returneth into Fraunce.

THE SYXTEENTH BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

IN the booke before, you haue seene set downe the ouerthrowe of the French armie in the battell of *Pauia*, A wretched successe where was so great exspectacion of victorie: you haue seene a mightie king deliuered vppe prisoner into the handes of him with whome he contended for glorye & imperie, A spectacle most tragicall amongest all the calamities that fortune bringeth vppon mans mortalitie: you haue seene the moste parte of the nobilitie and honorable Capteines of *Fraunce* slayne in the seruice and presence of their king, A matter that made more lamentable his owne condicion and aduersitie: you haue seene the residue of that armie, so vniuersally perplexed with feare and confusion, that the same thing that should haue reteyned them in so great affliction, made them the lesse assured and further of from confidence: Lastly, you haue seene the lowsse hartes and pusillanimitie of the *Svvyzzers*, A nation which in the warres past, had fought in *Italy* with so great name and glory: But the thing that most wonderfully encreased the reputacion of the Victors, was the general feare and astonishment of all the Potentats in *Italy*, who looking into the felicitie of the Imperialls carying so honorable a victorie with so litle losse to them selues, could not but make a desperat reckoning of their own saueties: In which astonishmēt, they set before their eyes all those daungers which either doubt or dispaire could stirre vp: Their feare would not let them hope for the thinges that reasonably might comfort them: And whatsoeuer their amazed minds suspected, the same did they feare would assuredly happen vnto thē: Lastly when they saw them selues disarmed on all sides, And th Emprours forces most mighty in the field without impediment of ennemies, they could not but giue a greuous sentēce against their own estate & condicion: And in this cōfusion they could not be so much assured & cōforted by the opiniō which many had of the good intēcion of th Emprour, of his honorable inclinacion to peace, & of his ver-

The Potentats of Italy in great feare for the imprisonment of the French king.

vertuous minde not to vsurpe the estates of others, as their passions were redoubled by the consideracion of their great daungers, most manifest to the eye, and no lesse fearefull to their mindes, in which lay suppressed all that resolucion and constancie which reasonable men should expresse chiefly in times of aduersities: They doubted least th Emperour, pushed on either by ambicion, (naturall almost to all earthlie Princes) or by insolencie (which commonly accompanieth victories) or caried by the importunate couetousnes of those that gouerned his affaires in *Italie*, or lastly set on by the vniuersall perswasions of his councell and court: They doubted I say, least in these vehement respectes, and in an occasion so sufficient to sette an edge vppon the dullest spirite that was, he woulde not dispose his thoughtes to make him selfe absolute Lorde ouer all *Italie*: Wherein they were not ignorant howe easie it is to euerie great Prince, but muche more to an Emperour of *Rome*, to iustefie his enterprises with titles appearing comelie and resonable. This feare and astonishment did not onely occupie those potentates that were of meane force and authoritie, but also euen the Pope and the *Venetians* were no lesse trauelled then the others: The *Venetians* beganne to call into remorse and conscience, the faulte they had committed against th Emperour without iust cause, in not following the capitulacions of the confederacion: And also the memorie of auncient hatreds and iniuries betwene them and the house of *Austrich*, together with the greate warres they had had, not many yeares before with his grandfather *Maximilian*: By which they feared would be reuiued in the estates which they possessed in the firme land, the name and memorie of the rightes of th Empire which were almost buried and forgotten: as also they cast this coniecture, that whosoeuer had any purpose to make him selfe great in *Italie*, would haue his first recourse to lay plottes to embase and pul downe their too much puisance and greatnes: And for the Pope, his passion was this, that except the maiestie of the Popedom which euen in the times of the auncient reuerence that the worlde bare to the sea Apostolike was oftentimes ill assured of the greatnes of th Emperours, he was in all other regardes very easie to be endomaged, as being disarmed of forces, depriued of money, the Church in an vniuersall weakenesse for want of strong townes, the mindes of the people not vnited nor firme in deuocion to their Prince, all the free holdes and dependaunces of the Church full of diuisions and factions, the one parte being *Guelffes*, and the other parte *Gebelins*, and the *Gebelins* by an auncient and naturall impression, inclined to the name of th Emperours, and lastlie the Citie of *Rome* more then all other places, defiled and weakened with these seedes and rootes of diuisions: The Pope also called into care and reckoning the estate of *Florence*, which depending vppon him, and being the verie peculiar and auncient greatnesse of his house, it was happily no lesse deare to his harte then the estate of the Church, and assuredlie no lesse easie to be innouated and chaunged: for as that Citie, since the passage of king *Charles*, hauing chassed out the familie of *Medicis*, and vnder the name of libertie, was diuolued to a gouernment popular for eighteene yeres space, stoode so ill contented with the returne of the *Medicis*, that there were very few to whom in deede was agreable their puisance & greatnes: so also the Pope feared vehemently least to so mighty occasions, were not added a forward will and desire to offende that state: Wherein also he had reason to doubt that that same desire and enuy was not lesse, not so much for the regard of ambicion in the most mightie from which who is least puisant, is neuer wholly assured, as for feare that for many reasons, his name in that time were not odious to th Emperour: And albeit he made discourses in him selfe how much,

both in the life of Pope *Leo*, and afterwardes ſince he was Cardinall, he had trauelled for the greatneſſe of thEmperour, ſo farre foorth as Pope *Leo* and he with their greate exſpenſes and daungers, had opened him the waye in *Italie* to ſo greate a puiſſance, and that for his owne particular, ſince his election to the Popedome, he had giuen money to his Capteynes, and made the *Florentins* to contribute during the Admiralls being in *Italie*, without reuoking from his armie the regimentes of the Church and the bandes of *Florence*: yet, either in conſideracion of his office wherein he is a father and paſtour indifferent betwene Princes Chriſtian, and rather the author of peace then the nourriſher of warres: or elſe for that he had begon verie lately to ſuſpect and feare ſuche a greatneſſe, he was retyred, and ſo giuen ouer to runne the ſame fortune, that neither he woulde renew the confederacion made by his predeceſſor for the defenſe of *Italie*, neither ayde him with money when the yeare before, the Duke of *Burbon* entred with his armie into *Prouence*: And albeit theſe matters had not giuen to thEmprours Capteines any iuſt cauſe to complaine, ſeeing he was not as yet bounde by the league of *Adrian* to be concurrant againſt the frenchemen in the warres of *Italie*: Yet they were beginninges to make him not eſteemed the ſame man with thEmperour, but diminiſhed muche of the faith that till that day they had in him, as men who caried onely either by their appetites or by neceſſitie, thought themſelues offended, if, to their particular enterpriſes dreſſed to occupie *Fraunce*, others did not as it were lay to their handes according to theexamples before of others begon, vnder title to aſſure *Italie* againſt the power of the frenche: The complaintes and diſpleaſures beganne to diſcouer themſelues at ſuch times as the french king paſſed the mountes to recouer the Duchie of *Mylan*: for, albeit the Pope according to the complaint he made afterwardes to thEmperour by a letter which he wrote to him, had ſecretly diſtributed certeine quantities of money to the frenchmen at their returne from *Marſeilles*, yet afterwardes he had no ſtraite familiarity or intelligence with them: but aſſone as the king had made a conqueſt of the Citie of *Millan*, he entred into capitulacions with him, taking his reaſon vppon the good euent and traine of his affaires; Of which he excuſed himſelfe to thEmperour with this allegacion, that in that time, his Capteines forbearing to communicate with him any parte of their plots or purpoſes by the ſpace of twentie dayes, and diſpairing afterwards of the preſeruacion of that ſtate, not without ſome feare of the kingdome of *Naples* for that the Duke of *Albania* drewe with his regimentes towardes *Tuskane*: he was conſtrained to looke to his ſuretie, and yet neuertheleſſe the regard of his proper daunger did not ſo muche carie him, but that he did accorde with condicions no leſſe fauorable and prouiding for thEmperours affaires then his owne, and did refuſe verie great offers which the frenche king tendred, to thende to make him enter into the allyance ioyntly with him: And yet neuertheleſſe theſe excuſes had not ſuche operacion, but that thEmperour and his Capteines were muche troubled, not ſo muche for that they ſawe themſelues whollie depriued of hope to haue any more ſuccours of him, as for the doubt they had that the capitulacion conteyned not ſome further matter then thobligacion of newtralitie: Beſides, they conſtrued that in all ſortes he had giuen too great reputacion to thenterpriſe of the frenchmen, & had this further feare alſo, leaſt the Pope were the meane that the *Venetians* were not brought to followe his example, a matter which afterwardes was diſcerned to bee true by certeyne letters and bills founde in the kinges tent after the victorie: Laſtly the Pope had kindeled theſe ſuſpicions and diſcontentmentes when he conſented that the munitions lent by the

Duke

Duke of *Ferrara* to the French king when he lay affore *Pauia*, ſhould not only paſſe through his landes, but alſo he gaue ayde to the conduction of them: But muche more were theſe quarrels broached at ſuche time as the Duke of *Albanie* went to the enterpriſe of the realme of *Naples*, not onely for that he was receyued and honored as a friende along all the eſtates of the Church and the *Florentins*, but alſo he ſtayed certayne dayes about *Siena* to reforme at his inſtance the gouernment of that citie: whiche albeit was the cauſe to prolong the Dukes voyage into the realme of *Naples*, and that it was a matter ſolicited principally by him to that ende, as beeing a thing troubleſome to him that vpon one man ſhoulde be layde the iuriſdiction of *Naples* and *Millan*: yet thimperialls in that reſpect had made an interpretation, that betwene the French king and him was a further bonde, then a ſimple promiſe not to offende one an other. So that it was not without good reaſon that the Pope did not onely feare together with the other Potentates, to be inuaded by the imperialls vpon euery concurrance of time and occaſion: But alſo he had his feare particular, that without exſpecting an oportunitie more great, they would bring on their fortune preſently euen to ſet vpon the eſtate of the Church, or to execute ſome action agaynſt the common weale of *Florence*: But the thing whiche more redoubled hys feare, was, that the Duke of *Albanie* aſſone as he was aduertiſed of the kings calamitie, retyred from the Mount *Rotondo* towards *Bracciano* for his ſafetie: And hauing alſo ſent thither a cornet of an hundred and fiftie horſemen that were within *Rome*, whom the Pope cauſed to accompany him thither for his garde, fearing the preparations which the Duke of *Seſſo* and the Imperials made to defeate the regimentes of the Duke of *Albanie*: And comming from *Sermonete* about foure hundred horſe and twelue hundred footemen of the bandes of the *Vrſins*, beeing followed by *Iulio Colonno* with many trowpes of horſemen and footemen, it happned that he ouerthrewe them at the Abbey of three fountaynes, who fleeing for their ſafetie into the citie of *Rome*, where they entred at the gates of *ſaint Paule* and *ſaint Sebaſtian*, the bandes of *Iulio* entred with them pelmell, and in their rage killed diuerſe of them in the fielde of *Flora* and other places of the Citie: Vpon whiche occaſion the whole Citie drawing into tumult tooke armes, firſt with a great feare, and afterwards with no litle indignation of the Pope, for the ſlender regarde and reuerence that was giuen to his authoritie: But in ſuche a doubt and generall trauell of minde, he had occurrant the counſells and offers of the *Venetians*, who beeing of them ſelues entred into the like feare, laboured to perſwade him with no ſmall inſtance, that by their common ayde and meanes there might be procured to diſcende into *Italie* with all ſpeede, a regiment of ten thouſande *Svvizzers*, and calling alſo into their paye an other colonie of *Italians*, they might ioyne in groſſe to oppoſe agaynſt ſo manyfeſt and huge daungers: Wherein they promiſed for their partes (whiche is their ordinary cuſtome) farre greater things then they are wont to obſerue: They alleaged that it was many monthes ſince the Launceknightes within *Pauia* had bene payed, who ſeeing ſince the victorie the ſame difficulties of payment to continue, were become mutinous, and ceazing vpon the artilleries, were drawne into a ſetled ſtrength within *Pauia*: That becauſe the Capteines had no meane to make good their payment, all the reſidue of the armie was drawne into tumult, and murmured euerye day more and more: In ſo muche as both he and they falling ſpeedily into armes, both their common eſtates were aſſured, and the occaſion was enterteined by the which they would of themſelues fall into diſorder, beeing no leſſe embarked into thoſe difficulties, then conſtrayned to keepe continually great forces for the garde

The Venetiãs ſolicite the Pope to confederate with them.

of the king that was priſoner: To this they added that there was no doubt that the Lady Regent through whoſe hands paſſed the gouernment of *Fraunce*, and in whom was no ſmall deſire to further that vnion, would not onely make marche at their inſtance the Duke of *Albanie* with his regimentes, and the foure hundred Launces of the arearegarde reſerued of the battell: but alſo would induce the vniuerſall conſent of the kingdome of *Fraunce* to be concurrant for the ſafetie of *Italie*, with a greate ſumme of money, as knowing that therevpon depended the greateſt parte of their hope to recouer the king: Laſtely they vrged this deliberation to be good and neceſſary, if it were with the ſame ſpeede put in execution: but to deferre and temporiſe, were to giue meane to thimperialls to reduce their condition and reorder themſelues, the rather for that who ſo euer tooke not a reſolution to enter into armes, ſtoode in caſe of conſtraynt to compound with them and to giue them money: which was no other thing then to become an inſtrument & meane to deliuer them from all their difficulties, and ſubmit themſelues wilfully vnder a yoke of perpetuall ſubiection: Moreouer they put him in hope, that the Duke of *Ferrara* would follow them, who like as both for his auncient dependancie of the Frenche, and for the ayde which in that warre he had adminiſtred to the king, was not without his feare: ſo alſo his coniunction ſeemed of no litle importance, no leſſe for the commoditie of his eſtate in the warres of *Lombardie* (*Ferrara* beeing a very ſtrong towne) then for his great ſtore of munitions and artilleries, and (as the brute went) for his right huge wealth of golde and ſiluer. But neyther the hope to ouercome an enterpriſe ſo harde and daungerous, which with wiſe men ought to cary no litle care and impreſſion: nor the conſideration of perilles furtheſt off and remoued, to the which tyme is wont to bring thoſe remedies which the wit of man could not finde out: nor anye other thing of what property or operation ſoeuer, could not encline the Pope to open his eares to ſuche ſpeeches and perſwaſions, had not a feare to be inuaded preſently, induced him to laye him ſelfe downe rather to the daunger leaſt certayne, then to the perill that ſeemed moſte aſſured and moſte preſent: And therefore the practiſes were ſo farre aduaunced betweene them, and they ſtaying vppon nothing but to ſet downe the capitulations by writing, there was exſpectation from howre to howre to contract and accorde: In ſo muche as the Pope, who perſwaded himſelfe of the concluſion, diſpatched in poſt to the king of *Englande*, *Ieronimo Ghinuccio* a *Siennois* and Auditor of thapoſtolike chamber, whoſe commiſſion was to labor to diſpoſe the king to oppoſe his forces againſt ſuche a greatnes of themperour. In the very inſtant of this expedicion aryued with good oportunitie the Archbiſhop of *Capua* his auncient ſecretorie and counſellor, and for many yeres of great authoritie with him: he aſſone as he was aduertiſed of the victory of thimperials, departed from *Plaiſance*, and went to the campe of *Don Charles de Lauoy* Viceroy of *Naples*, and being reſolued of his intention, he tooke poſt horſe to go to the Pope, to whom he caryed an aſſured hope of accorde: for at that tyme the *Viceroy* and the other Capteines were occupied with two thoughtes and perplexities: the one to prouide money to content the armie, which for want of paye they ſawe began to decline into manyfeſt confuſion: the other, to cary the perſon of the French king into ſuch a place as the difficultie to garde him ſhould not keepe them in continuall care and feare: Which two things being eſtabliſhed, they iudged them to ſtande in degree and condition alwayes hable to execute and put to effect their purpoſes: In which reſpect they deſired accorde with the Pope, pretending thereby to drawe from him a great quantitie of money: wherevnto ſeeking to diſpoſe him the rather by feare,

Thimperialls determine to accorde with the Pope.

and

and alſo in releeuing theſtate of *Millan*, which was almoſte waſted with the burden of ſouldiours, they ſent to lye vpon the countrey of *Plaiſanca* foure hundred men at armes and eight thouſand launceknightes, not as enemies, but alleaging ſometimes the pouerty of the Duchie of *Millan* to be farre vnhable to nouriſhe ſo great an armie: and ſometimes threatning to make them marche vp to the territories of *Rome* to ſeeke out the Duke of *Albanie* if the regimentes of men of warre that had bene leauyed by the *Vrſins* were not retyred and diſſolued: But theſe induſtries and diligences were ſuperfluous, for that aſſoone as the Pope was aſſured to auoyde the daungers preſent, he lefte there all his other thoughtes, and diſpoſed his minde wholly to thaccorde: In which inclination concurring alſo the reaſons and counſell of tharchbiſhop, he ſent after thauditor of the Chamber, to countermaunde him backe agayne: And to take awaye all occaſions that might hinder thaccorde, he wrought ſo that the Duke of *Albanie* diſperſed his whole armie, excepte thoſe bandes of footemen and horſemen that were of beyonde the Mountes: he lodged the Duke within *Corneto*, after he had on thother ſide receyued promiſe of themperours commaunders, to giue leaue alſo to their ſouldiours that laye vpon the paſſages of *Rome*, and cauſe to ſtaye *Askanius Colonno* with the other companies that came from the kingdome: He alſo was an interpoſer with the *Colonnois*, beginning to moleſt the lands of the *Vrſins*, to deſiſt and depoſe armes.

The Pope both deſyred and did all he could to bring the *Venetians* comprehended within thaccorde whiche he ſolicited with the *Viceroy*, but the onely difficultie that reſiſted was, that they refuſed to paye ſo muche money as the *Viceroy* demaunded of them: for he required of them ſo muche money as had bene ſpente in the warre, to the which they ought to contribute, and that hereafter they ſhould make their contribution not with men but with money: The like demaunde did he alſo make to all thoſe that were comprehended in the confederation made with *Adrian*: But it made well for the Pope that the *Venetians* ſhewed themſelues harde & ſtraite, becauſe they put the *Viceroy* in ſuſpicion that they layde for newe ſtirres and commotions: And whyleſt theſe matters were negociated with a very aſſured hope of concluſion, the *Florentins*, by the Popes ordinance, ſent xxv. thouſande ducketts to the Marquis of *Piſquairo* for thenterteinment of tharmye, hauing firſt receyued promiſe from *Iohn Bart. de Gattinaro* who negociated with the Pope for the *Viceroy*, that that ſumme ſhould be percell of the principall ſumme which was to be payd to him by vertue of the newe capitulacion: And not many dayes afore the reſolution and concluſion of the ſayd capitulation, the duke of *Albanie*, who for his returning into *Fraunce* had taried for the nauy at ſea, which being now come, & alſo the gallies that were ſent him, he imbarked himſelfe in them together with the gallies of the Pope which were ſent to him by conſent of the *Viceroy*, and had neuertheles no ſafeconduit neither for the one nor for the other: *Ranſe de Cere* was imbarked with him, together with thartilleries which he had had from *Siena* and *Lucquay*, and foure hundred horſe, a thouſand launceknightes, with a very ſmal trowpe of Italians, the reſidue of the regiments being retyred and gone away by trowpes: The reſidue of the horſes were partly ſolde, and partly left there. It was diſcerned clearly by the dealing and proceding of the Duke of *Albanie*, that the purpoſe of his ſending thither, was eyther to diuert thimperialls from the Duchie of *Millan* for feare of the kingdome of *Naples*: or elſe through that feare to induce them to accorde, and aſwell for that cauſe he had marched ſlowly, as for that the forces which the king had giuen him, were not ſufficient for ſuche an enterpriſe.

But at laſte leauing out the *Venetians*, the confederation was concluded within *Rome* the firſt day of Aprill, betweene the Pope and *Florentins* on the one part, and themprour of thother, for whom the *Viceroy* vndertooke being his lieftenant generall in *Italie*, and for the *Viceroy*, *Iohn Bart. de Gattinaro* nephew to themprours chief Chauncellor being in *Rome* with full and ample commiſſion. Theffect of the Capitulations moſt importing was this: That betwene the Pope and themprour ſhould be a perpetuall amitie and confederation, by the which both the one and the other ſhoulde be bound to defende with a certayne proportion of men, the Duchie of *Millan*, being then poſſeſſed vnder the name of themperour, by *Frauncis Sforce*, who was named as principall in this capitulation: That themperour ſhould take into his protection, all the eſtates which the Church helde, together with thoſe which the *Florentins* poſſeſſed, and particularly the houſe of *Medicis* with all the authoritie and preheminences which that famulie helde in that Citie: That the *Florentins* ſhould pay preſently an hundred thouſande duckets, for recompence of their parte of contribucion in the laſte warres, by vertue of the league made by Pope *Adrian*, which themperour pretended not to be diſſolued by his death, for that it was manifeſtly expreſſed vpon the capitulations to endure one yere after the ſeuerall death of the confederates: That thimperials ſhould retyre their forces from of the church eſtates, and not to ſende afterwardes any bandes of ſouldiours to harbour or lodge there without the Popes conſent. There was place lefte for the *Venetians* to enter into this confederation within the tearme of twenty dayes vnder reaſonable conditions which were to be declared by the Pope and themperour. Moreouer it was accorded that the *Viceroy* ſhould be bound to bring in within foure monthes themperours ratification to all theſe capitulations: And thoſe that were delegates and deputies for the *Viceroy*, were bounde ſeuerally to a capitulation confirmed by othe, that if themperour within the ſayd time did not ratifie the ſayde capitulations, the *Viceroy* ſhould repay ouer agayne the ſayde hundred thouſande duckets: And yet ſo long as they were not repayed, the league ſhould haue his full obſeruation, to the which were added theſe three articles, not being any of the text of the capitulation, but ſet downe in articles apart, and confirmed alſo by othe: That in all cauſes and actions of benefices of the realme of *Naples*, it ſhould be permitted to the Popes to vſe the ſame authoritie and iuriſdiction as was diſpoſed by the inueſtitures of the kingdome: That hereafter the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould make all their prouiſion of ſalte from *Ceruia*, according to the price and order which had bene aforetime couenanted betwene Pope *Leo* and the French king nowe reigning, and confirmed in the capitulation which the ſayde Pope *Leo* made with themperour in the yeare a thouſande fiue hundred twentie and one: That the *Viceroy* ſhould ſo worke and labour, as the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhould immediatly render to the Church, *Reggia*, *Rubiera*, with ſuche other townes as he had taken during the vacation of the ſea by the death of *Adrian*: And that in conſideration thereof, the Pope aſſone as he ſhould be repoſſeſſed of them, ſhould pay to themperour an hundred thouſande duckets, and at the firſt requeſt to be made to him, to abſolue the Duke of *Ferrara* of the Cenſures and priuations which he had incurred, but not of the penaltie of an hundred thouſande duckets which he had promiſed in caſe of breaking the bond made with *Adrian*: And yet neuertheles after the Pope had recouered poſſeſſion, there ſhould be ſearche and examination made in lawe, whether thoſe townes, together with *Modena*, apperteined to the Church or to the Empire: And if they were founde to be the rightes of thempire, then they ſhould ſtande holden and recognized in chief

Confederation betweene the Pope and the Emprour.

of

of themperour, and otherwise to remayne free to the sea Apostolike.

This deliberation of the Pope was diuersly interpreted, according to the diuersitie of mens passions and iudgementes: but especially did varye the construction of the popular sorte, to whom suche counsels as carye the fayrest shewes seeme commonly more acceptable and pleasing, then those that are disgested with good maturitie of reasons: The common people also according to their lightnesse and credulitie, do for the most part esteeme for wise and noble, suche men as measure things not by discression and experience, but by affection and light relation: There were also some that professed to desire the libertie of *Italie*, who blamed the Popes dealing, as though through pucillanimitie and infirmitie of courage he had let slippe thoccasion to vnite it agaynst themperour, and to deliuer him selfe from all disorders: But most men of deeper iudgement and insight in matters of state, were of an other opinion: They sawe howe farre it had bene from wise counsell to oppose resistance with newe companies agaynst so glorious and victorious an armie: They considered by howe many reasons the comming of the *Svvizzers* might be long and dilatorie, and with what difficulties they shoulde passe notwithstanding they were ready to discende: And yet wayghing with their custome and inconstancie of their nature, the fresh wound which they had so lately receyued, there was no assurance of their comming: These wise men sawe also that there was no better hope or exspectation on the French side, eyther for that by reason of so great an ouerthrow they stoode depriued both of courage and counsell, or else there remayned no prouision of money, nor any supply of men of warre to refurnishe the bandes (those fewe that escaped the lamentable slaughter of the battell beeing so spoyled of their furniture and baggage, that they stoode neede both of time and money to readresse them): So that this vnion caryed no other fundation apparant or probable, then a naked hope that tharmie of thenemies would not come on nor moue for wante of money: A matter which though it came so to passe, yet they remayned not for all that depriued of the Duchie of *Millan*, which so long as it stoode at the deuotion of themperour, the Pope could not be without a perpetuall occasion of feare: And yet that hope was not without his vncertenties, for that it drewe with it this feare, that the Capteines, eyther by their authoritie, or by their pollicie, or lastly by propounding to the souldiors the sacke of some riche towne of the Churche or of *Tuskane*, would dispose the armie to marche: And of this inclination was discerned this manifest token, that one part of the Launceknightes to seeke a place of harbor of more benefite and conueniencie, were passed the ryuer of *Pavv*, and come vppon the landes of *Parma* and *Plaisanca*: In so muche as if they had any intention to passe further, it could not be but all remedies would come to late, and also so great a deliberation was grounded with too great a daunger, vpon a bare hope of the disorders of thenemies, who neuertheless had it in their power and will to ridde them selues out of their disorders. Then the counsell of the Pope seemed discret and well considered according to the time that then ranne, but it had happly ben more commendable, if in all the articles of the capitulation he had vsed the same discression, and disposed his wit rather to close vp and make whole all the woundes of *Italie*, then to open and make sharpe any one of consequence: Wherein he had wisely imitated the order of the skilfull Phisitions, who when the remedies they prepare to cure thindisposition of thinferiour members, augment the maladie of the head or the heart, they throwe away all care of griefes and infirmities most light, and with the fauour of tyme they proceede carefully to the cure of that which most importeth

and carieth moſt neceſſitie of remedy for the ſafety and good health of the pacient: But the better to explaine and ſignifie ſuch a matter, it is neceſſarie we diſcend more deepely into the diſcourſe of one parte of thoſe things which we haue ſet downe ſeuerally heare and there, and reduce them into one place and order.

The rightes & pretenſions of the familie of Eſt.

They of the family and houſe of *Eſt*, beſides that they haue bene poſſeſſed of long time vnder the title of the Vicaires of the Church, of the iuriſdiction of *Ferrara:* were Lords alſo for many yeares of *Reggia* and *Modena* by vertue of inueſtiture from the Emperours, for that in thoſe times there was none that called into doubt why thoſe two Cities were not ſubiect to the Empire: They were enioyed peaſibly vntill Pope *Iulio* the ſecond (he whoſe cuſtome was to vncouer the auncient titles and rightes of the Church long buried with tract of time, & vnder ſhadow of piety, was the author of many ills) begon the warre with Duke *Alfonſo*, to reduce wholly *Ferrara* vnder the obedience of the Church: By the occaſion and accidents of this warre, the Pope tooke from him *Modena*, and at the beginning reteined it for him ſelfe, as though, together with all the other townes euen to the riuer of *Pavv*, it had apperteined to the ſea Apoſtolike, as being parte of the partage or diuiſion of *Rauenna:* But a litle after he gaue it to th Emperour *Maximilian* for feare of the frenchemen, and yet he ceaſſed not for all that the warre againſt *Alfonſo*, but tooke from him afterwardes *Reggia*: yea it was beleued that (in that humor of authority & ambicion) if he had liued longer, he would haue depriued him alſo of *Ferrara:* Not that he accõpanied his action with equitie, but for the hatred and enuie he bare to *Alfonſo*, wherein he not only ſought to couer his ambicion with pietie, pretending vnder that pretext to recouer to the Church all that he could find had bene holden by her in any time: but alſo vnder ſuche a ſhadowe, he puſhed on the diſdaine he had to *Alfonſo*, for that he followed rather the amitie of *Fraunce*, then depended of him: yea in this malicious diſpoſicion was happily concurrant the vnappeaſible hatred which he boare to the memory and relikes of *Alexander* the ſixt his predeceſſor, whoſe daughter called *Lucrece* had bene maried to the Duke *Alfonſo*, of which mariage were procreated many children: The ſayde Pope *Iulio* left by his death to his ſucceſſors not only the ſucceſſion of *Reggia*, but alſo the ſame thirſt & deſire to get *Ferrara*, wherunto they ſeemed to be inclined for the glorious memorie he had left of him ſelfe to poſterity: for which reaſon that ambicion was more mighty in *Leon* his ſucceſſor, then the regard to the greatnes which the houſe of *Medicis* had in *Florence*, on whoſe behalfe it ſeemed more profitable that the puiſance of the church ſhould diminiſh, then to haue it made more redoubted to all her neighbours, by annexing of *Ferrara* to it: And in deede after he had bought *Modena*, he diſpoſed his ſpirites and ſtudy wholly to the getting of *Ferrara*, and that more by practiſe and ambuſhes, then with force open and diſcloſed, for that it would haue bene an enterpriſe of too great difficulties, ſince *Alfonſo* by the conſideracion of his owne daungers, fortefied him ſelfe on all ſides, and made plentifull prouiſion of artilleries and municions, and as the brute went, had confirmed his ſtrength with huge proporcions of wealth and treaſure: it may be his hatreds were greater then the hatreds of *Iulio*, euen ſo were they managed with more ſecrecy and ſuttletie: wherein beſides many plots which he layed to take *Ferrara*, either by ſurpriſe or by fraude, he paſſed ſuch manner of obligacions with thoſe Princes that he made alliance withall, that at leaſt they were reſtrained to hinder him in this enterpriſe: That held him, not onely during the life of *Iulian* his brother and *Laurence* his nephew, for whoſe greatnes and exaltacion it was thought he was caried with that ambicion, but alſo euen after their death: Yea he was ſo ouer-

ruled

ruled with that burning desire, that many were perswaded that therevpon proceded his last deliberation (more rashe then discrete) to knitte with themperour agaynst the French king: In so muche that by necessitie *Alfonso* was constrayned to satisfie the French king (being his onely founder and hope) in making warre vppon them of *Modena*, at suche time as the armies of Pope *Leo* and themperour helde *Pauia* besieged: In which warre albeit he had receyued a verye yll succesſe, yet he had bene reduced into farre greater difficulties, if Pope *Leo* euen amidde the course and dayes of his victories, had not bene called into the other life by sodayne death: An accident which assuredly chaunced no lesse aptly and conueniētly to him and to his affayres, then the death of *Iulio*: And it may be doubted, whether at last *Adrian* that was succesſor to *Leo*, was not infected with that property of couetousnesse, although both for his newe creation, and want of trayning in thaffayres of *Italie*, he gaue him absolution of the Censures in the very firste tymes of his comming to *Rome*: He graunted him also of newe thinuestiture of the Duchie, with permission to reteyne all that he had possessed during the vacation of the sea: He brought him also into a generall hope to make restitution of *Modena* & *Reggia*, though afterwards vpon better information of thestate and condition of things, he well expressed how farre his wyll was estraunged from his promise: But by the creation of Pope *Clement*, *Alfonso* entred into a great feare to returne eftsoones into the same daungers wherein he was intangled before: He tooke his reason of this feare, for that if things had happely succeeded with *Clement*, the same propertie of disposition woulde haue bene found in him, which had alwayes followed *Iulio* and *Leo*: But as thoccasion was not yet ripe for *Ferrara*, so he made his next practise and preparation to haue agayne *Reggia* and *Rubiera*, as an enterprise of more facilitie and better to bee iustified by the late possession whiche the Churche had of them, and as though in that regarde he coulde not but beare dishonour and infamie, to leaue them vnrecouered: Vpon which selfe suggestions and reasons, he tooke occasion bothe in many other sortes affore, and lastly in the capitulation with the *Viceroy*, to occupie his memorie with that deuise more often then many desyred: who as they looked into the daungers hanging ouer euery mans head by the greatnesse of themperour, and to breake the same sawe no better remedie then a ready and generall vnion of all the states of *Italie* together, that the tyme might cut out occasions and necessities euery daye to take armes: So they iudged it a better course for the Pope not to stirre and kindle the Duke of *Ferrara*, and muche lesse to put him into necessitie to seeke his reskewe betweene the armes of themperour, agaynst whose forces, whose fortune, and whose felicities, the tyme gaue them no power to oppose: And for the particular of the Duke, he was a Prince riche, which in conference of actions and enterprises, is not of the least consideration, and for his trayning and experience well hable to foresee and auoyde, a vertue moste commendable in a Prince whether his case be to defende or offende: Besides, aswell for the congruencie of his estate, as for his other conditions, the present diuisions and conspiracies of the tyme, required rather to cal him into affection and assurance, then to leaue him perplexed with hatred or feare: And yet it may be doubted whether to do benefite and pleasure to one perswaded that he hath receyued iniuries, bee sufficient to wype out of a minde yll disposed and full of iealousie, the memorie of wronges and offences, specially when the pleasure is done at a time when it seemes it proceedes more by necessitie then of good will.

After this capitulation was resolued, the Pope not to omitte anye conuenient

The Pope sendes to visite the french king beeing prisoner.

office to so great a Prince as the French king, by permission of the *Viceroy*, sent the Bishoppe of *Pistoya* to visite and comforte him in his name: There past betwene the king and hym but generall speeches, and that in the presence and hearing of Capteyne *Alarcon*, wherein he chiefly besought the Pope to make some good solicitation for hym to themperour: He asked him also, in suche secrecie as the lycence of a prisoner woulde suffer, what was become of the Duke of *Albanie*, and was aunswered to his great griefe, that one parte of hys armie beeing broken and retyred, he was returned with the residue into *Fraunce*. In these tymes they of *Lucquay* accorded with the *Viceroy*, who receyued them into the protection of themperour, vnder condition of tenne thousande duckets: By whose example also thinhabitantes of *Syena* contracted with him for fifteene thousande duckets without bynding him to maynteine more the one forme of gouernment then the other: for that of the one side, the famulie of *Motenouo* who at the instance of the Pope and by the meane of the Duke of *Albanie*, had resumed thauthoritie, which neuertheles was not as yet well confirmed: & on the other part, those who by the profession they made to desire libertie were commonly called Libertins, tooke hart by reason of the battell of *Pauia*, and would not endure the pollitie and gouernment introduced by the forces of the French king: Both partes sent messengers to the *Viceroy* to incline him, and to worke him fauourable to their seuerall doinges, and receyuing from him no certayne resolution touching the forme of gouernment, they ioyned both together and solicited readily composition: whiche beeing established and set downe, and the men ariued whom the *Viceroy* sent to receyue the money, it hapned both in their presence and in the very action of counting the money, that *Ierome Seuerino* a Citisen of *Siena*, who had bene sometime with the *Viceroy*, slue *Alexander Dichio* both chiefe of the newe gouernment, and also to whom the Pope had assigned at that tyme the whole reputation: The residue of the Citisens of faction and conspiracie with him, vppon that alarme tooke armes, concurring with them the commotion and consociation of the populars, beeing yll contented that the pollicie shoulde eftsoones returne vnder the yoke of tyrannie: In whiche vniuersall emotion and rysing they chased out the chieftaynes of the famulie of *Montonouo*, and reducing the Citie to a reformation, they readdressed eftsoones the gouernment popular, beeing bothe enemie to the Pope and adherent to themperour: It was beleeued that this alteration of pollicie was eyther done directlye with the priuitie of the *Viceroy*, or at least not without his great allowing and approbation, seeing it brought no little commoditie to thaffayres of themperour to haue at hys deuotion that Citie, whiche for her forces is very mightie and puissant, for the oportunitie of her portes and hauens, of greate regarde for marine enterprises, for her fertilitie of countreys very riche and plentifull, for her neighborhoode to the realme of *Naples*, very congruent and apte, and for her situation betweene *Rome* and *Florence* not of least respect and reason to fauour hys affayres: And yet both the *Viceroy* and Duke of *Sessa* had giuen hope to the Pope not to alter the gouernment introduced with hys fauour. There were many other townes in *Italie* who taking example of thinclination of them of *Lucquay* and *Sienna*, followed the fortune of the victors: Amongest these was the Marquis of *Montferat*, who compounded for fifteene thousand duckets: And the duke of *Ferrara* made a loane to the *Viceroy* of fiftie thousande duckets, vnder promise to haue them repaied if they did not capitulate together: he tooke his reason of that loane vpon the present condition of his affayres which could not be established so speedily, both for the respects

they

they bare to the capitulation made with the Pope, and also for the necessitie to vnderstande firste the will of the Emperour: But with the money of that loane, together with a hundred thousande duckets whiche were promised from the Duchie of *Millan*, and the imposition of *Sienna* and *Lucquay*, together with some proportion of treasure sente to *Genes* by Themperour for the supportation of the warre (whiche neuertheless came after the victorie) the Capteines set downe the payes of the army according to the rate and quantitie of the money that came, meaning to pay the souldiors for all that was paste, and to sende backe from hande to hande the *Almains* into *Germanie*: So that no tokens appearing that there was any intention at that tyme to followe the course of the victorie agaynst any man, since the *Viceroy* bothe had ratified the capitulation made with the Pope according to his requeste, and also had put in negociation at the same tyme a newe appoyntment with the *Venetians* whiche he greatly desyred. The eyes of euery man were set to beholde with what propertie of affection themperour woulde receyue his gladsome newes, and to what endes his thoughtes were disposed: who so farre as exteriour demonstrations made showe of, expressed great tokens of a minde muche moderated, and verye apte to resiste easily the prosperitie of fortune: yea the signes and inclinations appearing seemed so muche the more incredible, by howmuch he was a Prince mightie and young, and as yet had neuer tasted but of felicitie: For after he was informed truely of so greate a victorie, whereof he had the reapporte the tenth of Marche together with letters of the French kinges owne hande, written rather in the spirite and condition of a prisoner, then wyth the courage of a king: he wente foorthwith to the Churche to make hys holye oblations to God wyth manye solemnities, and the morning following he receyued with signes of righte greate deuotion the Sacrament of the *Eucharistie*, and so wente in processiõ to oure Ladies Churche oute of *Madrill* where was his Courte at that tyme: His temperaunce and moderation was aboue thexspectation of his estate, and farre contrarye to the custome of the tyme in matters of that nature: for he woulde not suffer anye belles to be ronge, nor bonfyres to be made, nor anye other manner of publike demonstrations, suche as are vsed for glorye or gladnesse, alleaging wyth a mynde more vertuous then insolent, that suche propertie of feasting and reioysing was due to victories obteyned agaynst Infidells, but oughte to haue no showe where one Christian ouercame an other: Neyther were the actions and gestures of hys persõne and speeches differing from so greate a temperaunce and continencie of mynde, whiche he well expressed in the aunsweres he made to the congratulations of thembassadours and greate men that were about him: to whome he sayde he was not gladde of thaccident according to the glorious operation of flesche and blood, but his reioysing was in that God had so manifestly ayded him, which he interpreted to an assured signe that he stoode in his grace and fauour, though not through his owne merite, yet by his celestiall election: Both for that he hoped nowe to haue occasion to reduce Christendome to peace, and to prepare warre against thinfidels, and also to haue meane to do good to his friends and to pardon his enemies: he sayde that albeit he might iustely appropriate to himselfe the whole victory, for that the helpe of none of his friendes did concurre in the action, yet he was contented so great a prosperitie should runne common to them all without any seperation of glory: Wherein after he had heard thembassadot of *Venice*, who iustified affore him the seruices done by his common weale, he said to such as stoode about him, that though his reasons and iustifications

The moderation and temperance of the Emprour vpõ the newes of the victory.

were not true, yet he woulde both accept them and repute them for true: And after he had continued certayne dayes in these speeches and demonstrations full of wisedome and moderation, he called his Counsayle together, to thende that according to his obseruation and custome, nothing were proceeded in, whiche were not well measured with maturitie of reasons and counsell: He required them by a manner of proposicion, to aduise him in what sorte he was to deale with the French king, and to what endes he was to addresse and dispose his victorie, commaunding them all to delyuer freely in his presence their seuerall opinions: Amongest them the first place of speaking was referred to the Bishop of *Osimo* his Confessor, who reasoned in this maner.

The Oration of the Bishop of Osimo touching the taking of the fr. king.

It is not vnknowen to your excellent Maiestie, that God hath authoritie to dispose all thinges, by the same power wherewith he hath created them of nothing: And albeit all accidentes and mortall euentes what so euer falling in this inferiour worlde, take their proceedinges and dayely mouinges of the prouidence of the-
" ternall God, yet we finde it oftentimes more especially declared in some nature of
" thinges then in others, as manyfestly hath appeared vppon the succesſe of your
" present victorie: for, both for the greatnesse of the glorie gotten, which is the most
" honorable ende and rewarde of warre, and for the facilitie of the victorie, which iu-
" stifieth the innocencie and goodnesse of your cause, and also for your happines to
" haue subdued enemies moste puissant and better prepared for the warre then you,
" by which your vallour and felicitie shyneth with a clearer lighte, I thinke it can
" not bee denyed that in the action hath not beene expressed an especiall will of
" God drawing almoste to a myracle: Therefore by howe muche the eternall God
" hath layde this greate blessing vppon you bothe manyfestly and publikely, by so
" muche more stande you tyed in obligation and office bothe to acknowledge it
" with humilitie and submission, and by demonstration to declare howe thankefull
" you are for it. This is the sacrifice that God requireth at your handes, and to this
" calleth you the consideration of the benefite, and your christian pyetie: The acti-
" on whereof consisteth principally that you addresse your victorie to thexaltation
" of the seruice of God, which is the ende for the which you ought to beleeue that
" he hath throwen it vppon you. And for my parte, when I looke into what tearmes
" and degrees the estate of Christendome is reduced, I see no waye more holye,
" more necessarie, nor more agreable to God, then to worke an vniuersall peace be-
" tweene the Princes of the imperie and regiment of Christendome: Wherein I
" am so muche the more touched in conscience, in office, and in calling, by howmuch
" I discerne by the generall face and showe of thinges, that without peace, both re-
" ligion and all her lawes and rules, and fayth whiche mortall men reappose in it,
" together with all obseruation of the commaundementes of God, which is the fun-
" dation of our Christianitie, are slyding into manyfest ruine. Your Maiestie is not
" ignorant, howe on the one side we haue the nation of the Turkes, who besides they
" haue wonne great things vppon the Christians by our owne discordes and diuisi-
" ons, do nowe manifestly threaten the kingdome of *Hungarie* which appertaineth to
" the husbande of your sister: Their ambicion goeth on increasing by the degrees
" of our separations and disagreements: And if God for our punishment suffer them
" to take *Hungarie*, which assuredly they will take if the Christian Princes doo not
" drawe into one vnitie and amitie together, the waye is made open to them to carie
" the whole Monarchy of *Germanie* and *Italie*: A losse irreparable and no lesse tyed
" to a perpetuall infamie to the name of Christian Princes, then the seruitude

and

and yoke of barbariſme wyll be alwayes intollerable to the generall poſteritie of all Chriſtian ſowles. On the other ſide we haue the infection of Lutheraniſme, ſo ſlaunderous to thoſe that haue power to oppreſſe it, and ſo daungerous for the ſpreading it makes in all partes, that if it be not reſtrayned, the worlde is in hazarde to be repleniſhed with Heretikes: There is no other remedie for that euill then by your authoritie and puiſſance, whiche yet you can not aduaunce for the cure of this maladie, ſo long as you ſtande embarqued in other warres. But be it, that for the preſent there were neyther feare of the Turkes, nor daunger of Heretikes, yet to a Prince profeſſing pyetie and charitie, what can bee more fowle, more ſinnefull, or more to bee abhorred, then for our paſſions, and emulation of ambition, to lyue in the effuſion of ſo muche Chriſtian blood, whiche eyther with greater glory might be ſpent in the quarrell of the fayth of Chriſte, or at leaſt with better oportunitie be reſerued for tymes more neceſſarie. The warres that you nowe proſecute, drawe after them a bottomleſſe gulfe of violations and whordomes, an infinitie of ſacrileges and blaſphemies, and a world of other impious and execrable deedes: Suche as who ſo euer is a voluntary author of them can not but ſtande in a weake eſtate of grace or hope of pardon at Gods hande, ſeeing that yf neceſſitie leade him into them, he is without merite of excuſe, if at the leaſt he proceede not to the remedie of ſo great euills ſo ſpeedily as he hath the meane: It is not good to be the author of euill, but we are eſpecially bidden to beware to continue in thoſe euilles which our conſcience doth aſſure vs to offende God: So that this ought to be the ende of your Maieſties thoughtes and counſels, and the eſpeciall marke whereat you haue to ſhoote, to reduce the Princes and Potentates of Chriſtendome to an vniuerſall peace, as a matter moſte honorable, moſte holy, and moſte neceſſarie: for the manner and reall effecting whereof, your Maieſtie may take three deliberations touching the Frenche king: The firſte to keepe hym a perpetuall priſoner: The ſeconde to delyuer him friendly and brotherly without other conditions then ſuche as maye induce betweene you a perpetuall peace and amitie, and tende to cure and readdreſſe the harmes of Chriſtendome: The thirde, to exacte by his libertie as greate a profite as you can: Of theſe, two of them in my opinion do augment and prolonge the warres: but the thirde whiche is his abſolute libertie in amitie and brotherhood, is the onely remedie to remoue the warre, and reſiſte for euer all motions and occaſions to renewe it: For it is not to be doubted that the Frenche kinge for ſo ſingular a liberalitie as the free benefite of his libertie, wyll not remayne more aſſured to you in minde and affection, then he ſtandes nowe faſte bounde to you in body. Greater is the bonde of liberalitie and friendſhippe, then the lawe of kindred and blood, for that election and iudgemente make a friende, but fortune brings parentage: And if betweene your ſacred Maieſtie and hym ſhall runne a league of true vnion and concorde, all other Chriſtian Princes wyll embraſe reconciliation and agreement, and by your vertuous example, will labour ro reclayme to the body of Chriſtendome, ſuche members as lyue nowe in ſeperation: But yf you make a reſolution to deteyne hym alwayes in pryſon, beſides the apparant crueltie in the acte, whiche is contrarie to the pyetie of a Chriſtian Prince, and beſides the imputation of ignoraunce touching the mutabilitie of fortune, which in matters of victorie draweth deepe conſideration, you ſhall nouriſhe the ſeedes of mutuall warres betwene you, whiche no doubt will growe increaſing and multiplying to thindifferent ruine of you both: for in ſo doing you wyll make the world

" clamarous agaynſt your vehement thirſte after the Crowne of *Fraunce*, or ſome
" member thereof, and dryue him in reaſon and equitie to ryſe into newe warres, to
" reſiſte ſo greate an ambicion: And to chooſe the waye to deliuer him vnder capi-
" tulations for your moſte profite and aduauntage, can not bee but the worſe waye
" and an election more daungerous then bothe the others: for, make what alliance
" you will, what capitulations you can, and what obligations you thinke good, yet
" by howe muche you ſeeke to tye his libertie to ſuche conditions, by ſo muche wyll
" he take occaſion to be more and more your enemie, wherein he ſhall neuer wante
" the aſſiſtance and companie of all thoſe Princes whome he can induce to be ielouſe
" ouer your greatneſſe. In caſes of iealouſie and emulation for imperie and eſtate, it
" is harde to conteyne the courage of man, though in all other occaſions nature
" hath aſſigned hym an ordinary bridle and reſtraynte: And ſuche is mans infirmitie,
" that when the heart is poſſeſſed of the iniurie, the whole bodye is caryed with a
" violent motion to the paſſion of reuenge. I am not ignoraunt howe farre this opi-
" nion differeth from the taſte of ordinary men, neyther howe newe it is to their
" eares, nor howe little confirmed with examples: But I knowe agayne howe much
" it agreeth with the maieſtie of thEmperour to diſpoſe his minde to deliberations
" extraordinary and ſingular, ſuche as the conceptions and capacitie of other men
" can not reache vnto, whome if your Maieſtie exceede in dignitie, you ought by ſo
" many degrees to ſurmount in magnanimitie; whiche will not onely leade you to
" the merite and effecte of true glory, but alſo it will open your ſacred eyes to diſ-
" cerne what greater comelyneſſe it bringes to you to pardon and vſe liberalitie, then
" to puniſhe and be couetous in getting: By this your Maieſtie ſhall knowe that God
" hath not giuen you in vayne, yea almoſte miraculouſly, the power to reduce the
" worlde to a peace: And that it apperteineth vnto you, after ſo many victories, af-
" ter ſo many graces and bleſſinges throwen vppon you by the goodneſſe of God,
" and after you haue brought ſo many Princes proſtrate at your feete, to proceede
" no more in the perſon of an enemie to anye man, but to prouide in the affection
" of a common father, for the ſafetie of all men. That glorie is vniuſte that is pur-
" chaſed with the iniurie of an other, and nature hath ſowen in man aſwell ſeedes
" of equitie and clemencie, as of iniurie and furie. The magnanimitie whiche *A-*
" *lexander* the great and *Iulius Cæſar* haue ſhowed in pardoning their enemies, and
" reſtoring kingdomes to thoſe they had vanquiſhed, hath made their names more
" glorious, then their infinite victories and many triumphes: Whoſe example it im-
" porteth moſt thoſe men to followe, who not making glory their onely end (though
" it be a right great rewarde) do deſyre principally to do that whiche is the true and
" proper office of euery Chriſtian prince. But to thende to conuince ſuche as mea-
" ſure humaine thinges onely with humaine endes, let vs conſider further if there re-
" mayne yet any other deliberation more conformable then this: For my parte I be-
" leeue, that in all the greatnes and ſoueraigne eſtate of your Maieſtie, there is no
" parte more wonderfull nor more worthy, then this recommendation and glorie,
" that you haue ſtande tyll this daye inuincible, and haue guyded all your enterpri-
" ſes to a moſte happie ende, drawing with it bothe felicitie and reputation: whiche
" as you can not but interprete to be the moſte precious iewell, and moſte ſinguler
" treaſour that God hath indued you withall, ſo he hath lefte to your Maieſtie no
" better waye to eſtabliſhe it, nor fitter meane to aſſure and conſerue it, then in lea-
" uing the warres with an ende ſo honorable and worthy, to take out of the handes
" and power of fortune the ſubuerſion of your glory gotten, and to reduce from the

middeſt

middeſt of the ſea to the port of ſauetie, this veſſell loaden with marchandiſe of vallue ineſtimable: It belonges to wiſe men not to referre eſtſoones to the arbitermēt of fortune, the thinges which they haue once achieued by their vallour and wiſedome: And this hath bene alwayes an obſeruacion with wiſe men, that the greater their fortune was, the leſſe did they truſt it: But let vs paſſe further, there is no man dowteth that that greatnes which is preſerued willingly is not more agreeable, then that which is meinteyned by violence, for that it is ſo much the more ſtable, ſo much the more eaſie, ſo much the more agreeable, and ſo much the more honorable: If your maieſtie bind the French king to you by ſo great a liberalitie, and by ſo great a benefit, will it not be the propper degree to put vpon you the abſolute authoritie & iuriſdiction both of him ſelfe and his kingdom? If you giue to the Pope and other Princes ſo manifeſt a certeintie, that you are contented with the ſtates which you haue, and that you liue in a ſpeciall care and watching ouer the vniuerſall ſauetie of Chriſtendom: Will not they remaine without ſuſpicion? yea hauing no more to feare you, nor nothing to quarrell with you, they will not onely loue you, but they will honor in your perſon ſo great a bountie: By this meane you ſhall drawe to you the harts of men, which are not to be ſubdued by fiercenes, you ſhall giue lawes to all nations for that they ſee you deuided from ambicion, And by this meane ſhall you diſpoſe more Chriſtians with good will and authoritie, then with forces and ſubiection: By this meane being followed and ayded of all men, you ſhal haue good oportunitie to turne your armes againſt the Lutherans & Infidels, with greater glory & with more occaſion of greater conqueſts: Which I know not why they ſhould not be alſo deſired in *Afrika*, in *Greece*, or in *Leuant*, ſeeing that as you haue had ſo great facilitie to amplifie your dominion amongſt the Chriſtians, And the puiſſance of your maieſtie ſo augmented that it is almoſt become terrible to them all, So when they ſhall ſee your purpoſes extended further, and your ambicion breake out of lymit, all the world will conſpire by neceſſitie againſt you whom they find armed with a mind ſo preiudiciall to their libertie. In all times, in all clymats, and to all natures, ſeruitude hath bene hatefull, and libertie ſweete and acceptable: the Pope feareth your power, the *Venetians* tremble vnder your puiſſant hande, your forces haue put all *Italy* into aſtoniſhment, and by the tokens that are diſcerned, it is credible that the king of *England* enuyeth your felicitie: you may for certaine monethes enterteyne the French men with fayre hopes and vaine practiſes, but in the end, either the king muſt be deliuered, or they muſt be ſent backe deſperat: if they reape diſpaire, they haue reaſon to conſpyre againſt you with all the confederats they can procure: And if you deliuer the king with condicions of litle profit to your maieſtie, what ſhal you winne, to loſe thoccaſion to vſe ſo great a magnanimitie? which if you expreſſe not at this beginning, when afterwards you would ſhowe it, it will haue neither prayſe, glory, nor the like grace: if you tye to his deliuerie couenants that bind him to your profit and commoditie, he will not obſerue them, for that no ſewertie that he ſhall giue you can ſo much import him, but that it will import him much more not to haue his enemie to become ſo great as afterwardes he ſhall not be able to oppreſſe him: And ſo ſhall we haue either a peace vnprofitable, which ought to be farre from the deliberacion of your maieſtie, or els warres very daungerous, whoſe ende is as vncerteine as the action is ielous: Beſides, the chaunge of fortune is to be feared of him to whome ſhe hath giuen ſo long a fruicion of felicitie, And much more griefe and heauynes by the yll ſucceſſe of things, is to be doubted of him who hath had power to aſſure them. Thus haue I ſatisfied the commaundement of your Maieſtie,

" though not with grauitie and witte that was exſpected, yet with affection and fide-
" litie according to a ſubiect, beſeeching God to inſpire you with the election of that
" deliberation, which may be moſt acceptable to his will and agreable to your glory,
" and alſo be moſte conducible to the benefite of the common weale of Chriſten-
" dome, of the which both for your ſupreme dignitie, and correſpondencie of the di-
" uine will of God, there is neceſſarily transferred to your perſon the name of patron
" and protector.

This Oration was heard of th Emperour with great attention, and yet he made no declaration by any ſigne or ieſture, whether he allowed or condemned it: But giuing the ſigne to the reſidue to ſpeake, *Federike* duke of *Alba*, a man of great authoritie with the perour, roaſe vp and reaſoned in this ſort:

The opinion of the duke of Alba touching the kings impriſonment.

There be in the ſoule of man two principall powers neceſſarilie concurring to euery good action, the vnderſtanding and the will, of both whiche, wiſdome is the full perfection: The one we neede not doubt to be the free gifte of God, and the other we may aſſure to be bredde in nature: the one an inſpiration to leade vs to the knowledge of things, and the other a diſpoſicion carying vs to the operation and
" action of the ſame, and they both no other thing then the effect of that perfection
" which is referred to wiſdome: And as this wiſdome diſcendeth by grace, and is not
" giuen by nature, ſo yet in thadminiſtration of worldly things, we ſee it bothe much
" holpen and well confirmed by learning and induſtrie. In which reſpect (right ſoue-
" raigne Emperour) I pray to be excuſed, if my iudgement differ not from the com-
" mon iudgement of others, & if by the facultie of my ſpirite I be not capable to perce
" ſo deepe as the vnderſtanding of others can not reache vnto: yea I hope to deſerue
" more commendation, if in my counſells I perſwade you to followe the ſame waye
" which your fathers and elders haue alwayes taken: for albeit counſells newe and
" without vſe, at the firſt ſight may happly bring with them glorious ſhowes and ap-
" parances, yet no doubt in the ende they are founde to draw with them more daun-
" ger and deceite, then ſuche as beeing meaſured by reaſon, example and experience,
" haue bene in all times approued by generall ſentence of all men: yea all thinges are
" put to aduenture, that are done by raſhnes and not by reaſon. Your Maieſtie hath
" receyued principally by the will and working of God, and ſecondlye through the
" vallour of your Capteines and armie, the greateſt victorie that in many ages hath
" bene transferred to any Chriſtian Prince: But the chiefe frute to vanquiſhe conſi-
" ſteth in the well vſing of your victorie, and who ordreth not his felicitie ſo, incur-
" reth a farre greater infamie, then if he knewe not howe to vanquiſhe. Greater is the
" fault of that man who ſuffreth himſelfe to be deceyued by thoſe things whiche he
" holdeth in his owne power, then by ſuche as depende vpon the arbitration of for-
" tune: Since for the moſte parte whom fortune doth bring to beleeue in her, ſhe
" maketh them more deſirous of glory, then apt to receyue it or hable to gouerne it.
" Your Maieſtie hath to take heede to enter into any deliberation which in the ende
" may bring ſhame to others, and repentance to your ſelfe: And by how much thim-
" portance of this negociation is great, by ſo muche doth it call your Maieſtie to pro-
" ceede with great aduiſe in your reſolutions, in which the faultes that are once com-
" mitted, can not be corrected. If you once deliuer the French king, you can no more
" reteine him, but ſo long as he remayneth your priſoner, it is alwayes in your power
" to giue him libertie. In caſes of captiuitie he that haſtely enfreeth his enemie, wor-
" keth to him ſelfe the occaſion of his owne harme: And therefore it can not but be
" an iniurie to obiect your ſlownes to ſet him at libertie, ſince the king knoweth in

his

his owne conſcience how he would vſe thEmperour if he were his priſoner: Truly it was a great felicitie to take the frenche king, but in conference and compariſon of things, it would proue a farre greater infelicity to let him go: I hope your maieſty is not ignorant that follie and raſhneſſe haue no ſocietie with wiſdom, nor fortune no community with good councell, and therefore touching the deliberacion of his deliuerie, it ought to be debated with grauetie of councell, calling to you a long aſſiſtance and courſe of time: I might happily chaunge this opinion, if I ſaw any reaſon to perſwade me, that the king being preſently deliuered, would reaſonably acknowledge the benefite according to the conſequence of it, and that the Pope and the other potentats of *Italie*, would be brought to lay away together with their ſuſpicions, all their couetouſnes and ambicion: But who knoweth not how daungerous it is to ground & eſtabliſh a reſolucion of ſo great importance vpon a ſuppoſition both vntrue and vncerteine: The conſideracion of the condicion & maner of mortall men induceth the contrarie, for that ordinarilie there is nothing endureth ſo litle a ſeaſon as the remembraunce of benefites receiued, and the more greater they be, the more commonly are they recompenſed with ingratitude, for that he that either can not or will not make them good with recompenſe, ſeeketh oftentimes to deface them with forgetfulnes, or at leaſt to make them leſſe, by perſwading that they were not ſo great: And as to ſome men it is a more ſhame to confeſſe a fault then to do it, ſo, we haue ſeene many who being reduced to ſuche neceſſitie as they haue ſtande neede of a benefit, doe yet receiue it with mindes grudging and not contented: in whom commonly hatred beareth more rule for the remembraunce of the neceſſitie wherein they were falne, then the obligacion and thankefulnes which ought to followe the fauor and benefit that was done vnto them: Moreouer there is no nation vnder the couer of the skie to whom inſolencie is more naturall, and lightnes more familiar, then to the frenchmen: And where is inſolency, there is inconſideracion: And where is lightneſſe, there is no knowledge of vertue, there is no iudgement to diſcerne of the actions of others, nor grauetie to meaſure that which concerneth them ſelues: Then what other thing may we hope for in the french king, for his cuſtome ſo inſolent, and for his greatnes ſo prowde and hawtie, then that he burneth with rage and diſdaine to be priſoner to thEmperour, at a time when he looked to triumphe ouer him: he will keepe alwayes before his eyes, the remembrance of this infamie, and being deliuered, he will neuer beleue that the meane to quench it, is to be thankefull and acknowledge, but in ſtriuing to be ſuperior, he will perſwade himſelfe that you let him go for the difficulties to holde & reteine him, and not through your bounty & magnanimity: Such is for the moſt part the nature of men, and ſuch hath bene alwayes the condicion of the frenchmen, from whom who looketh for a conſtancy or magnanimity, exſpecteth a renouacion & new rule in humane things: So that in place to haue peace, and to reorder the regions of Chriſtendom, we ſhall ſee riſe vp, warres, both more doubtfull and more daungerous then thoſe that are paſſed, ſuche as for their confederacies will be intollerable, and for their calamities horrible: The reaſon of theſe is, for that your reputacion will be leſſened, and your armie, which now exſpecteth the frute due vpon ſo great a victorie being deceiued of their hopes, will haue no more the ſame vertue, nor your affaires followed with the ſame fortune: Who if ſhe be hardly holden by him that reteineth her, muche leſſe will ſhe tarie with ſuche as chaſe her and driue her away: ſhe hath a freewill to come and go when ſhe liſt, and is not ſtayed by the power of mortall Princes, whom with other earthly creatures nature hath made ſubiect to the law of reuolucion and

" chaunge: neither haue you reason to reappose any thing in the bountie of the Pope,
" or the modestie of the *Venetians*, for that repenting them selues to haue suffered you
" to goe away with the victorie past, they will seeke to cast blocks in your way for go-
" ing any further, wherin will be concurrant the present feare they haue of you, which
" will compell them to oppose against your newe fortunes and victories to come: yea
" where you haue now in your power to hold all men bownd and astonished, your self
" with a dissolute bountie will be he that will vnbind them and giue them hart: I know
" not what is the will and resolucion of God, neither doe I thinke others can reach to
" the knowledge of it, for that we are made assured by the Scriptures that his iudge-
" ments are secret, and deepe: But if it be lawfull to interprete matters by coniecture,
" which is the onely way to comprehend things to come, I see many tokens that God
" fauoreth your greatnes: neither can I beleue that he extendeth his graces vpon you
" in so great abundance to thend you should dissipat and dissolue them of your selfe,
" but thereby to raise you and make you superior ouer others aswell in effect, as you
" are in title and right: And truely to lose so rare an occasion which God doth sende
" you, would be no other thing then to tempt him & make you vnworthy of his grace:
" In cases of conquest and victorie, Princes are hardly contented with that which oc-
" casion doth offer, for that the things which they winne first doe not satisfie them, so
" long as they hope to get better. Reason hath alwayes taught, and experience doth
" well confirme it, that seldom doe those things draw good successe which depend vp-
" pon the councells of many: By which argument I doubt whether he measure right-
" ly the nature of the world, who beleueth that he is able to roote out the Heretikes,
" or suppresse the Infidells, with the vnion of many Princes: They be enterprises that
" haue neede of a Prince so mighty and great, as to be able to giue lawes and rules to
" others: If that be not obserued and considered, they will haue their passage hereaf-
" ter with the same successe, wherewith they haue passed in times before: for this
" cause doe I beleue that God hath cast on you so great victories, and for the same rea-
" son hath opened you the way to the whole Monarchie, which onely may make you
" able to bringe to passe so great and holy effects: To the which it is not amisse that
" you be slow to giue the first beginnings, to thende to accomplishe them with more
" better and more certeine foundacions: Let not the feare of so many puissant leagues
" and confederacions as are contracted against you, estraunge you from this delibera-
" cion, for that both thoccasion which you reteyne in your hande is sufficient to ad-
" uaunce it, And also if things be well negociated, the kings mother, for her affection
" to her sonne, and for the necessitie to recouer his libertie, wil neuer cast of her hopes
" to redeeme him of you by accord. Besides, the Princes of *Italy* will neuer enter vnitie
" with the gouernment of *Fraunce*, knowing that it remayneth alwayes in your hand,
" setting the kinge at libertie, not onely to seperate him but also to turne him against
" them: A matter which as for the time it wil keepe them in astonishment & suspense,
" so in the end it must needes come to passe that they must be the first to receiue lawes
" of you, And then it can not be but an action full of glorye, to vse towards them cle-
" mencie and magnanimitie, euen when matters shall be reduced to that estate and
" degree as they can not chuse but acknowledge you for superior: Such was the man-
" ner of dealing of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, who were forward aad liberall to pardon in-
" iuries, and not slow and inconsiderat to readdresse their estate of them selues, Amidd
" those difficulties and daungers which they had already surmounted: he that doth
" so, deserueth praise, for that he doth an acte which hath very fewe examples, but that
" man can not but beare notes of imprudency and indiscression, who doth that which

hath

hath no law of example nor rule of time: By theſe reaſons I am bold to induce your maieſtie to draw of your victorie, as great a profit as you can, and alwayes vſing towardes the king thoſe offices and oblacions that apperteine to him, either to ſende for him into *Spaine*, or at leaſt to haue him conueyed to *Naples*: And for aunſwere of his letter ſent to your maieſtie, it were good to returne to him ſome ſpeciall man to viſite him with wordes full of grace and hope, and withall to propownd vnto him condicions of his deliuerance, ſuch as (vpon more particular conſultacion) may be worthie recompenſes and rewardes of ſo greate a victorie: In this ſorte your fundacions being layed, and your thoughtes extended to theſe endes, the time and the operacions and accidentes thereof, will make either more quicke or more ſlowe, the deliuerie of the king, and will alſo beget occaſions of peace or warre with thItalians, whom for the preſent you may enterteine with good hopes: So ſhall you with art and induſtrie augument the fauor and reputacion of armes, and auoyding to tempt euerie day a new fortune, we ſhall be prepared and readie to accord either with this Prince or with that common weale, either with all together or with one in particular as occaſions & accidents ſhall induce vs: Theſe be the wayes which wiſe Princes haue alwayes followed, and particularly thoſe who haue left to you the fundacions of ſuch a greatnes: They were neuer curious to reiect occaſions that made to raiſe them higher, nor ſlow to puſh on the fauor of fortune when they ſaw her wel diſpoſed: To you belongeth the intereſt of their example, as of right apperteineth vnto you that which in any of them might ſeeme to be ambicion: Your maieſtie muſt remember that you are a Prince, and that it is one office in your calling to followe the trace of Princes: Muche leſſe that any reaſon either diuine or humane perſwadeth you to leaue thoccaſion to releue and readdreſſe thauthority of the Empire vſurped and defaced, ſeeing all lawes of God and nations binde you by ſtraite obligacion, to arme your corage and intencions to recouer it rightfully: occaſions are precious if they be executed in the ripeneſſe of time, but being foreſlowed, they turne to the preiudice of thoſe that hoped in them: Your maieſtie muſt be gealous ouer them, knowing how eaſely they are loſt, and with what difficultie they are recouered: you muſt not be curious to make your profit of them, nor doubtfull to aduaunce them when you ſee they draw with them a correſpondencie of time, of place, and all other circumſtances helping to your enterpriſes: You are not to make your fundacion vpon the bountie or wiſedome of thoſe that bee vanquiſhed, ſeeing all mortall men draw with them their corruptions, and the whole worlde is full of infirmitie and error: dignities and greatnes are the effectes and rewards of vallour, and where is a reſolute minde to execute, there neuer wanteth a good fortune to eſtabliſhe and confirme: Laſtly ſeeing the eſtate of Chriſtendom can not be defended by any other meane then by your greatnes, it is a iuſt office in your maieſtie to lay to your hande, though not for the intereſt of your owne authoritie and glorie, yet for the ſeruice of God, and zeale of the vniuerſall benefit.

This oration was hard with a wonderful fauor & inclinacion of the whole coũcell, in whom, for the authority of the man, and for the ſpirit and efficacie of his reaſons, might be diſcerned an vniuerſall impreſſion of ambicion almoſt to the whole Empire of Chriſtendom: There was not one amongeſt them, who without replie, did not confirme his opinion, which thEmperour alſo approued, though more for colour not to ſeeme to ſwarue from the councell of his frends, then in diſcloſing what was the propertie of his inclinacion: *Monſr Beauruin*, by office his great Chamberlaine, and by fauour verie gracious with him, was diſpatched both to imparte with

the Capteines of the armie, thEmprours deliberacion, and alſo to viſit in his name the French king, and to propownd to him the condicions by the which he might obteine his deliuerance: he tooke his way by lande, for that the kinges mother had made free and open all paſſages for Meſſengers and corryers to come and goe to thEmprours Court, for the more eaſie and ſafe negociacion of her ſonnes affayres: And ſo together with the Duke of *Burbon* & the *Viceroy*, he went to *Piſqueton*, where the king remeyned as yet: There he offered him his libertie, but with ſo vnequall & heauy condicions, that the very hearing of them was intollerable to the king: for, beſides the reſigning of all his titles and rights which he pretended in *Italy*, thEmprour demaunded to haue rendred vnto him the Duchie of *Burgonguie* as apperteyning to him in propper, And to giue to the Duke of *Burbon*, *Prouence* with all the dependencies thereof: And he required beſides, aſwell for him ſelfe as for the king of *England*, other condicions of very great moment: It ſeemed the vertue of the king had ouercome the aduerſities of his impriſonment, for, to thEmprours demaundes he aunſwered conſtantly, that he had rather offer vp his life in priſon then to depriue his children of any part of the Realme of *Fraunce*, And though he ſhould conſent to a compoſicion ſo preiudiciall, yet it was not in his power to execute it: for that the auncient tradicions and conſtitucions of *Fraunce* did not ſuffer alienacion of any member or appertenancie to the crowne without the conſent of the parliaments, & others in whoſe hands reſted the authoritie of the whole kingdom, and who in like caſes had bene alwayes wont to preferre the vniuerſall ſauetie of the mayne body of the Realme, affore the particular intereſt, of the perſons of their kings: That if they would demaund condicions which were in his power to performe, they ſhould finde him moſt ready to ioyne with thEmprour, and to fauor his greatnes: But ſuch was his deſire of libertie, that here he ceaſſed not to offer condicions diuers, making no difficulty to graunt large parts of other mens eſtates, without promiſing any thing of his owne. This was in effect the ſumme of the things he accorded: he offered to take to wife thEmprours ſiſter, a late widowe by the death of the king of *Portugall*: he made confeſſion that he would hold *Burgonguie* as in dowrye, and that it ſhould apperteyne to the children yſſuing of that mariage: That he would reſtore to the Duke of *Burbon*, the Duchie that had beene confiſked from him enlarging it with ſome other eſtate: That in recompenſe of thEmprours ſiſter who had bene promiſed to the Duke, the king would giue him in mariage, his ſiſter a late widowe by the deceaſſe of *Monſr d'Alenſon*: That he would ſatisfie the king of *England* with money, and pay to thEmprour a great treaſor for his raunſom: That he would reſigne vnto him his intereſts and rights in the kingdom of *Naples* and Duchie of *Myllan*: That he woulde ſend to accompany him both with a nauie by ſea and an armie by lande, at ſuch tyme as he would goe to *Rome* to take the crowne Imperiall, which was as much as if he had promiſed to giue him in pray, the whole Monarchie of *Italy*. *Beaurayn* returned with theſe capitulacions to thEmprour, to whom went with him alſo *Monſr Montmorancy* a perſonage then very agreeable to the king, and afterwards great maiſter of *Fraunce*, and at laſt by the kings liberalitie, indued with the dignitie of high Conſtable of *Fraunce*.

The ſorowes and feares of Fraunce for the impriſonment of the king.

But now let vs ſay ſomewhat of the ſorowes & feares of *Fraunce*: After they were poſſeſſed of the newes of the ouerthrow of tharmie, & taking of the king, there ranne thorow the whole kingdome an vniuerſall aſtoniſhment and confuſion: for, beſides the incredible ſorow which thaccident of the kinges impriſonment brought to that nation, naturally very deuout and louing to their kinges, there appeared on all ſides

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infinite mournings and heauines aſwell publike as priuate: Priuate men lamented and made their ſorrowes aparte, for that aſwell of the Courte as of the Nobilitie, there were very fewe who had not loſte in the battell, their children, their brethren, or other their parentes and friends of marke: They wepte and coulde not be comforted, becauſe they iudged their ſorrowe could not be greater then the qualitie of their loſſe: And in the publike and generall body of the realme might be diſcerned nothing but an vniuerſall face of deſolation and diſpayre, euery one crying out of ſo great a diminution of the authoritie & glory of ſo flouriſhing a realme: A perplexitie ſo muche the more grieuous & intollerable to them, by howmuch naturally they are hawty and preſuming of themſelues: In this eſtate of aduerſitie they ſet before their eyes all that feare and diſpayre coulde imagine: They doubted leaſt ſo great a calamitie were not the beginning of a further ruine and ſubuerſion: They ſawe their king priſoner, and with him eyther taken or ſlaine in the battel, the chieftayns of the kingdome, which in the imagination of their ſorowes they helde a loſſe irreparable: They behelde their capteins diſcomforted, and their ſouldiors diſcouraged: A calamitie which ſtopped in them all hope to be readdreſſed or reaſſured: They ſaw the realme made naked of money & treaſor, and enuironed with moſt mighty enemies, an affliction which moſt of all caryed their thoughts into the laſt cogitations of deſperate ruine: for the king of *England*, notwithſtanding he had holden many parleys and treaties, and ſhowed in many things a variation of mind, yet not many daies before the battel, he had cut off al the negociations which he had enterteined with the king, & had publiſhed that he would diſcend into *Fraunce* if the things of *Italie* tooke any good ſucceſſe: So that the frenchmen feared leaſt in ſo great an oportunity thẽprour & he would not leauy warre agaynſt *Fraunce*, eyther for that there was no other head or gouernor then a woman and the litle children of the king, of whom the eldeſt had not yet runne eyght yeres accompliſhed: or els becauſe thenemies had with thẽ the duke of *Burbon*, for his owne particular a puiſſant prince, and for his authority in the realme of *Fraunce* very popular & ſtrong in opinion, a mighty inſtrument to ſtirre vp moſt dangerous emotions. Beſides, the Lady Regent, aſwell for the loue ſhe bare to the king, as for the daungers of the realme, was not without her paſſions both proper and particular: for being full of ambition and moſt greedy of the gouernment, ſhe feared that if the kinges deliuery drewe any long tract of tyme, or that any new difficultie happned in *Fraunce*, ſhe ſhould be conſtrayned to yelde vp thadminiſtration of the Crowne to ſuche as ſhould be delegate and aſſigned by the voyces of the kingdome: Neuertheles amid ſo many aſtoniſhmentes & confuſions ſhe drew her ſpirites to her, & by her example were recõforted the nobles that were of counſell with her, who taking ſpeedy order to manne the frontiers of the realme, and with diligence to leauy a good prouiſion of money: The Lady Regent in whoſe name all expeditions & diſpatches went out, wrote to themprour letters full of humilitie and compaſſion, wherein ſhe forgot not by degrees vehement and inducing to ſolicit a negociatiõ of accord, by vertue wherof, hauing a litle after deliuered *Don Hugo dẽ Moncado*, ſhe ſent him to themprour, to offer him, that her ſonne ſhould renounce & diſclaime frõ all rightes of the kingdome of *Naples* and theſtate of *Millan*, with contentment to refer to the cenſure & arbitration of the law, the titles & rights of *Burgondy*, which if it apperteined to thẽprour, he ſhould acknowledge it for the dowry of his ſiſter: That he ſhould render to *Monſr Burbon* his eſtate together with his moueables & goods which were of great vallour, and alſo the frutes & reuenues which had bin leauied by the cõmiſſioners deputed out of the regal chamber: That

he ſhould giue to him his ſiſter in mariage,& deliuer vp to him *Prouence*,if iudgemẽt of the intereſt & right were made of his ſide: And for the more facilitie and ſpeedy paſſage of this negociatiõ, rather then for any deſire ſhe had to nouriſh her inclination to the warre,ſhe diſpatched immediatly Embaſſadours into *Italie*, to recõmend to the Pope & the *Venetians* the ſafetie of her ſonne: To whom ſhe offred,that if for their proper ſecuritie they would contract with her, and rayſe armes agaynſt themperour,ſhe would for her particular aduaunce fiue hundred launces, together with a great contribution of money. But amidde theſe trauells and aſtoniſhmentes, the principall deſire aſwell of her as of the whole Realme of *Fraunce*, was, to appeaſe and aſſure the minde of the king of *England*, iudging truely that if they could reduce him to amitie and reconcilement, the Crowne of *Fraunce* ſhould remayne without quarrell or moleſtation: Where,if he on the one ſide, and themprour on the other, ſhould ryſe in one ioynt force, hauing concurrant with them the perſon of the duke of *Burbon*, and many other oportunities and occaſions, it could not be but all things woulde be full of difficulties and daungers: Of this the Lady Regent began to diſcerne many tokens and apparances of good hope: for notwithſtanding the king of *Englande* immediatly after the firſt reapportes of the victory, had not only expreſſed great tokens of gladnes & reioyſing,but alſo publiſhed that he would in perſon paſſe into *Fraunce*:and withall had ſent Embaſſadors to themprour to ſolicite & treate of the mouing of warre ioyntly together: yet proceding in deede with more mildnes then was exſpected of ſo furious ſhowes & tokens,he diſpatched a meſſanger to the Lady Regent, to ſende to him an expreſſe Embaſſador: which accordingly was accompliſhed, & that with fulnes of authority & commiſſion, ſuch as brought with it alſo all ſortes of ſubmiſſions & implorations which ſhe thought apt to reduce to appeaſement the mind of that king ſo highly diſpleaſed: he reappoſed himſelf altogether vpon the will and counſel of the cardinal of *Yorke*, who ſeemed to reſtrayne the king & his thoughtes to this principall end, that bearing ſuch a hand vpon the controuerſies & quarrels that ranne betwene other princes,al the world might acknowledge to depend vpon him and his authoritie the reſolution and exſpectation of all affayres: And for this cauſe he offred to themperour at the ſame time to diſcend into *Fraunce* with a puiſſant army, both to giue perfection to the alliance concluded betwene them before, and alſo to remoue all ſcruple and ielouſie, he offred preſently to conſigne vnto him his daughter who was not as yet in an age and diſpoſition able for mariage: But in theſe matters were very great difficulties, partly depending vpon himſelf,and partly deriuing from themprour,who nowe ſhewed nothing of that readines to contract with him which he had vſed before:for the king of *England* demaunded almoſt al the rewards of the victory,as *Normandy*,*Guyen*,& *Gaſcoign*,with the title of king of *Fraunce*: And that themprour,notwithſtanding thinequality of the conditions,ſhould paſſe likewiſe into *Fraunce*,and cõmunicate equally in thexſpences & dangers: Thinequality of theſe demaũds troubled not a litle themprour, to whõ they were by ſo much the more grieuous,by howmuch he remẽbred that in the yeres next before,he had always deferred to make warre euẽ in the greateſt dangers of the french king: So that he perſwaded himſelfe that he ſhould not be able to make any fundation vpon that confederation: And ſtanding in a ſtate no leſſe impoueriſhed for mony & treſor,thẽ made weary with labors & perils,he hoped to draw more cõmodities from the french king by the meane of peace,then by the violence of armes & warre,ſpecially ioyning with the king of *England*: Beſides,he made not that accompt which he was wont to do of the mariage of his daughter,both for her

her minority in age,& alſo for the dowry for the which he ſhould ſtande accõptable for ſo much as themprour had receyued by way of loane of the king of *England*: he ſemed by many tokens in nature to nouriſh a wonderful deſire to haue children,and by the neceſſitie of his condicion, he was caried with great couetouſnes of money: vppon which two reaſons he tooke a great deſire to marye the ſiſter of the houſe of *Portugall*, which was both in an age hable for mariage, and with whome he hoped to receyue a plentifull porcion in gold and treaſor, beſides the liberalities of his own peoples offered by waye of beneuolence in caſe the mariage went forwarde: ſuche was their deſire to haue a Queene of the ſame nation and language, and of hope to procreate children: for theſe cauſes the negociacion became euery daye more hard and deſperat betweene both thoſe Princes, wherein was alſo concurrant the ordinary inclinacion of the Cardinall of *Yorke* towardes the Frenche king, together with the open complaintes he made of thEmprour, aſwell for thintereſts and reſpects of his king,as for the ſmall reputacion thEmprour beganne to holde of him: He conſidered that affore the battell of *Pauya*, thEmprour neuer ſent letters vnto him which were not written with his owne hande, and ſubſcribed, your ſonne and Coſin *Charles*: But after the battell, he vſed the ſeruice of Secretories in all the letters he wrote to him, infixing nothing of his owne hande but the ſubſcripcion,not with titles of ſo greate reuerence and ſubmiſſion, but onely with this bare worde *Charles*: In this alteracion of affection of the Cardinall, the king of *England* tooke occaſion to receiue with gracious wordes and demonſtracions, thEmbaſſador ſent by the Ladye regent, to whome he gaue comfort to hope well in thinges to come: And a litle afterwards, eſtraunging his minde wholly from thaffayres which were in negociacion betwene him and thEmprour, he made a confederacion with the Lady regent contracting in the name of her ſonne, wherein he would haue inſerted this expreſſe condicion, that for the kings raunſom and deliuerie, ſhould not be deliuered to thEmprour any thing that at that time ſhould be vnder the power or poſſeſſion of the crowne of *Fraunce*.

This was the firſt hope which fell vppon the Realme of *Fraunce*, And this was the firſt conſolation in ſo many aduerſities,which afterwards went on increaſing by the diſorders of thImperialls in *Italy*: They were become ſo inſolent for ſo great a victorie,that perſwading them ſelues that all men and all difficulties ſhould yeeld and giue place to their will, their glory made them loſe thoccaſion to accorde with the *Venetians*, and gayneſaye thinges which they had promiſed to the Pope, and laſtly brought them to fill full of ſuſpicions both the Duchie of *Myllan* and all the other regions of *Italy*: And ſo going on to ſowe ſeedes of new innouacions and troubles, they reduced thEmprour to this neceſſitie, to make a raſhe deliberacion, daungerous for his eſtate in *Italy* if his auncient felicitie and the harde fortune and deſtinie of the Pope, had not beene of greater force: Matters aſſuredly moſte worthy of a knowledge perticular,to thend that of accidents and things ſo memorable may be vnderſtanded the foundacions and councells,which being oftentymes hid,are for the moſt part reuealed and publiſhed after a manner moſt farre from the truth.

But skarcely had the Pope capitulated with the *Viceroy*, when were preſented vnto him the great offers of *Fraunce*,to ſtirre him vppe to the warre: wherein albeit he wanted not the perſwaſions of many to induce him to the ſame effecte, and leſſe diminucion of the diſtruſt which he had before of thImperialls, yet he determined to take ſuche a courſſe and proceeding in all thinges, as he woulde leaue no cauſe to eyther of them to ſuſpecte him for his actions: Therefore he had no ſoo-

ner vnderſtande that the *Viceroy* had accepted and pronownced the contract made at *Rome*, then he cauſed publication to be made within *S. Iohn de Latran*, And as he taried not for the ratificacion of thEmprour which was promiſed to be ſent firſt, ſo the better to demonſtrat his intencion, he honored with his preſence and with the ſame ſolemnitie he was wont to vſe at his coronation, the publication which was made the firſt day of Maye: he ſolicited alſo the *Florentyns* to make payment of the money promiſed, and interpoſed as much as he could, to drawe the *Venetians* to enter appoyntment with the Imperialls: But on thother ſide, were preſented to him by them, many iuſt cauſes of complaint, ſince in the payment of the money promiſed, they would not accept the xxv. thowſand duckats payed by the *Florentyns* according to his ordenaunce during the negociacion of thaccord, for that the *Viceroy* alleaged impudently that if other promiſe were paſt, it was made without his commiſſion: Beſides, much leſſe that they retyred their ſouldiers from of the landes of the Churche, ſeeing they repleniſhed the townes of *Plaiſanca* with garriſons: To theſe things which ſome waye might happly bee excuſed bothe for their want of money, and neceſſitie of harbor and lodging, was added alſo, that not onely in the mutacion of the ſtate of *Siena*, they gaue ſuſpicion to beare a mynde eſtraunged from the Pope, but alſo they ſuffered afterwardes the Citizens of *Montenouo* to be ill handeled and ſpoyled of their goods by the Libertyns, notwithſtanding vpon the Popes often complayntes, they gaue him hope to remedye thoſe diſorders: But that which vexed him moſte of all, was the dealing of the *Viceroy*, who did not onely inclyne ſuddeinlye to the ſolicitacions of the Duke of *Ferrara*, but alſo put him in hope not to force him to leaue *Reggia* and *Rubiera*: he promiſed him alſo to induce thEmprour to take his eſtates into protection, notwithſtanding he made dayly promiſſes to the Pope, that when the *Florentyns* had performed to paye that which they ought, he woulde make him eftſoones repoſſeſſed of thoſe townes: And to thende the Pope ſhoulde the better ſolicite theffects of theſe promiſſes and hopes, and alſo to obteyne to haue the companies of men of warre to retyre from the territories of the Churche, he ſent vnto him the Cardinall *Saluiatio*, his Legat in *Lombardye* and Deputie Legat with thEmprour, to whome the *Viceroy* made beleeue that he was determined to procure reſtitucion of *Reggia* by armes, if the Duke refuſed to render it by good will: But the effecte of thinges aunſwered nothinge the promiſſes and wordes: A matter and manner of dealing which coulde not bee excuſed by the neceſſitie of money, for that vppon the rendring of thoſe townes, there grewe to them a greater quantitie: And there was taken good reaſon and matter to interprete the likelihoode of that matter to proceede of a deſire they had eyther to haue him embaſed and pulled lower, or els to wynne the Duke of *Ferrara*, or laſtely, to goe on ſtill with better degrees and preparacions for the oppreſſing of *Italy*: Theſe matters brought to the Pope a ſuſpicion and griefe of mind almoſt incredible, But much more was he perplexed to ſee and conſider that thEmprours intencion was nothing different: who hauing diſpatched to the Pope letters of ratificacion of the confederacion made in his name to the *Viceroy*, deferred to cõfirme the three articles accorded apart & ſeperat from the capitulacion: he alleaged that touching the reſtoring of the townes holden by the Duke of *Ferrara*, he had no power to do an acte preiudiciall to the rights of thEmpire, nor to force the Duke who proteſted to holde them in chiefe of thEmpire, In which reſpecte thEmprour offered to referre that controuerſie to the tryall of lawe and iuſtice, or els to be reſolued by ſome friendely compoſicion: It was eaſily

easely comprehended that he could haue bene contented they shoulde still haue remeined to the Duke, but vnder his inuestiture and to pay him an hundred thowsand duckats, and as much to the Pope for the inuestiture of *Ferrara* and for the penaltie imposed vpon the contract which he had made with *Adrian*: he alleaged that it was a thing impertinent to accorde with his ministers touching the trade & prouision of salt from the Duchy of *Millan*, bicause the soueraigne profit of that Dukedom by the composition of thinuestiture though not as yet consigned, apperteined to *Frauncis Sforce*: And that therefore the *Viceroy* was not simply bound by thartidle to compell him to take it, but to do what he could to induce him to consent: which promise for that it was extended to the action of a third person, was notoriously of no force touching the effect to bind either him selfe or an other: Neuertheless for desire he had to gratifie the Pope he woulde haue practised to induce the Duke to consent, if the matter had not become no more his owne interest but thinterest of an other, seeing the Duke of *Millan* in recompense of the succors which th Archduke had sent him, had couenanted to take salt of him: and yet notwithstanding, he said he would interpose and doe all he could to induce his brother (receiuing recompense of money) to accord & consent to it, not for euer as the article expressed, but during the Popes life which was most agreable to reason: he would not admit also the article of benefits & benefices, onlesse, together with that which was expressed in the inuestitures, were ioyned such things as had bene obserued by his predecessors kings of *Naples*: In regarde of these difficulties, the Pope refused to accept the letters of ratificacion, nor would not send his to th Emprour, but insisted this demaund that seeing th Emprour had not ratified within the tearme of foure moneths according to the promise of the *Viceroy*, that the hũdred thowsand duckats might be restored to the *Florentins*: which demaund was answered with suttleties & rather cauillaciõs, then with firme & good fundacions: that the cõdicion of restitucion of the hũdred thousand duckats was not affixed to the instrument, but promised in an article separat & apart by the *Viceroys* Agentes by oth, and that it was not referred to the ratificacion of the league which th Emperour had not only ratified within the tearme of foure moneths, but also had sent out letters of it in due forme: Moreouer the Pope had aduertisemẽt that th Emperours court was vniuersally ill disposed to the things of *Italie*, & he was not ignorant that the capteines of his army rose vp to perswade him, that for the more absolute assuring of his enterprises in *Italie*, it were good to cause *Modena* to be rendred to the Duke of *Ferrara*, to repossesse the family of *Bentiuoleis* of *Bolognia*, & to take the iurisdiction of *Florence*, of *Siena*, and of *Lucqua*, as townes apperteining to th Empire: yea, so full was he of dout & suspicion, & so farre from stay and resolucion, & knowing withall that the frenchmen offred as a pray to th Emperour the regions of *Italie*, that by necessitie he went temporising, hauing not whereupon to fix his fundacion.

A treatise of of accord betwene the Viceroy and the Venetians

In this time thaccord betwene the *Viceroy* & the *Venetians* was solicited continually, wherin besides the *Viceroy* sought to bind of new the *Venetians* to the defense of the Duchy of *Millan*, he demaunded great summes of money to satisfie their fault of inobseruaciõ of the cõfederacion passed: The *Venetians* had many reasons to incline thẽ to giue place to necessity, but of the contrary, they were caried with more reasonable perswasiõs to remeine in suspence amid which incerteinty of estate, their coũcels were ful of variety & irresolucion: Neuertheles after many conferences & meetings, their astonishmẽt being no lesse then their neighbours for so great a victory of th Emprour, & their estate only being abãdoned & reduced to priuacion on all sides, they addressed new cõmissions to *P. Pesero* their Embassador residẽt with the *Viceroy*,

to confirme the league in the same manner it had bene made affore, paying ouer to thEmperour foure score thowsand duckats for satisfaction of penalties past: But the *Viceroy* being made so much the more obstinate, by howe muche they seemed fearefull, aunswered them resolutely, that he would not renue the confederacion, onlesse they payed in the hũdred thowsand duckats: which obstinacy drew with it this ill accident as oftentimes is seene to happen in matters deliberated with longnes of time and no readines of wil: for, so long a tract was taken in the disputing and debating of this litle summe, that the *Venetians* had aduertisement how the king of *England* bare no more so ill a minde to the aduersities of *Fraunce* as was feared in the beginning, and besides, the Imperiall armie had both payed and dimissed many regimentes of Launceknights: Matters which the *Venetians* interpreting to their aduauntage, and better suretie from vexacion, they determined to dwell as yet in suspence and to reserue in them selues (as much as they could) power & election to take those deliberacions which by the traine & euent of generall things, they knew were best for thē.

The person of the frenche king led prisoner into Spaine.

The *Viceroy* and the other Capteines Imperiall were not a litle stirred vp by these variacions to transport the person of the french king into a place of suretie, iudging that for the ill disposicion of others, they could not without perill, kepe him garded in the Duchie of *Millan*: In which feare ioyned to their continuall desire so to doe, they resolued to conueye him to *Genes*, and from thence by sea to *Naples*, where his lodging was prepared within the newcastell: This determinacion brought no litle greefe to the king, who from the beginning of his captiuitie, had vehemently desired to be caried into *Spaine*: perhappes he had opinion (measuring happily an other man by his owne nature, or else running with the common error of mortall men being easely beguiled in things they desire) that if once he were brought to the presence of thEmperour, he doubted not of some easie passage for his liberty, either through thEmperours benignitie, or by the condicions he ment to offer: The *Viceroy* was of the same desire for the augmentacion of his owne glory, but being reteined for feare of the french army by sea, they dispatched by common consent *Monsr Montmerancy* to the Ladie Regent: she graunted to him six light gallies of those that lay in the port of *Marseilles* vpon promise to haue them restored assoone as the king was arriued in *Spaine*: With these gallies he returned to *Portofino* where the kinges person was alreadie ariued, and ioyning them to sixteene gallies of thEmperour which was the nauy appointed at first to conduct him to *Naples*, he reduced them all into one fleete and armed them all with footemen of the Spanish: The Captaines Imperialls & the Duke of *Burbon*, were perswaded that the kinges person shoulde be ledde to *Naples*, but of the contrarie, setting saile the seuenth of Iune, they tooke suche course, that the eight daye they arriued with a happy voyage at *Rosa* a hauen of *Catalognia*: Their comming brought no small ioy to the Emperour, who till that day had vnderstande nothing of that resolucion: And assoone as he was made assured of the kings being there, he dispatched cõmaundements to all places where he should passe, to receiue him with great honors, only till it should be otherwise determined, he gaue order to kepe him in the castel of *Sciatiua* neare to *Valence*, a castel anciently vsed by the kings of *Aragon* for the garding of great personages, & wherein had bene kept prisoner for many yeares, the Duke of *Calabria*: But the deliberacion to keepe him in that place, seeming farre too rigorous to the *Viceroy*, and nothing agreeable to the promises he had made to the king in *Italie*, he won so much of thEmperour, that till he had taken an other councell, the kinges person might remeine neare *Valence* in a place apt for hunting & other delights of the field: There he left him lodged with sufficient gard

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vnder the charge of Capteine *Alarcon*, in whose custodie he had alwayes remayned since his vnfortunate day: And from thence the *Viceroy* together with *Montmerancie*, went to themperour to make reapport of the estate of *Italie*, and the discourse of things which tyll that day had bene debated with the king, with whom he perswaded themperour with many reasons to drawe to accorde, for that he could not haue a faythfull amitie and coniunction with the Italians: Themprour after he had heard the *Viceroy* and *Montmerancy*, determined to conuey the king into *Castillo* to the castell of *Madrill*, a place farre remoued from the sea and the confines of *Fraunce*, where being honored with ceremonies & reuerences agreable to so great a prince, he should neuertheless be kept vnder carefull and straite garde, with libertie to take the ayre abrode certayne times of the day, mounted onely vpon a moyle. Themperour coulde neuer be brought to admitte the king to his presence, if first thaccorde were not eyther established, or at least in an assured hope of resolution: And to thende there might be interposed in the negociation a personage honorable, and almost equall with the king, *Montmerancie* was sent in great diligence into *Fraunce*, to bring the Ducheesse of *Alenson* the kings sister and a widowe, with fulnesse of authoritie to debate and contract: And to thende this negociacion of accorde were not hindred by newe difficulties, there was made a little afterwardes a truce vntill the ende of December, betweene themperour and such as administred the gouernment of *Fraunce*. Moreouer themperour gaue order that one parte of those gallies which were come with the *Viceroy*, should returne into *Italie* to bring the Duke of *Burbon* into *Spayne*, without whose presence and priuitie he gaue out that he would make no conuention: and yet the gallies what for want of money, and other impedimentes were prepared but with slowe diligence. Themperour showing him selfe vehementlye disposed to establishe an vniuersall peace betweene the Princes of Christendome, and also at one tyme to giue some reasonable forme to thaffayres of *Italie*, solicited instantly the Pope to hasten away the Cardinall *Saluiatio* or some others, with sufficient authoritie: He sent also to be excused to the king of *Englande*, taking the reasons of his excuse vpon this, that he could not resist the generall wyll and vniuersall inclination of his peoples: and sent withall to the Pope *Lopes Vtrado*, for a dispensation to marry the infant of *Portugall* his cousin german, and by that meane conioyned to him in second degree: He sent also by the same *Lopes*, who departed vpon the ende of Iulie, the inuestiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, to *Frauncis Sforce*, but vnder this condition, to pay presently an hundred thousande Duckets, with obligation to paye fiue hundred thousand more at diuerse tearmes, and to take the trade of saltes of the Archduke his brother: The same *Lopes* caryed also commission to dispose of his men of warre in this sorte, that except the regimentes of Spanishe footemen who were to remayne in the Marquisdome of *Saluzzo*, all the others shoulde be dismissed: That fixe hundred men at armes should returne to the realme of *Naples*, and the residue remayne in the Duchie of *Millan*: And lastly that the Marquis of *Pisquairo* should be capteyne generall of his armie: The Emperour added to this commission, that those moneys which he had sent to *Genes* to defray foure Carackes with the which he intended speedily to passe in person into *Spayne*, should be conuerted to the necessities and vsage of tharmie, for that he was nowe determined not to departe out of *Spayne*: The Commission bare also to sende in themperours name the *Protonotarie Carracciolo* to *Venice*, to induce that Senate to a newe confederation, or at least to insinuate his disposition, and leaue them satisfied that all his actions tended to an vniuersall peace amongest Princes Christian.

But the going of the French king into *Spayne* brought no little perplexitie to the Pope and the *Venetians*, who seeing themprours armie was muche diminished, considered that into what part of *Italie* the kings person should be transported, thimperialls could not but finde many impedimentes by the necessitie to haue him well garded: so that by that meane eyther there might easily aryse some occasion to deliuer him, or at least the difficultie to cary him into *Spayne*, and the litle surety to kepe him in *Italie*, would constrayne themperour to giue some good forme to the generall affayres: But when by transporting his person into *Spayne*, both his owne hopes were disappoynted, and meane giuen to his enemies to leade him into sure prison, they discerned that all treatises and negociations were wholly in the hands of themperour, and that there could be established no fundation vpon the practises and offers of the French: In so muche as the reputation of themperour rising into augmentation by dayly degrees, all men began to exspect from his Court and from his hande, lawes and rules to dispose all affayres. In these discontentmentes were concurrant also (but for diuers causes) the displeasures of the Duke of *Burbon*, and the Marquis of *Pisquairo*, for that the *Viceroy* tooke vppon him without their priuitie to
" leade the French king into *Spayne*: Suche is the emulation of men in the case of
" glorie or reputation, which more then all other worldlye passions hath a naturall
" propertie to carye their mindes headlong into ambition of other mens merite: The Duke of *Burbon* tooke the reason of his discontentment vpon this, that beeing expulsed *Fraunce* for thalliance he had made with themperour, he chalenged a more interest then any others to be called and to communicate in all the practises of accorde: In regarde whereof he determined to passe also into *Spayne*, and yet he was driuen to stande longer vpon his going then willingly he would, for that he taryed for the returne of the gallies that caried the *Viceroy*: The Marquis tooke displeasure with the *Viceroy* for the small estimation he made of him: and was no lesse yll contented with themprour, for that he was not thankfull as apperteined to his merites and many seruices done in the laste warres, and lately in the battell of *Pauia*, touching which victorie albeit he had deserued more prayse and glory then all the capteines of tharmy, yet themperour, contrary to the lawe of equitie and reason, had transferred the whole reputation to the *Viceroy*, with many highe honours and demonstrations: This the Marquis could not digest with suffrance, but in the passion of his wrong as he thought, he wrote letters to themprour full of detraction against the *Viceroy*, tempered with complayntes, to be so muche disauoured of him as not to be thought worthy at least to be made priuie to suche a resolution: and that if in the warre and daungers thereof, the deliberation of things had bene referred to his counsell and proper arbitration, the French king had not onely not bene taken, but also assone as the losse of the duchie of *Millan* had followed, thimperiall army beeing dryuen to abandon the defence of *Lombardie*, would necessarily haue retyred to *Naples*: Lastely he charged the *Viceroy* to be gone to triumphe of a victorie, wherein it was manifestly knowen to the whole armie he had no part at all: yea for proofe that in the heate and moste furie of the battell, he was both without courage and without counsell, there were many that heard him crye many times, *VVe are losse and vanquished*: and that if he would denie this chalenge, he offred to iustifie it vpon his body by the execution of armes, according to the lawes and rules of warre: The Marquis also was further incensed vpon this, that sending immediatly after the victorie to take possession of *Carpy*, thinking themprour would deliuer it to him, he was not satisfied in that desire, The reason was, that themperour hauing graunted

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it two yeres before to *Prospero Colonno*, assured that notwithstanding he neuer had thinuestiture, yet in memorie of him that was dead, he would, to the profite of *Vespasian* his sonne, leaue to his house the same recompence which in his lyfe time he had intended in recordation of his vallour and actions: Whiche reason albeit was iuste, and that suche examples of gratitude ought to be acceptable to the Marquis, though not so muche for thexcellencie of them, yet for the hope they brought that his great seruises should be brought into liberall consideration by themperour: yet it was not embrased of him, not for that it was not iust & equall, but because for the opinion he bare of him selfe, he helde it conuenient that that peculiar humor & appetite of his, proceding of a couetousnes & irreconcileable hatred which he bare to the name of *Prospero*, should be preferred before all other interests how iust soeuer they were: In this intemperãcie of passion, he cried out of themprour and the whole counsell, sending his complayntes through all the Regions of *Italie*, and that with such detestatiõ of themprours ingratitude, that by his exclaiming others tooke courage to buyld new plotts: Of which, if themperour thought to proceede no further in the matters of *Italie*, did ryse a iust occasion, yea almost a necessitie to take other resolutions: but if he stoode vpon endes and purposes ambicious, he had meanes to couer them with the most honest occasion and fayrest cooller he coulde desire: And seeing from thence was deryued the very beginning and cause of righte great stirres and alterations, it is necessary we reduce it to some particular rehearsall.

Occasions giuen to themperour of new emotions.

The warre which in the lyfe of the late Pope *Leo*, was begonne aswell by him as by themperour, for the chasing of the Frenche king out of *Italie*, was leauyed vnder cooller to reestablish *Frauncis Sforce* in the Duchie of *Millan*: And albeit for thexecution hereof, after the victorie was obteined, promise was made to transfer to him the obedience of that state, together with the castell of *Millan* and the other places of strength, when they should be recouered: Yet such was the magnificencie and oportunitie of that Duchy, that the former feare ceassed not which men had of themperours ambition to aspire to it: They interpreted the impedimentes which he receiued by the french king, to be the cause that he kept cloked as yet so great a thirst, for that he had altered those peoples desyring vehemently to haue *Frauncis Sforce* for lorde, and had stirred vp all *Italie* agaynst him, being not content to suffer the French to ryse to suche a greatnes: So that *Frauncis Sforce* helde that Duchie, but with a harde yoke and subiection, and tributes and charges intollerable: for all the staye and fundation of his defence agaynst the French, consisting in themperour and in his armie, he was constrayned not onely to respect him as his prince, but also to liue subiected to the will of his capteines: By whom he was miserably compelled to enterteine his regimentes of men of warre not payed by themperour, sometymes with money which he leauyed vpon his subiectes with grieuous impostes and great difficulties, and sometimes in suffiring them licenciously to lyue vppon his people by discression, and that in all the seuerall partes of his estate, except the Citie of *Millan*: Oppressions which albeit of themselues were heauye and grieuous, yet the nature of the Spaniarde being greedy, and when he hath the meane to discouer his inclination very insolent, made them intollerable: Neuertheless the daunger which was had of the Frenche men to whom thinhabitantes were enemies, and the hope that those vexations would one day drawe to ende, wrought in the heartes of men a greater suffraunce then their forces or faculties could well beare. But after the victorie of *Pauia* the people could no more endure, seeing the same necessities no more continuing for that the king was prisoner, yet their calamities continued notwith-

ſtanding: and therefore they required to bee ſomewhat eaſed of their burdens, by withdrawing from the Duchie, eyther all or the moſte parte of the armie: The like inſtance was alſo made by the Duke, hauing enioyed of the Dukedome no other thing till that day, then the bare name and title: he feared leaſt themprour, beeing nowe aſſured of the French king, would occupie and reteine the Duchie to himſelf, or at leaſt beſtowe it in donation vpon ſome of his followers and dependanciers: In which feare and ſuſpicion, deriued of the very nature of thaffayres occurrant, he was ſpecially nouriſhed by the inſolent words ſpoken by the *Viceroy* affore he conueyed the king into *Spayne*, together with the demonſtrations expreſſed by the other capteines, wherein muche leſſe that they publiſhed any reputation to be holden of the Duke, ſeeing they deſired openly that themperour woulde oppreſſe him: Beſides, themperour, after many delayes and deferring, hauing ſent to the *Viceroy* the expedition and priuileages of the inueſtiture, the *Viceroy* when he preſented them to the Duke, demaunded for recompence of charges for conquering and defending that ſtate, to paye to themperour within a certayne tearme, the ſumme of twelue hundred thouſande duckets: A demaunde ſo exceſſiue and intollerable, that the Duke was driuen to haue recourſe to the Emperour to moderate and abate the ſumme. But theſe difficulties drew a doubt leaſt the demaundes ſo immoderate were not interpoſed to make the matter alwayes deferred: Moreouer ſuche as ſought to excuſe the neceſſitie of *Frauncis Sforce*, alleaged many other generall cauſes of his iuſt ſuſpicion, and particularly the knowledge he had that thimperiall Capteines were reſolued to reſtrayne or retayne him: In ſo muche as being ſommoned by the *Viceroy* to a certayne councell or Dyet, he refuſed to go fayning to be ſicke, couering himſelfe with the like excuſes in all places where they had power to do him violence: He nouriſhed this ſuſpicion whether it were true or falſe, and ioyned withall this conſideration, that the ſtate of *Millan* was well disburdened of the regimentes of men of warre, parte of the Spaniſhe footemen being gone into *Spayne* at ſeuerall times with the *Viceroy* and the Duke of *Burbon*, and alſo diuerſe bandes being made riche with pillage and pray, were retyred by trowpes into ſundrie places: And conſidering alſo the great indignation that was ſhowed to the Marquis of *Piſquairo*, he deuiſed by theſe aduauntages to aſſure himſelfe of the preſent daunger, and entred into hope that tharmie might be eaſily defeated vſing the conſent and vallour of the Marquis: The author of this deuiſe was *Ierome Moron* his Chauncellor, a man of high authoritie and place with him, and for the facultie of his ſpirite, facilitie of inuention, flowing eloquence, familiar readynes, and great experience, and laſtly for his reſolution and magnanimitie, hauing oftētimes made ſinguler reſiſtance agaynſt aduerſities, was in our age a perſonage of right worthy memorie: Whiche partes or giftes had tyed vpon his name a perpetuall fame and honor, if they had gone accompanied with ſuche ſinceritie of minde, ſuche care and zeale to integritie, and with ſuche maturitie of iudgement, as his counſels for the moſte parte had not bene diſcerned to holde more of precipitation and impudencie, then of circumſpection or honeſtie: This man ſounding the intention of the Marquis, made ſuche inſinuation into his minde already deepely grieued, that they began to common to cut in peeces the remaynder of the regimentes remayning within the Duchie of *Millan*, and to make the Marquis king of *Naples*: An enterpriſe whiche they helde of eaſie action, if the Pope and *Venetians* woulde be concurrant with them: And touching the Pope, whoſe minde was drawen with ſuſpicion and doubt, after he was ſounded by the aduiſe of *Moron*, he ſhowed him ſelfe no whit diſagreeing to that counſell,

Conſpiracy agaynſt the Emprour.

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and yet he aduertiſed themprour vnder cooller of friendſhip to interteine his capteines in deuotion and well contented, not that he ment to diſcloſe the practiſe, but to prepare to himſelfe a refuge if the matter declined to ſome yll euent: But the *Venetians* embraſed the deuiſe with reſolution and ſincere affection, perſwading themſelues that no leſſe readineſſe of minde and will woulde be founde in the Lady Regent, who began to perceyue, that ſince her ſonne was arriued in *Spayne*, the negociations of his deliuerie were not continued with that facilitie that was looked for. There is no doubt that theſe counſels had not eaſily ſucceded, if the Marquis of *Piſquairo* had proceeded ſincerely in that confederation agaynſt themprour: But whether at the firſt he enterteyned the practiſe or not, there was diuerſitie of opinions aſwell amongeſt the Spaniardes as in the verye Court of themperour: Many that were obſeruers of tymes and euentes of affayres, beleeued that at the beginning he was ſimply concurrant with the reſidue, but afterwards he diſclaymed from thenterpriſe, and made newe deliberations both for the conſideration of many difficulties that might happen with the tyme, and alſo fearing the continuall ſolicitations of the French with themperour, with the reſolution that the Ducheſſe of *Alanſon* ſhould go to him: yea ſome do aſſure that he deferred ſo long to aduertiſe themperour of theſe conſpiracies pretended in *Italie*, that hauing receyued knowledge of them by *Antho. de Leua* and *Marino* Abbot of *Nagero* Commiſſary in themperours armie, all the whole Court maruelled at the ſilence of the Marquis: But how ſoeuer his dealing was then, it is certayne that a little after he ſent to themperour *Iohn Baptiſta Caſtaldo*, who imparted the reall diſcourſe of the conſpiracie: and with the priuitie of themperour did not onely enterteine the practiſe, but alſo the better to decipher the thoughtes of euery man, and to take from them all, the meane to denie that they had conſented, he commoned by mouth with the duke of *Millan*, and perſwaded *Moron* to induce the Pope (who a little before had indued him with the perpetuall gouernment of the Citie of *Beneuent*) to ſende *Dominike Savvlo* wyth a letter of credence to conferre with him of the matter. The concluſions of the treatiſe were theſe: That betwene the Pope, the realme of *Fraunce*, and the gouernments of *Italie*, ſhould be a league, ouer the which the Marquis of *Piſquairo* ſhould be capteine generall: That for the firſt action he ſhould beſtowe the infanterie or footebandes of the Spaniſhe ſeuerally in ſundry places of the Duchie of *Millan*, and ſo drawing to himſelfe ſo many as would followe him, the others ſhoulde be ſpoyled and put to the ſworde together with *Antho. de Leua*, who next to him ſelfe was the chiefe commaunder of the armie: And then ioyning to him the forces of all the confederates, he ſhould execute thenterpriſe of the kingdome of *Naples*, whereof the Pope was to indue him with the inueſtiture. The Marquis ſeemed to finde no other difficultie in theſe actions, ſauing that affore he put any thing to tryall, he deſired to be ſatisfied whether without blemiſhing his honor and fidelitie, he mighte embraſe ſuche an enterpriſe in caſe the Pope put it vppon him by his authoritie: Wherevpon was brought into queſtion and conſideration, to whom, he beeing a Baron and ſubiect of the Realme of *Naples*, ought to obey, eyther to themprour to whom the profitable iuriſdiction of the Realme apperteined by thinueſtiture he had receyued of the Churche, or to the Pope in whom was the direct ſoueraigntie, being abſolute and ſoueraigne thereof: Vpon which article, both at *Millan* by the ordinance of *Frauncis Sforce*, and at *Rome* by thappoyntmēt of the Pope, were called very ſecret cōſultations of excellent doctors with ſuppreſſion of their true names. Theſe hopes agaynſt themperour were augmented by the offers of the Lady Regent, who

Capitulations betwene the confederates agaynſt the Emprour.

iudging that eyther the neceſſitie or the feare of themprour, would aduaunce much the matters that were treated with him for the deliuery of her ſonne, ſolicited earneſtly to take armes, promiſing to ſend into *Lombardy* a ſtrength of 500. launces, and to be concurrant in thexſpences of the warre with great contributions of money. *Moron* for his parte ceaſſed not to confirme the mindes of the reſidue in that opinion: for, beſides the perſwaſions he made howe eaſie it would be euen without the ayde of the Marquis of *Piſquairo*, to defeate that armie ſo much diminiſhed in numbers, he promiſed in the Dukes name, that if the Marquis ſhould not ſtande conſtant but ſwarue from the reſolution of the treatiſe, immediatly after order giuen to the other buſineſſe, there ſhould be apprehended priſoners within the Caſtell of *Millan* aſwell he as the other Capteines hauing dayly acceſſe thither to conſult. But albeit theſe occaſions ſeemed great and no leſſe importing the circumſtances and dependaunces which they drewe, yet they had not bene ſufficient to carye the Pope into armes without the Marquis of *Piſquairo*, if at the ſame tyme he had not hearde of prouiſion ſent to *Genes* to arme foure Carakes, and withall had not had ſome token and intelligence from *Spayne* of themperours inclination to paſſe into *Italy*: A matter which dyd not a little afflict him aſwell in regarde of the conditions of the time preſent, as alſo for the auncient obſeruation and diſpoſition of the Popes of *Rome*, to whom nothing hath wonte to bring more terrour and aſtoniſhment, then the comming of Emperours with armed hande into *Italy*: In ſo muche as deſyring in his feare to meete with this daunger, he tooke the conſent and priuitie of the *Venetians*, and diſpatched ſecretly into *Fraunce* to conclude the matters negociated with the Lady Regent, *Sigiſmond* ſecretory to *Albert Carpy*, a man experienced in affayres of eſtate, and of ſingular confidence with the Pope: but as he ranne poſte towardes *Fraunce*, he was ſet vppon by night by theeues and robbers and ſlayne neare the lake of *Iſea* vppon the territorie of *Breſsia*, which accident for the ſecrete keeping of it many dayes, brought to the Pope great ſuſpicion that he was ſecretlye taken and ſtayed in ſome place by thimperiall Capteines, and happily by the Marquis himſelf, whom they began to diſtruſt muche for his maner of proceeding, but more for the delayes he vſed.

In this eſtate and condition of affayres, arryued the diſpatche of *Lopus Vtrado*, who remayning ſicke in *Sauoye*, ſente his expedition awaye to *Millan* by a man expreſſe: He brought the letters patentes by the whiche the Marquis of *Piſquairo* was declared capteine general, who to continue with others in the ſame ſemblance, made as though ſuche a charge was not very agreable to him, and yet he accepted it immediatly. The ſame *Lopus* ſent alſo to the Protonotorie *Carraccioll*, the commiſſion to goe to *Venice* in thEmperours name, to induce that Senate to a newe confederation, or at leaſt to inſinuate into them what deſyre thEmperour had to lyue in peace with all men. In thys tyme *Frauncis Sforce* was falne into a diſeaſe verye daungerous for his lyfe, and accepted thinueſtiture of the Duchie, paying for it fiftie thouſande duckets, and ceaſſed not for all that to continue the practiſes begonne with the Marquis. The opinions were diuerſe touching this diſpatche of thEmperour: Some beleeued that he had ſimply determined to aſſure thItalians: But others iudged that for feare of newe innouations and ſtirres, he ſought to holde men in ſuſpence with diuerſe hopes, and going on ſtill wynning of tyme, to agree to thinueſtiture, and in apparaunce graunt a commiſſion ſo agreable to all *Italy* to make tetyre hys armie, thoughe on the other ſide he had giuen directions to his Capteynes not to ſtirre nor remoue: yea there were ſome that had this opi-

nion,

nion that he had intelligence from the Marquis of the practiſes enterteyned with *Moron*, and therefore he ſente out ſuche a Commiſſion, not to be obeyed, but to gette ſome iuſtification, and with his hopes to keepe lulled aſleepe the myndes of men, vntill he ſawe apte tyme to aduaunce and execute his purpoſes: In whiche diuerſitie of humors and opinions albeit it was very harde to ſounde oute the ſimple trueth, ſeeing withall it was not knowen whether *Lopus Vtrado* was diſpatched at the ſame tyme that aryued at the Court *Iohn Baptiſta Caſtaldo* ſente by the Marquis to aduertiſe themperour of the negociation: Yet conſidering by many accidentes and euentes ſithence, what courſe themperour hath taken, it is without doubt that it is leſſe fallible to holde for true the better and the more eaſie interpretation. But in this meane while the Marquis omitted no oportunitie wherein occaſion was giuen to enterteine *Moron* and the others with the ſame hopes, deferring notwithſtanding with many excuſes thexecution of thinges: Wherein he tooke one occaſion of the ſicknes of the Duke of *Millan*, which increaſed on him by ſuch daungerous degrees, that euery one helde almoſt for certayne, that it would leade him to his laſt time: for all the Capteines pretending that in caſe of the Dukes death, the eſtate of that Duchie ſhould returne to themperour as ſoueraigne lorde in chiefe, it was not only not conuenient for him to retyre his army, but alſo it was neceſſary to call in a newe ſtrength of two thouſande Launceknightes, and prepare a greater number to be in readineſſe: So that the ſouldiours for their numbers and vallours beeing puiſſant in the Duchie of *Millan*, there was no meane eyther to diſſolue them, or at leaſt to offende them: He gaue alſo hope to execute the counſells of the conſpiracie aſſoone as there was apte concurrancie of tyme and meane: in exſpectation whereof he ſayde he proceeded with a great reſpecte to the Pope, and for gratification of him, he leauyed frō of the eſtates of the Church his garriſons of men of warre, who gaue him occaſion of right great complayntes.

The Fr. king extremely ſicke in the caſtell of Madrill.

But about this time almoſt all things were chaunged by a newe accident which hapned in *Spayne*: for the french king falling ſick in the caſtell of *Madrill*, and hauing in vayne deſired the preſence of themperour, was caried by his diſcontentment and melancoly into ſuch extremitie & daunger of his life, that the Phiſitions appoynted for his cure, tolde themperour that they ſtoode deſperat of his recouerie, if himſelfe in perſon came not to comforte him with ſome hope of his deliuerie: Themperour obeying more compaſſion then the reaſon of thinges, was not curious to condiſcende to performe ſo good an office, And as he prepared to viſite him accordingly, his high Chauncellor ſeeking to turne him from the iorney, tolde him with many ſtrong reaſons, that he could not go to him in honor, but with intention to deliuer him preſently and without any couenant: Otherwiſe as it would be a humanity not royall but marcenory, ſo it woulde diſcloſe a deſire to recouer him, not moued of charitie, but puſhed on by his proper intereſt, as not to loaſe by his death thoccaſion of the profite hoped for by the victorie: A counſell aſſuredly bothe graue and honorable touching the man that gaue it, and no leſſe worthy to be followed by ſo great a prince as themprour: and yet being more caried by the reaſons of others, he tooke poſt to go to him: But for the daunger of the king being almoſt at the extremitie, the viſitation was ſhort, & yet for the time accompanied with gracious words full of hope that he would deliuer him immediatly vpon his returning to health: In ſo much that whether it was by the cōfort that he breathed into him (in the ſicknes of captiuity the promiſe of liberty excedes all medicines) or by the benefite of hys youth, whiche with the fauour of nature was ſtronger then the maladie, he began

after this visitation to resume so good disposition, that within fewe dayes he was out of daunger, notwithstanding he could not recouer his former health but with very slowe time.

And nowe neither the difficulties that were shewed on themperours side, nor the hopes whiche were giuen by thItalians, nor any other nature of impedimentes what so euer, coulde staye the voyage of the Lady *Alanson* into *Spayne*: for that as nothing was more harde or heauy to the French men then to leaue off the practises and negociations of accorde begonne with those that had power to restore their king: so nothing was more easie to themperour then feeding the Frenche wyth hopes, to drawe their myndes from taking armes, and by that meane so to keepe thItalians in suspence, as not to dare to enter into newe deliberations: And in that cunning manner, sometymes vsing delayes, and sometymes pressing forwarde thafayres, he thought to keepe the myndes of all men confused and intangled. The Lady *Alanson* was receyued by themperour with very gracious demonstrations and hopes, but theffectes fell oute bothe harde and heauy: for when she ministred speeche to him for the mariage of hys sister the widdowe with the king, he made aunswere that it was a matter which could not be done without the consent of the Duke of *Burbon*: The other particularities were debated by deputies of both partes, wherein as the Emprour insisted obstinately to haue the Duchy of *Burgonguy* restored as apperteining to him: so the French refused to consent, vnlesse he woulde accept it for dowrie, or else to referre it to the sentence of the law and iustice to decide the true title: And albeit they could easily haue condiscended to the residue, yet for that they were so farre off for the demaund of *Burgonguy*, the Lady *Alanson* returned at laste into *Fraunce*, without winning any other grace then a fauour to see the king her brother: who growing more and more into distrust of his deliuery, desyred her at her departing, to admonishe his mother and all the counsayle from him, to looke carefully to the profite of the Crowne of *Fraunce* without hauing any consideration of him, as if he lyued not: But notwithstanding the departing of the Ladye *Alanson*, the solicitations for the kings deliuerie did not ceasse, for that there remayned behinde the President of *Paris* and the Bishops of *Ambrum* and *Tarbe*, who had tyll then followed the negociation but with very litle hope, since themprour would not harken to any cõdition, if first *Burgonguy* were not rendred, which the king could not be brought to restore, but in a last necessitie.

The Lady Alanson treateth with thẽprour for the kinges deliuery.

About this time the Cardinall *Saluatio* the Popes Legate aryued at the Courte, where being receyued of themperour with great honor and fauors, he debated vpon his commissions which principally conteyned the ratification of the Articles promised by the *Viceroy*, and secondly a demaunde to transferre thinuestiture to the Duke of *Millan* for the common suretie of *Italy*: But the *Viceroy* notwithstanding his promises, disswaded the restitution of *Reggia* and *Rubiera*: and by his counsell and through the hopes he had in him, the Duke of *Ferrara*, desiring to solicite his owne cause before themperour, and hauing the Popes promise not to execute any enterprise vpon his estate, for sixe monethes, tooke his way to the frontyer of the realme of *Fraunce*, with intention to passe further, but being denied passage and safeconduit by the Lady Regent, he returned backe agayne to *Ferrara*. The Legate and themprour conferred together touching a dispensation to take to wife the king of *Portugals* sister, A mariage which themprour was determined to contract notwithstãding he had promised the king of *England* by oth to take no other wife then his daughter: But the Pope temporised this demaund, & stood long to accord to the dispẽsation, for

Cardinall Saluiatio the Popes Legate, in the Court of themprour.

for that many perſwaded him that the deſire to obteyne ſuch a grace, would reduce the Emperour, and make him the more eaſie to his deſires touching the matters in negociation: And at leaſt wiſe, in caſe he would make warre vpon him, it were farre from pollicie and diſcreſſion, to giue him meane to heape together ſo great a maſſe of money as would growe to him by that mariage, for that the king of *Portugall* offred him for a portion, nyne hundred thouſande ducketts: Of whiche, deducting ſo muche as was ſet downe to defraye the debtes contracted betweene them, it was thought there would come to his handes at leaſt a ſumme offiue hundred thouſand duckets: Beſides, the ſubiectes of *Spayne* conſented to rayſe a contribution of foure hundred thouſande, vnder the title of a beneuolence or ſeruice, which taking his beginning in tymes paſte of the proper willes and motion of the people to releeue the neceſſities of their kinges, was reduced by cuſtome and working of tymes, into a loane or rather an ordinary Subſedie: yea they offred him moreouer to enriche him with a further ſumme of foure hundred thouſande duckats, if he went through with the mariage. On the other ſide, the Pope had no power to reſiſte thimportunities of the Duke of *Seſſo* thEmperours Embaſſadour, for that by the propertie of his inclination, there appeared for the moſte parte in hym a repugnancie betweene that he purpoſed, and thinges whiche he executed: for beeing by nature very farre of to accorde any grace that was demaunded of him, he was not apt to vſe difficulties, nor eaſie to make deniall: onely by the facilitie of his nature, he ſuffred oftentymes hys will to be wonne and ouerruled by thimportunitie of ſuche as ſued to hym, and in that diſpoſition ſeemed to accorde to thinges more through feare then by grace, wherein he proceeded not neyther with that conſtancie of minde, nor with that maieſtie of title and place, whiche was required of the greatneſſe of his dignitie, and was agreable to thimportance of thaffayres that ſtoode vppon negociation: And in that maner did he deale touching the diſpenſation required by themperour, for as on the one ſide he was caryed by hys proper profite, and on the other ſide ouerruled by his ordinarie facilitie and ſoftneſſe, ſo according to hys cuſtome, he diſcharged vppon the backe of an other the thing whiche him ſelfe was not ſufficient to ſuſteine, neyther with his body nor with his mynde: he diſpatched by a writte the diſpenſation in the ſame forme themperour demaunded it, and ſending it to the Cardinall *Saluiatio*, he tyed to it this commiſſion, that if his affayres with thEmperour ſoarted to a reſolution according to the hope he had giuen aſſoone as the ſayde Cardinall ſhould come to the Court, he ſhould deliuer the writ, otherwiſe to retayne it to him ſelfe: A commiſſion wherein the miniſter or ſeruant (as ſhall be ſayde in his place) ſhowed himſelfe no more firme nor more conſtant, then the maiſter.

But whileſt the Cardinall diſputed the Popes Commiſſions with themperour, and was alwayes enterteined with hope to haue thexpedition he deſyred, there fell oute in *Lombardie* verye diuerſe effectes: for the Duke of *Millan* beeing ſo well recouered of hys ſickneſſe, that at the leaſt he was holden out of daunger of ſoddayne death, the Marquis of *Piſquairo* hauing receyued by *Caſtaldo* themperours Commiſſion to prouide for thoſe daungers as he thought good, determined to enter vppon the Duchie of *Millan* vnder this cooller, that the Duke by reaſon of the conſpiracies and practiſes holden by *Moron*, was falne from the rightes of inueſtiture, and the chiefe or ſoueraigne freeholde reuerted vpon the Emperour as ſupreme Lorde: And to giue a beginning to this reſolution, the Marquis lying at *Nouaro* very ſicke, notwithſtanding he had beſtowed one parte of

the armie within *Pauia*, and lodged the Launceknightes neare *Loda*, whiche two cities he had fortified: yet vnder cooller to disposse the armie through all the state of *Millan*, he reuoked to *Nouaro* when was least doubt of suche a matter, the residue of the bands disperssed in *Pyedmont* and the Marquisdome of *Salusse*, whiche state the Imperiall capteines had occupied almoste immediatly after the victorie: He called also to *Nouaro*, *Moron*, in whose person rested almost the importance of all thinges: And as it was certayne that *Moron* beeing made prisoner, the Duke of *Millan* would be made depriued both of men and counsell: So the Marquis by that meane thought to take awaye all impedimentes and resistance, where, if he shoulde suffer him to liue in libertie, it could not be but that *Moron*, with his spirite, with his experience, and with his reputation, woulde entangle the estate of hys affayres, and giue many impedimentes to his plotts and purposes: Besides, it was necessary for themperour to haue the person of *Moron* in his power and possession, for that beeing the author and speciall instrument of all the conspiracies, he thoughte to drawe from him by his proper confession all those treasons and intelligences whiche
" were charged vppon the Duke of *Millan*. There is nothing more harde then to a-
" uoyde destinie, nor no remedie auaylable agaynst the euills determined to fall vp-
" pon vs: And as it is easie to suffer a mischiefe when we are sure of the remedie, So,
" for that aduersitie is of his owne nature quarrellous, there is no yll that happneth
" whiche is not so muche the more grieuous and troublesome, by howe muche it
" happneth on a sodayne, shaking so muche the more vehemently the resolution and
" constancie of the mynde. *Moron* mighte nowe discerne that the practise he had with so great secrecie enterteyned wyth the Marquis, was a matter vayne and dissembled: He knewe hym selfe to bee followed with an vniuersall hatred of all the Spanish souldiors, amongest whom ranne already many rumors of his infidelitie: *Antho. de Leua* gaue out publike threates that he woulde kill him: It is not credible that he did not consider thimportance of his person, and discerned to what estate was reduced the Duke of *Millan* at that tyme vnprofitable, and as a body dead: Betweene them many dayes before, all thinges were suspended and full of suspicion: euery one counselled him not to goe thither: him selfe wauered betweene feare and assuraunce: And yet eyther for that he suffered hym selfe to be flattered with the fayre semblances of the Marquis, or making a foundation vppon the greate amitie running betweene them, or reaposing confidence in hys fayth assured by a letter subsigned with his hande: or lastely beeing pushed on by that fatall necessitie whiche violently draweth on men that wyll not be ledde, he resolued to goe as it were to a manyfest pryson: A matter so muche the more wonderfull, by howe muche he hath bene often heard saye in the tyme of Pope *Leo*, that in all *Italie* there was not a more impious and disloyall man then the Marquis of *Pisquairo*: The Marquis receyued him with gracious demonstrations, and leading him into a chamber aparte, they beganne to renewe betweene them the discourse of the former conspiracies, bothe howe to kyll the Spaniardes and to murder *Antho. de Leua*, whome the Marquis had secretlye conueyed behinde a hanging of Tapisterie, to heare what paste betweene them: But assoone as the Marquis was parted from him, which was the fourteenth daye of October, *Antho. de Leua* entred the chamber and apprehended him prisoner, sending him in that fortune to the Castell of *Pauia*: Thither the Marquis went in person to examine him vppon the matters they had debated together, which *Moron* confessed from one ende to the other together with the whole conspiracie, charging the Duke of *Millan* bothe as guyltie and

Ierome Morō prisoner.

and consenting to all that had bene paste, whiche was the matter that principally was sought. Thus the Marquis hauing *Moron* vnder garde and keeping, proceeded by other degrees to reuerse vtterly the Duke: And beeing already possessed of *Loda* and *Pauia*, he required the Duke for the suretie of themprours estate, to deliuer vp *Cremona* and the Castels of *Bressia*, *Lecqua*, and *Pisqueton*, places supposed to be the keyes of the Duchie of *Millan*, for that they haue their situation vppon the passage of *Adda*: And as he promised to introduce no alteration nor innouation, so the Duke both abandoned of counsell, and depriued of hope, made present deliuerie according to the demaunde, departing willingly with the things which his destinie denied him to deteyne: Beeing possessed of these places, of no lesse importance for the surety of the Marquis and his driftes, then most apte to pull on the extreme reuersement of the Duke, he passed to further insolencies, requiring to be receyued into *Millan* to haue conference with the Duke as he alleaged: which being graunted to him with the same facilitie, he demaunded eftsones to be possessed of the castel of *Cremona*: and albeit he forbare to require the castell of *Millan* as being a demaunde not reasonable, for that his person was lodged within it, yet he insisted vehemently that for the suretie of themperours armie he woulde consent the Castell might be enuironed with trenches: He required also to haue deliuered into his handes *Iohn Angeo Riccio*, his Secretorie, and *Politian* Secretorie to *Moron*, to thende examinations might be imposed vppon them for the conspiracies agaynst the Emperour. To these demaundes the Duke aunswered: That touching the Castells of *Millan* and *Cremona*, as he held them in the name and at the instance of themprour, to whom he had alwayes bene a most deuoute and faythfull vassall, so he coulde not but iudge it preiudiciall to his fidelitie, to deliuer them vp to the hands of any without hys priuitie and wyll: Wherein for his more full vnderstanding and satisfying, he sayde he woulde dispatche foorthwith a messaunger expresse, so farrefoorth as the Marquis woulde giue hym suretie of passage: That in the meane whyle he helde it neyther comely nor conuenient to consente to be incloſed or intrenched within the Castell, A violence whiche he woulde defende with all his power: That he coulde not departe wyth *Iohn Angeo*, beeing the onely man that was instructed in all hys affayres of importaunce, and at that tyme the onely officer aboute hym: And that as touching the Secretorie of *Moron*, he had a greater care to deteyne hym, to thende to presente hym to thEmperour, and to proue by that meane, that during the Dukes sickneſſe, his Maister had embraſed and dispatched in hys name and without hys priuitie manye expeditions, whiche sinisterlye mighte bee charged vppon hym, if by that meane he iustified not his innocencie, and showed that the practises of *Moron* were farre differente and separate from his operations: But theffecte was, that after manye offers and protestations paste by wryting aswell by the one as thother partie, the Marquis compelled the peoples of *Millan* to passe an othe of fidelitie to themperour, in whose name he bestowed officers throughe all the estate of the Dukedome, to the great displeasure and discontenting of thinhabitantes: And in that authoritie he beganne with trenches to incompasse the Castells of *Cremona* and *Millan*, in the whiche the Duke was resolued to remayne wyth eyght hundred choyse footemen and suche reasonable store of vittells as by the shortneſſe of the time he could prouide: He gaue him selfe ouer to that besieging, partly through the neceſſitie of the tyme, and partely for the comfortes and hopes of succours giuen hym by the Pope and the *Venetians*, not faylinge withall wyth the vse of hys Artilleries

to hinder as muche as he coulde the working of the trenches which were drawen on that ſide without, and of more diſtance from the Caſtell then thoſe whiche *Proſper Colonno* cauſed to be caſt.

All the Regions of *Italie* were reduced to a great aſtoniſhment for the vſurpation of the Dukedome of *Millan*, which they ſawe could not but fall into manyfeſt ſeruitude when ſo euer an Emprour of nature ambicious and ſtirring, and for his forces mightie and warlike, ſhould be Lorde ouer *Millan* and *Naples*: But aboue all others the Pope was eſpecially afflicted, ſeeing in that action his practiſes were diſcloſed, with the which he had pretended not onely to aſſure *Millan*, but alſo to confounde themprours armie, and take from him the kingdome of *Naples*. Touching the Marquis of *Piſquairo*, it maye be that by theſe operations he wonne great fauour with themperour, but with all other ſortes of men he purchaſed perpetuall infamie, not onely for thopinion that moſte conceyued of him, that in the beginning he extended his intentions to double with themperour and to bandy agaynſt him, but alſo notwithſtanding he intended fidelitie to themprour, yet he ranne a courſe of infamy in this, to ſet on men, and with ſo great arte and infidelitie to drawe them into conſpiracie with him, to thende to haue occaſion to detect them, and to make himſelfe greate of the tranſgreſſions of others, ſolicited with words diſſembled and artificial: This alteration made harde the hope of accorde that was negociated with the Senat of *Venice* by the Protenotorie *Caraccioll*: who hoped that (for the tearmes wherin things ſtoode) the Senate would ſpeedily drawe to a concluſion to renew the former confederation with the ſame conditions: and to paye to themprour foureſcore thouſande duckets in recompence that in tymes paſte he had withdrawne his ayde, leauing there wholly all demaundes to contribute hereafter with money: But the accident of *Millan* reduced the Senate to no litle perplexitie: for on the one ſide they ſtoode grieued to be the onely people in *Italy* that with ſo great daunger contended agaynſt themprour, ſeeing they were threatned by the Marquis of *Piſquairo* to tranſport the whole warre vpon their eſtate, whereof they diſcerned already certayne preparations: And on the other ſide, they were not ignorant that in caſe thaccorde went throw, themprour ſhould with greater facilitie make himſelfe abſolute lorde of that Duchie, which being ioyned to ſo many eſtates, and ſo many other oportunities, they ſawe was the onely line to leade him to ſubdue them together with the reſidue of *Italy*: A matter which was continually declared to them by the Biſhop of *Bayeux*, whom the Lady Regent had ſent to ſolicite an vnion with thItalians agaynſt themprour: for which purpoſe, in ſo great a doubt, and in ſo daungerous apparances, they made many aſſemblies, but without any reſolution for the diuerſitie of opinions: And albeit to accept thaccorde, was a thing more conformable to their cuſtome and maner of proceeding, for that it ſo tooke them out of daungers preſent, as they might hope in the tract of tymes and benefite of occaſions which common weales may attend (who in compariſon of Princes are immortall:) yet it ſeemed to them a matter of too great importance, to ſuffer themprour confirmed in theſtate of *Millan*, and to ſee the French remayne excluded from all hope of alliance in *Italy*: Therefore after they had at laſte reſolued to be bounde to no thing, they made this aunſwere to the Protenotary *Carraccioll*: That the forme of their actions paſte gaue fayth to all the world, and he himſelfe being preſent at the concluſion of the confederation, could well teſtifie, with what great affection they had alwayes deſired thamitie of themprour: with whom as they contracted a confederation in a tyme when if they had harkned to the French, it had bene (as all the world

world knewe) an operacion of right great consequence, so they had persevered and would for euer continue in the same disposicion towards him: Only the necessity of thinges kept them in suspence, both for that they saw in *Lombardie* many chaunges and innouations of great importaunce, and also for that they remembred that their confederacion with thEmperour, together with so many moulngs and stirres, happned that yeare in *Italie*, drewe no other end or meaning then to transferre *Fraunc is Sforce* to the Duchie of *Millan* as the principall fundacion of the libertie and suretie of *Italie*: In which regard they besought his Maiestie, that maintaining in that case him selfe and deducing affore all the world his bountie, he would remoue and make cease so great an innouacion, and establish the tranquillitie of *Italie*: which as it was in his power to doe being nowe the starre that guided the whole firmament, so for their partes, he should find them alwayes disposed and prepared both with their authoritie and with their forces, to follow so holy an inclinacion, and honor him besides with all other sortes of office and humility whether he would extend them generally, or applie them to his particular interests: This aunswere albeit it conteined no hope of cōclusion, yet it bred not for al that any ouerture or beginning of warre: for that both the sickenesse of the Marquis of *Pisquairo* which aggrauated dayly in worse degrees, & the desire to impatronise him selfe first of the whole estate of *Millan*, and to establish and assure that conquest, together with thinclinacion of thEmperour extending to put end and resolucion to so many other affaires which he had in hande, would not suffer him to giue beginning to an enterprise of so great consequence.

About this time the Duke of *Burbon* was arriued in *Spaine*, and came to thEmperours Court the fifteene day of Nouember: concerning whom it is not reasonable I omit here to touch by the way, that albeit thEmperour receiued him with all honors and demonstracions of Court, embracing him with the title and grace of his brother in law, yet all the Lordes and Nobles of the Court accustomed in all other things to follow theexample of their Prince, abhorred him as a person infamous, and called him traitor to his king: such was their hatred against him, that one of them being required in thEmperours name to suffer his house to be made readie for the Duke of *Burbon*, aunswered in the corage & stowtnes of a Spaniard, that as he would not deny thEmperour any thing he would demaunde of him, so his Maiestie should well vnderstand that assoone as *Burbon* was gone out of his house he would burne it as a pallace infected with the infamie of *Burbon* and vnworthie afterwardes for the dwelling of men of honor. The graces and honors which the thEmperour shewed to the Duke of *Burbon*, augmented greatly the distrust of the frenchmen, who, somewhat by that meane, but more for the returning of the Ladie Regent without effect, began to haue cold hopes in thaccord, notwithstanding it was continually negociated by men expresse remeining with thEmperour: In respect whereof, they labored as much as they could to aduance the league with the Pope: wherein did concurre the perswasions and authority of the king of *England*, and the redoubled and vehement instances of the *Venetians*, together with this oportunitie not of the least consequence. The death of the Marquis of *Pisquairo*, who about that time, which was the beginning of December, made his last end happily by the iust sentence of God, who would not suffer him to enioy the frute of that seede which he had sowen with so great malignity: He was of the house of *Abalos* originally deriued from *Catalignia*, and his predecessor came into *Italie* with king *Alfonso* of *Aragon*, he who the first of that house made conquest of the kingdome of *Naples*: He began to follow armes at

The Duke of Burbon in Spaine.

The death of the Marquis of Pisquairo.

the battell of *Rauenna*, where, being very younge he was taken prisoner: And afterwards aspyring to a reputacion of a Capteine, he followed all the warres which the Spanyards had in *Italy*: Insomuch as though he had not past the age of xxxvj. yeres, yet for experience he was olde, for inuencion suttle, in councell graue, in execucion resolute, wise to forsee a daunger, and quicke to auoid a mischiefe: he bare great authoritie and credit with the infanterie of *Spayne*, ouer whom as he had bene of long, Capteine generall: so both the victorie of *Pauia* and all other actions of merit executed by that army since certaine yeares, were principally succeeded by his councel and by his vertue: he was assuredly a Capteine of great vallour, but one that with arte and dissimulacion, knewe how to drawe fauor and grace to his doings, being besides, prowd of minde, of wit deceitfull, of nature malicious, of councell and action without sincerity, and so singuler in his owne weening, that oftentimes he hath bene heard saye, that he was more worthye to haue *Spayne* for his contry then *Italy*: His death as it kindled a great confusion in the whole armie with whome he stoode in no litle grace and reputacion, so also by his death the contrary side tooke occasion to hope that easily they might be able to bringe all the souldiers to ruine and oppression since there was taken from them a Capteine of so great authoritie and vallour. And by this occasion like as with the Pope were more vehement and importunate the instances of such as solicited the proceeding of the league, so also the doubtes which deteyned him in suspence were nothing lesse, and that with good right, since on all partes he was touched with mocions of right waighty reasons, such as might suffice to hold confused and suspenced any man of right good action and councell, and much more a Pope *Clement* to whom it was familiar to proceede alwayes in his affayres with slownes and doubt.

There was no further exspectacion of thEmprour for any way or deuise to assure the regions of *Italy*, And he was manifestly discerned to solicite vehemently the taking of the castell of *Myllan*: In which action was layed a foundacion to conuert many other patrimonies into apparant praye or spoyle, but specially the states of the Pope, who being reduced to a generall weakenes, had his being planted betweene *Lombardye* and the Realme of *Naples*: And if it were in thEmprours power to oppresse the Pope, there was no doubt that he would not execute it, either for ambicion which is almost naturally inuested in Emprours against the Popes, or for his own suertie which wise men preferre affore all other regards, or lastly for reuenge, being drawne both to disdaine and distrust for the conspiracies which he enterteyned with the Marquis of *Pisquairo*: And if the necessitie to prouide for this daunger, was great, the foundacions and hopes to doe it seemed not light, for that if the remedie were not to succeede by the meane of so mighty a league and vnion, it was to be thought desperate for euer: The Regent of *Fraunce* made promisse of fiue hundred launces, and to contribute for euery moneth so long as the warre should endure, forty thowsand duckats, with the which it was intended to wage ten thowsand *Svvyzzers*. The Pope and the *Venetians* in one ioynt ayde, were to leauye xviij. hundred men at armes, twenty thowsand footemen, and two thowsand light horsemen: The French men and the *Venetians* promised to take the sea, and with a great nauie to do inuasion vppon *Genes*, or the Realme of *Naples*: Lastly the Lady Regent of *Fraunce* was bound to begin the warre immediatly with a stronge armie vppon the frontyers of *Spayne*, to thende to stoppe thEmprour for sending of men and money to releeue the warre in *Italy*.

Deuises of Princes against the power of thEmprour.

ThEmprours armie that remeyned in *Lombardye* was not great, neither for the numbers

nũbers & quality of ſouldiers being much diminiſhed, nor for the preſence of Capteines of conduct and authoritie, ſeeing both the Marquis was dead, and the Duke of *Burbon* & the *Viceroy* of *Naples* abode as yet in *Spaine*: They were without meane to recouer money for their payes, and had no plentie of vittells to ſerue them for foode: The generall inhabitantes there, were enemies to them for the quarrell and deſire of their Duke, and no leſſe for thintollerable exactions impoſed by the ſouldiours both in the Citie of *Millan* and elſewhere: The caſtells of *Millan* and *Cremona* helde good as yet for the Duke: And laſtly the *Venetians* gaue hope that the Duke of *Ferrara* would alſo enter into this confederacion, if the Pope would accord to him *Reggia*, which by one meanes or other he had alwayes poſſeſſed: Theſe were the hopes of the confederates, which reduced to good manner of proceeding, caried their manifeſt reaſons of happie iſſue: Theſe were the fundacions they layed againſt the ambicion and puiſance of thEmperour, ſhadowed neuertheleſſe vnder the cloake and liuerie to aſſure their proper liberties: But on thother ſide, the difficulties which they diſcerned reſted in the ſuttlety and vertue of thenemies, who had this by cuſtome and propertie of condicion, to temporiſe a long time with litle money, and endure many neceſſities with much patience: They ſaw the townes which thennemies held, were well fortified, and no leſſe facilitie to reduce them to better ſtrength with rampars & other ſort of fortificacion, for that they were townes whoſe ſituacion was in the plaine or champion: By which oportunitie they were hable to enterteine them ſelues together vntill there came from *Germanie* a ſufficient ſuccor to drawe and driue the whole warre to the fortune of a battell. Moreouer they ſawe that touching the ſouldiours of the league, they could not be but bodies raw & vntrained, in compariſon of the others reſolute and nouriſhed in ſo many victories: Beſides they wanted the conduct and preſence of a Capteine generall, for that in the Marquis of *Mantua* then Capteine of the Church, they reappoſed not ſufficient habilitie to manage and beare out ſuche a charge, neither could they with any ſuretie committe them ſelues to the fidelitie of the Duke of *Ferrara* nor the Duke of *Vrbin* whom they had ſo much offended, & much leſſe would they reſt contented with the greatnes of the Pope whom they enuied with no litle murmure and grudge of mind: Laſtly they were not ignorant that naturally the armes and weapons of the Church had but dull edges and cut ſlowly, and no leſſe inferior was the vallour of the *Venetians*, of whom if either of them aparte and ſeuerallie were weake and feeble, what opinion or exſpectacion of their forces being accompanied and conioyned? This was alſo brought into conſideracion, that in the armies of leagues and confederats, was ſeldome ſeene a concurrancie of prouiſions at conuenient time, and muche leſſe a correſpondencie of wills and mindes, for that amongeſt ſuche a diuerſitie of humors which draw with them diuerſities of intereſtes and endes, are eaſely kindled diſorders, diſdaines, and diſtruſts, at the leaſt there is ſeldom an vniuerſall readines to followe reſolutely the fauor of fortune when it is offered, nor a ioynt diſpoſicion to reſiſt with conſtancie thoſe ſtormes and aduerſities with either the disfauour of the time or malicious inſtrument, many ſtirre vp in an armie. But the matter that in this councell or deliberacion drewe with it a great feare and difficultie was a ſuſpicion conceiued of the frenchemen, that whenſoeuer thEmperour ſhoulde be conſtrained by the neceſſities of this warre to offer the deliuerie of their king, that nation woulde not onely abandon the league, but alſo ioyne in ayde with the Emperour gainſt the confederates: And albeit the kinge of *Englande* gaue for them his faith and worde of a Prince that they ſhoulde not accorde to ſuche a renuncia-

cion, and that there was deuise to giue assurance in *Rome*, in *Florence*, or in *Venice* for three monethes paye, yet all this sufficed not to assure suche a suspicion: For, as the Frenche men had no other ende nor intencion then to recouer their king, and did manifestly professe to beare no inclinacion to the warre but when they saw no hope to effect the accord: so it was a thing verie congruent and likelie, that whensoeuer th Emperour shoulde be disposed, they woulde preferre affore all other regardes and interestes, to compounde and accorde with him: And like as they were not ignorant that by how much were great and mighty the preparacions and forces of the league, by so much more readily would th Emprour be inclined to compound with the French king: euen so it seemed a matter full of perill, to enter a confederacion to make a warre in the which the stronge prouisions of the confederats might doe as much hurt as helpe. With these reasons did th Embassadors and agents of Princes labor the Pope on all sides, and no lesse was he solicited by his owne officers and Ministers, for that both the multitude of his Court, and the people peculiar of his councell, were deuided: of whom euery one in particular fauored his proper inclinacion with so much lesse regard, by how much greater was th authority they had gotten vppon him, who till that time was accustomed to suffer him selfe to be caried for the moste part by the will of such as in reason ought to haue obeyed the twinkling of his eye, and to serue no other office then as ministers and executors of the direction and ordenance of their maister: for the better informacion whereof and of many other occurrances, it is necessary to set downe a more large and particular discourse.

Qualities of Pope Leo and Clement.

Leo was the first of the famulie of *Medicis* that bare any Ecclesiasticall dignitie, who in the state and authoritie of Cardinall, did so well support both him selfe and his house falne from a wonderfull greatnes into much declinacion, that it was reduced to respire and reexspect the returne of a good fortune: he was a man of great liberalitie, if such a name doe worthely become him being of so excessiue exspences as they passed all rate and measure: At such time as he was rayse to the Popedom, he boare a presence of such magnificence and maiestie ioyned to a poart and showe royall, that the representacion he made might be thought wonderfull euen in one that by long succession had discended of kings and Emprours: he was not only prodigall of money and treasor, but also of all other graces and distribucions belonging to the prerogatiue and power of a Pope: These he disposed in such immoderate liberalitie, that he made vile and base the authoritie spirituall, disordered the style and course of the Court, and through his prodigall exspenses, reduced him selfe to necessitie to seeke money alwayes by meanes extraordinary: This great facilitie was accompanied with a most deepe dissimulacion, with the which he beguiled all the world in the beginning of his pontificacie: The thing that made him seeme a good Prince, (I speake not of the goodnes Apostolike, for that in those corrupted tymes, then is prayse the bountie or goodnes of the Pope, when it exceedes not the malignitie of other men) was th opinion that was conceyued of his clemencie, hauing a desire to doe good to all men, and farre estraunged from inclinacion to offend any: Amongest his other felicities which were many and great, it was no litle happines to him to haue about him *Iulio de Medicis*, his Cosin, whom notwithstanding he was not borne in lawfull mariage, yet he rayse him to the estate of Cardinall, being before, Knight of the order of *Rhodes*: for, *Iulio* being by nature, graue to sownd deepely into thinges, diligent in office and seruice, watchfull ouer affayres, not delited in securitie and pleasure, but ordered and regulated in all thinges, and for his modestie

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hauing vnder his hands thadminiſtration of al thaffaires of importance of the Popedome, did beare out and moderate many diſorders which proceded of his prodigall facilitie: yea ſuche was his temperaunce and vertue working with a perpetuall care ouer the pope, that forſaking the cuſtome of all other couſins and brethren of Popes, he preferred alwayes the honor and greatnes of *Leo*, affore all friendſhippes and fundations which he might apply to his owne ſtabilitie after the Popes death: And beeing withall no leſſe obedient to him then faythfull, he ſeemed in all his behauiours to be a ſeconde himſelfe to him by whom he had receyued ſo high confidence: for this cauſe the Pope rayſed him euery day, and puſhed on by gratifications and benefites the minde that ſerued him with ſo great ſtudie and fidelitie: he reappoſed himſelfe more and more vppon him touching affayres of greateſt conſequence, which beeing managed by two natures ſo different, ſhowed howe well oftentimes doth agree together the mixture of two contraries, ſtraytnes with facility, watchfulneſſe with ſecuritie, meaſure with prodigalitie, grauitie of manners with pleaſures and ydlenes: Which thinges and the gouernment of them made manye beleeue that *Leo* was caryed by *Iulio*, beeing not hable of himſelfe to rule ſo great a charge and no diſpoſition to hurt any one, together with a vehement deſyre to enioye the frutes and delightes of the Popedome: But of the contrarie, they interpreted *Iulio* to be of a ſpirite ambicious, ſtirring, and addicted to innouations: So that all the rigours, all the actions, and all the enterpriſes of *Leos* tyme, were by imputation heaped vppon *Iulio*, whom they reputed a man malicious, though he caried a minde of magnanimitie and courage: which opinion of his vallour was confirmed and increaſed after the death of *Leo*, for that amidde infinite contradictions & difficulties obiected agaynſt him, he ſupported the eſtate and countenaunce of hys affayres with ſuch a dignitie as reſembled the perſon and place of a Pope: yea he ſo conſerued his authoritie with the Cardinalls, that making his entrie into two Conclaues abſolute commaunder of ſixteene voyces, he was at laſte made Pope within two yeres after the death of *Leo*, notwithſtanding the many obtruſions and emulations of the moſte auncient Cardinalls: And he entred into his Popedome wyth ſuche an exſpectation, that it was thought he would become the greateſt Pope, and bring to paſſe greater matters then euer did any that tyll that daye had ſitte in that ſupreme ſeate: But it was founde out afterwardes howe farre men were abuſed in their iudgementes both concerning *Leo* and him, ſince in *Clement* were diſcerned many conditions farre different from that which men beleeued of him before: for, there was not in him neyther that ambition nor thirſt after innouations and chaunges, nor that greatnes of courage and inclination of minde to noble and high enterpriſes which was ſuppoſed before, yea he was interpreted to be about *Leo*, rather an executer and miniſter of his plottes and purpoſes, then a framer and introducer of his counſells and willes: And albeit he was of witte very apte and capable, and had a deepe ſcience and inſight in all the affayres of the worlde, yet when it came to poyntes of reſolution and execution, that propertie of gifte was not correſpondent to him ſelfe, for that it was not onely hindred by a certayne tymerouſnes of ſpirite which was not little in him, together with a deſyre of nygardneſſe and ſparing, an humor hurtfull in a minde rayſed to high things: but alſo he was followed with a certayne irreſolution & perplexitie, which was ſo naturall in him, that for the moſt parte it kept him conteined in ſuſpence and doubt euen when he was at poynte to eſtabliſh things which he had aforetime with great foreſight conſidered, meaſured, and almoſt reſolued: by which it happned, that aſwell in his deliberations, as in

thexecucion of his councells, euery trifling regard rising of new in his conceite, and euerie light impediment that appeared, seemed sufficient to lead him into the same confusion wherein he was affore he deliberated, being alwayes perswaded that after he had consulted, that councell was the best which he had reiected: for, in that case, calling only into reckoning & representacion those reasons which he had not estemed before, he forbare to reduce into discourse the argumentes which had moued him to make suche election, which being conformed and compared with the contraries, would haue made weaker the force and strength of the others, neither did he take experience by the memorie of his naturall timerousnes, to beware to slide into the passion and humor of vaine feare: In which disposicion intangled, and maner of dealing confused, he suffered him selfe oftentimes to be transported and gouerned by his officers, in which case he seemed rather caried then counselled by them: Of whom, these bore most authoritie with him, *Nicolas Scombergh* a *Germain*, and *Mathievv Gibert* a *Genovvay*: the one almoste reuerenced and feared of the Pope, and the other loued and fauored with a singular affection: *Scombergh* was a disciple of *Ierome Sauonarola*, and of the order of freare preachers whileste he studied the lawes, but afterwards leauing his religion and profession, he reteyned onely the habit & the name, and followed the vocacion of secular affaires: *Gibert* had bene bestowed verie young in the function of religion, but afterwards he left that vocacion by the priuitie of his father, and notwithstanding he was not borne in lawefull mariage, yet he disclaimed both the habit and the name of his profession: They two were of one society and agreement together whileste he was Cardinal, and also in the beginning and entrie to his Popedom, bearing such a hande on him as they gouerned his thoughtes and drewe his will to their wayes: but as amongeste mortall men, there can be no perfect concord, where is no conformitie of condicions, so beginning afterwardes to disagree eyther through ambicion, or by the diuersitie of their natures, they brought ruine vpon him whom they had before supported, and ledde his affaires into great cõfusion: for, freare *Nicolas* either for that he was a *Germain* of nation, which caried him to fauor immoderatly thaffaires of his contrie, or for some other regard mouing, bore great affection to the name of thEmperour, by which occasion, concurring also his obstinacie in his opinions which oftentimes were different from others, the Pope stoode many wayes suspicious that he preferred more the profit of an other, then was studious ouer the aduauncementes of his affaires: And touching the other, both by nature and all other respects of office, he was verie deuoute to the person of the Pope, whom he acknowledged alone for his Lord and maister, and simply caried very careful & studious impressions ouer his affaires: And albeit in the time of *Leo*, he had bene a great ennemie to the Frenche, and fauored highly the affaires of thEmperour, yet after the death of that Pope, he was conuerted into an other humor and habit.

Thus these two principal ministers of the Pope being in manifest discord bewene them selues, neither proceeded in his affaires with soundnes of councell nor for the honor of his person, with reuerence and regards agreable, by which diuision, euery one knowing howe irresolute and weake the Pope was of his owne condicion, he was made contemnible & skorned to the world by those men who ought with better modestie to haue couered his imperfections: Insomuche, as being priuie to his owne weakenes, and by the property of his nature alwayes irresolute, he knewe not what course to take in a deliberacion so slipperie and full of difficulties, seeing that those to whom it apperteined to stay and resolue him, were the men that caried him

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into greateſt confuſion: ſo daungerous is it for Princes to haue faction and diuiſion in their councells, which of all others haue the greateſt facilitie to leade their perſons and eſtates into perill of ruine and ſubuerſion. Neuertheleſſe at the laſt, more by neceſſitie to deliberate ſomething, then by reſolution or firme iudgement, and ſtanding chiefly in theſe tearmes, that to deliberate nothing was in a kinde, to deliberate, he inclined to go through with the league, and in companie of the reſidue, to beginne the warre agaynſt themprour: Wherein they fell to accorde, and drew the capitulations into particulars, wanting no other thing then to giue his full perfection at ſuch time as he receyued newes that the Commandador *Erraro* whom themprour ſent to him, was ariued at *Rome*: He was thought to be ſent in diligence with ſome good and gracious diſpatche, In which reſpect the Pope determined to attende his comming, which droue thembaſſadors to complayne, whom he had aſſured to paſſe the ſame day the confederation. The cauſe of his comming was, that themprour after he had ſent ſuch a commiſſion to the Marquis of *Piſquaro* to reteine at the leaſt in his power to impatronize himſelfe vpon theſtate of *Millan*, and fearing leaſt by that occaſion there were not incenſed ſome newe ſtirres in *Italy*: dyd begin to debate more ſtraytly and ſincerely of thaccorde with the Legat *Saluiatio*, ſo that there paſſed betwene them one capitulation (reſeruing neuertheleſſe the condition of the ratification by the Pope) wherein bothe he was ſatisfied touching the reſtitution of *Reggia* and *Rubiera*, and alſo the defence and conſeruation of the Duke of *Millan* was comprehended in it, Matters which the Pope did principally deſire: Moreouer it was expreſly ſet downe, that if the Duke ſhould dye, themprour neyther ſhould reteine that dukedome, nor giue it to tharchduke his brother, but ſhould inueſt it in the Duke of *Burbon*, which the Pope very vndiſcretly by the ſetting on of tharchbiſhop of *Capua*, had accorded vnto, together with *George* of *Auſtria* brother to themperour *Maximilian*, at ſuche tyme as the lyfe of *Frauncis Sforce* was almoſte holden deſperate. Aſſone as the capitulation was made, the Legate not tarying for Pope *Clement* to giue it perfection, eyther could not or would not refuſe to preſent themprour with the writte of diſpenſation for his mariage ſo muche deſired: Which for that it was made before, onely with mention of ſtoppe and impediment to the ſeconde degree without naming the king of *Portugalls* daughter for offending the king of *Englande*, or becauſe there was betwene them a double bonde of affinitie, there was no mention made but of the bonde that was moſt ſtrong: it was thought neceſſary to make an other, which with expreſſe mention of the perſons, conteined al the impedimēts. The Cōmandador *Erraro* departed from themprours Court with the diſpatche of this confederation, about a day or two after themperour was aduertiſed of thimpriſoning of *Moron*: and comming to the Popes court the ſixt of December, he was brought to his preſence, where after he had preſented to him many offers, with the like information of the good will of themprour, he deliuered him the capitulations, in which albeit the Articles touching the ſalte and matters of benefice within the realme of *Naples*, were contrary to that whiche had bene ſolicited and reſolued by the *Viceroy*: yet for that his principall end was to be aſſured of ſuſpicions, he had allowed and accepted them, if he had founde a ſincere proceeding touching the Duchie of *Millan*: But ſeeing in tharticle concerning *Frauncis Sforce*, was conteined no mention of thimputation made agaynſt him, neyther promiſing to render theſtate that was taken from him, nor to pardon his faultes committed, their arte and ſuttleties were eaſily diſcerned, the rather for that themperour in the concluſion made with the Legate and in the inſtructions giuen

Pope Clement the vij. makes a League agaynſt themprour.

to his Agent, seemed to take no knowledge of suche things: for the confederation made to defende and preserue *Frauncis Sforce* in the Dukedome of *Millan*, depriued not themperour of power to proceede agaynst him as agaynst his vassall, and to declare the freeholde to be confisqued for the conspiracie supposed vppon him agaynst his Maiestie: And *Burbon* subborned to be Duke in case of his death, was also to succeede in case of his priuation, for that by the lawes is considered the death naturall and the death ciuill, by which they iudge that man to dye who is condemned for suche a cryme. for this cause the Pope aunswered with verye graue speeches, that as he had no particular matter of discorde with themperour, so touching all differences and contentions that might happen betweene them, he woulde for his parte choose no other arbitrator or iudge then his Maiestie: Onely he helde it necessary to establishe so good an order for the publike affayres, as *Italy* might remayne assured, whiche coulde not be done vnlesse he restored to *Frauncis Sforce* the Duchie of *Millan*: Lastely he layde affore him reasons, prouing whye a Capitulation so generall was not sufficient, concluding that it woulde bring no small griefe to hym to be driuen to that necessitie, to enter into newe deliberations and counselles, and to be made estraunged from themperour, with whom he had alwayes bene moste firmely conioyned. To these the Duke of *Sesso* replyed with reasons iustificatorie, that as themperour had alwayes a sinceare and vprighte intention: So he assured that his Maiestie was well contented that notwithstanding thaccidentes hapned and paste, the Duchie of *Millan* should remayne to *Frauncis Sforce*: Onely if tharticle especiall of that clause (through mistaking) were not set downe in sufficient and ample forme, it was referred to the Pope to reforme it according to his will and discression, promising for themprour to present to him within two monthes the ratification, so farreforth also as he would giue his worde not to conclude during that tyme the League which was negociated with the gouernment of *Fraunce* and the *Venetians*. It was clearely discerned that this offer had no other fundation then a desire to temporise and winne a respite or tyme of two monethes, to thende to giue vnto themprour a better leasure to take good counsels and leauy conuenient remedies agaynst so strong a League: Neuertheless, after many contentions and disputations, the discontentment of thembassadors concurring, the Pope consented to that demaund, aswell by desire and reason to enter as slowly as he could into exspences and troubles, as also for this pollicie; that so long as the french king continued in the condition of a prisoner, all contracts & confederations made with the Regent of *Fraunce* would be ielouse and daungerous, for that themprour would alwayes reteine a power to dissolue and breake them as often as he list: Also he iudged that by this respite or delay interposed, themprour might with more facilitie obteine his purpose, notwithstãding there was no great apparance of hope: And if by that were wrought thaccorde betwene the two kings, he made this depe consideration (though many iudged agaynst it) that it were better to passe in a time when themprour stoode in least necessitie, for that by howe muche his affayres were aduaunced or stoode in good trayne, by so muche more rude would be the conditions he would offer to the French king, which being seuere and rigorous, he supposed the king would not obserue them after he were possessed of his libertie: There was also added to that treatise, that during the sayde tyme, there should be no newe enterprise embraced, nor no action executed agaynst the Castell of *Millan*, so farrefoorth as *Frauncis Sforce* woulde be bounde not to do any molestation vpon those that laye without, which condition he would not accept.

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The yere of the natiuity of the ſonne of God a thowſand fiue hundred twenty fiue being run out in theſe actions more diſpoſed to warre then to peace, there followed ſucceſſiuely the yeare 1526 which being repleniſhed with great accidents, brought a face of wonderfull troubles: In the beginning of this yeare the commandator *Erraro* returned to themprour with letters ſubſigned and written with the Popes owne hande, by the which he neither denied nor confeſſed the conſpiracies practiſed againſt him, but laying the fault vpon the Marquis of *Piſquairo*, he labored to excuſe *Frauncis Sforce*, whome he alleaged (if he had offended at all) to be abuſed by the counſels of *Ierome Moron*, beſeching him with tearmes of great affection, that for the benefit and quiet of all Chriſtendom, he would preferre his clemencie affore his iuſtice: At this time thEmperour exſpecting the aunſwere of the Pope, helde in ſuſpenſe the negociacions and practiſes of all Princes, & albeit he had exerciſed great grace, fauor, and honor vpon the Duke of *Burbon*, promiſing with ſpeede to aduance the conſummacion of the mariage betwene his ſiſter & him, yet when *Burbon* vrged the accompliſhing of his worde and promiſe, he was aunſwered with euaſions and delaies, ſuch as made the matter doutful & the Duke diſcontented: Neuertheles to ſatisfie him with ſome reaſonable or apparant excuſe, he was caried ouer with this, that thEmperour would firſt giue perfection to his owne mariage with the infant of *Portugall*, who was exſpected from one day to an other, but in true meaning that excuſe drew this draught, to leaue alwayes in the power & will of the Emperour (notwithſtanding his promiſe to the Duke of *Burbon*) to giue her to wife to the frenche king if the accord went on: ſuche is the ordinarie humor of ſome Princes to be caried rather with conſideracions of profit, then with care of honeſtie: Nowe after thEmperours mariage was conſummated at *Seuille* in *Spayne*, the commaundator *Erraro* arriued at the Court with the breuiat of tharticle concerning *Frauncis Sforce*, which article the Pope had deduced at large in his fauor: So that thEmperour, being alſo aſſured that the Legat *Saluiatio* had no commiſſion to conclude any thing but according to that article, and his whole councell thinking it neceſſary to ſtoppe and hinder the league that was in hande, and no leſſe daungerous to haue to doe at one time, with ſo greate a number of ennemies: He ſawe him ſelfe reduced to theſe tearmes, either to content the Pope and the *Venetians* by reſtoring *Frauncis Sforce* to the Duchie of *Millan*, or elſe to compounde with the Frenche king: Who for his parte, after long arguing and diſputacion for the countrey of *Burgongnie*, and finding that without the price of it, he coulde not hope for his deliuerie by thEmperour, offered to render it with all thappurtenaunces and dependancies, and to renownce all titles and rightes which he had to the kingdome of *Naples* and Duchie of *Millan*, and to aſſure the obſeruacion of his promiſe by the oſtage of two of his ſonnes: The diſputacions were greate vppon the election of the one or the other waye, wherein the *Viceroy* inſiſted more vehementlie then euer, both for that he had the conduct of the Frenche king into *Spayne*, and had nourriſhed him with many braue hopes of his deliuerie vnder eaſie conditions: His authoritie was great with thEmperour and his reputacion nothing inferiour, both for that thEmperour reappoſed muche in his fidelitie, and truſted him becauſe he knewe he loued him: But there oppoſed againſt him *Mercurio Gattinaro* a man of baſe diſcending in the contrie of *Piedmont*, and by his vertue raiſed to the place of high Chauncellor to thEmprour, & for his experiēce & credit, had managed of long time all the affaires of the Court of moſt importaunce: One day thEmperour ſitting really in councell to reſolue abſolutely the matters that had bene diſcourſed ſo many monethes, theſe

ThEmperour maried to the daughter of Portugall.

two were alſo preſent, of whom the Chaunceller tooke occaſion to reaſon in this ſorte.

Oration of the Chaunceller.

I haue alwayes feared leaſt our too great greedineſſe concurring with the immoderate ends we aſpire vnto, would not be the cauſe, that of ſo ſingular and honorable a victory, we reaped in the ende neither glory nor profit: But I coulde neuer be induced by anye argument or reaſon, that by your victorie (oh gracious Emperour) eyther your eſtate or your reputacion ſhoulde fall into daunger: A matter whiche nowe appeareth manifeſtly, ſince there is queſtion to conclude an accorde, by the which all the regions of *Italie* ſhall be reduced to a condicion deſperate, which can not but bring infamy to your name, & the french king deliuered vp to his liberty, but vnder ſo vnequall condicions that he will continue a greater enemy to you then before, though not of will which happily he may reſtraine and temper, yet by neceſſitie which is alwaies a mighty mocion to moue men to reuenge: for my parte, I coulde wiſh with as great ſhow of affectiō as others, that at one time & by one meane, your Maieſty might recouer *Bourgongny* & alſo eſtabliſh fundacions of your imperie in *Italie*: But vaine is the wit that aſpireth to hold the thing which the hand is not hable to gripe, and in the property of worldly things, there is nothing more full of errour, then that ambicion which goeth on working in the humor of wening only, & lookes not backe to order and reaſon, which are the aſſured lines that laye out the infallible ſucceſſe of euery mortall action: I haue alwaies ſeene that that Prince who ſodainly hath embraſed many thinges, hath gone on with perill to effect nothing, for that all thoſe things are put to aduenture that are guided by will & not by reaſon: That fire that is mightily kindled hath much a do to be quenched, but when vpon one fire riſeth many flames whoſe propertie is to flie with the winde into many places, it can not be that the burning wil not be great, yea oftentimes extended to the conſuming of him that firſt kindled it: I ſee no reaſon to induce vs to thinke that the french king being deliuered, wil obſerue the articles of ſo great importance, ſince he is not ignorant that in making you Lord of *Burgongny*, he layeth open ſuch a gappe to lead you into the bowells of *Fraunce*, that it will be alwayes in your election to runne vp euen to the gates of *Paris*: And he knoweth well enough that when he hath once put into your hande the power to vex *Fraunce* in ſo many places, he hath left to him ſelfe no poſſibility to make reſiſtance againſt you: doth not he know & all the world ſee, that to conſent that you goe to *Rome* with an armie, is no other thing, then to giue you a raine with whoſe bridle you may checke all *Italie*, & authoritie to diſpoſe according to your liking, of the eſtate ſpirituall and temporall of the Church, and by that meane your puiſance being redoubled, you ſhall for alwayes after neuer want money nor forces to offend him? And who doubteth that of this greatnes he maketh this concluſion, that he ſhall be conſtrained to accept all ſuche lawes as it ſhall pleaſe you to impoſe vpon him: Is it then reaſonable to beleue that he will obſerue an accorde by the which he is made your ſlaue and you his Lorde? Where is ſeruitude hatefull, if not in the minde whome nature hath borne to ſoueraintie: And howe can it bee thought that he will liue vnder the yoke of ſubiection, whoſe ambicion coulde not hitherunto be conteyned within the large limites of *Fraunce*: But be it, that in the king will be founde no want of conſcience to obſerue the condicions of the contract, yet he may be ouercaried by a naturall compaſſion by the complaintes and lamentacions of his kingdome, and by the perſwaſions of the king of *Englande* accompanied with thincitacion of all *Italie*: It may bee that by the lawe of amitie that is betwene you two, he will reappoſe confidence in you, or at leaſt looke into

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the power you are of: But was there euer two Princes betwene whome haue bene greater cauſes of hatred and contencion? There is not onely betweene you a reciprocall ielouſie of greatnes, A matter apt to ſtirre vppe one brother agaynſt another, but alſo your common emulacion is puſhed on by many auncient and great quarrells begonne in the tymes of your fathers and great grandfathers, many long warres betweene thoſe two houſes, many peaces and accordes not obſerued, many harmes done, and many iniuries receyued: There is no quarrell more mortall then that which taketh his nurriture in tract and preſcripcion of tyme, nor any hatred ſo daungerous as that which lyeth ſmothered like fire couered with hoate ymbers by whome the heate is preſerued to a greater power of burning: To the mind that is iniuried, there is nothinge ſo ſweete as the paſſion of reuenge, And by howe muche thoffence is auncient and inueterat, by ſo much more incurable is the humor of reuenge, and more heauye the ſtroake where it lighteth: We may beleeue that the kinges minde burneth with diſdayne, when he remembreth how many monethes he hath beene your priſoner, with what ſeueritie he hath beene kept vnder ſtraite and ſure garde, and neuer was fauored ſo much as to ſpeake to you or ſee you: Beſides, in this calamitie of impriſonment he hath paſſed ſo many perplexities and perills as had almoſt brought him to the ende of his mortall life, cauſes not litle materiall to make him highly incenſed, beſides the deſpite of his other iniuries ſufficient to drawe on his deſire to be reuenged: And nowe he ſeeth we goe about to deliuer him, not through magnanimitie or amitie, but by neceſſitie and feare of ſo great a confederacion conſpired againſt vs: Do we thinke that parentage made by neceſſitie, is more mighty, then ſo many vehement incitacions: Doe not we know how much Princes eſteeme of ſuch bonds: And who can yeld a better teſtimonie then our ſelues, of the eſtimacion and reckoning of parentages: But it may happly ſeeme to ſome that we ſhall be greatly aſſured by the faith he will giue to returne againe into priſon: Oh weake foundacions and full of frailtie, oh hopes vnperfect and drawing more perill then ſewertie, oh councell vndiſcreete which hath no ſocietie with wiſedome and forecaſt: The griefe I haue to ſee vs diſpoſed to take a courſſe ſo hurtfull and daungerous, makes me burſt out into this libertie of playne ſpeeche: This boarde is not ignorant, what reckoning is made of faith and worde giuen, when there is queſtion of intereſts of eſtate, neyther are we to learne of what force are the promiſſes of the French men, who though they be open and playne in all other thinges, yet in this regarde let vs thinke them Schoolemaiſters moſte perfect in deceyuing and abuſing: And for the king, he hath naturally a readye tongue to promiſſe, and a ſlowe hande to performe, and by cuſtom is ſo much the more harde and ſparing in effects, by howe much he is plentifull and prodigall in words and ſpeeches: Vppon which I gather this reaſonable concluſion, that neither the reſpect of good will betwene two Princes who haue for an auncient inheritance, iniuries and offences, nor the memorie of benefits, which neuer was any, nor the cõſideracion of faith & promiſſes, which in controuerſie of matters of eſtate importeth nothing with the frenchmen, wil haue any force to induce him to follow an accord, which lifteth vp his enemy into heauen, & throweth his owne perſon & his kingdom into manifeſt ſubiection: where it may be obiected that for feare of theſe things, & the better to aſſure your maieſty, you demaũd two of his childrẽ (of whom one to be theldeſt) whoſe loue wil cõtein him more thẽ the price of *Burgongny*: I aũſwer that the loue of thoſe childrẽ wil rather cauſe the cõtrary, ſpecially whẽ the memory of thẽ ſhal moue in the cogitaciõs of his mind, & cõſideration that to obſerue

" thaccord,would be the beginning to make them your ſlaues:it is doubtful that ſuch
" a pawne will not be ſufficient, if he ſhould be altogether deſperat to recouer it in o-
" ther ſort: for that as it is a thing that much importeth to put his Realme in daunger,
" which being once loſt is hard to be recouered: So neuertheleſſe he may haue many
" hopes to redeeme his children either with the fauor of tyme, or by the benefit of ac-
" cord,or by thopportunitie of ſome other occaſion, and yet in reſpect of their baſe
" age thexſpectacion wil not be greeuous to him:Beſides,ſtanding in tearmes to draw
" into vnitie againſt you almoſt all the Princes of Chriſtendom,who doubteth not but
" he will confederat with them: who ſeeth not that he will ſeeke to moderat that ac-
" cord by the waye of warre and armes: And who knoweth not that in that caſe, the
" gayne and profit which we ſhall reape by this victorie, will bringe vppon vs a moſt
" ſtronge and daungerous warre ſtirred vp by the deſperat hatred of the French king,
" by the burning ielouſie of the king of *England*, and by the general neceſſitie of all the
" Potentats in *Italy*: Againſt whom how ſhall we be able to defende our ſelues,vnles
" God continue daily to worke the ſame miracles for vs which he hath ſo often done
" till this tyme,or vnles fortune for our ſakes, chaunge her nature, and reduce her in-
" conſtancie and lightnes to an example of conſtancie and firmenes contrary to all
" experience paſt: how many monethes haue we concluded in our councells, to doe
" all that we could to let thItalians for vniting with the houſe of *Fraunce*: And now we
" throwe our ſelues raſhly into a deliberacion which takes away all difficulties that till
" this hower haue kept them in ſuſpence: A matter which multiplieth our daungers,
" & encreaſeth the forces of our enemies,ſince it is not to be doubted that that league
" wil be more ſtrong and mighty which ſhal haue for a head,the French king ſtanding
" in his freedome and in his kingdome,then that which ſhould be contracted with the
" houſe of *Fraunce* and the king remeine your priſoner: There is no other thing which
" till this day hath deteyned the Pope from entring confederacion againſt you, then
" the feare he had that you would alwayes ſeparate the French from the reſidue, in
" offering to them the libertie of their king: but leſſe will be their feare of ſuch a mat-
" ter, when you ſhall haue the children who import not muche, and diſmiſſe the fa-
" ther vppon whoſe perſon reſteth the ballancing of all things: So that by this meane,
" the medicine which we haue ſought to applye to preuent our daunger,will become
" without all compariſon the chiefe poyſon and inſtrument of our perill,And in place
" to breake this vnion we ſhall be the meane to enforce it and make it more firme and
" puiſſant.But me thinkes I ſee ſome ready to aske my aduiſe,and whether I wil coun-
" cell your Maieſtie to drawe no profitte of ſo greate a victorie, and to ſuffer you to
" dwell alwayes vppon theſe doubtes and perplexities, to whome I aunſwer and con-
" firme eſtſoones the ſimilitude I haue ſpoken many tymes, that it is a matter too
" hurtfull to receyue ſo much meate at one tyme as the ſtomacke can not beare: And
" that it is neceſſary, eyther by returning into amitie with *Italy* which demaundes no-
" thing of vs but to be aſſured, to gette of the Frenche king both *Burgonguye* and aſ-
" much els as we can: or els to make a compoſicion with him (by the which *Italy*
" may remeyne at our diſcreſſion) but ſo eaſie touching his intereſts, as he may haue
" cauſe to obſerue the condicions of it: In thelection of the one of theſe two wayes
" it apperteyneth to your maieſtie in pollicie & forecaſt tø preferre that which in deed
" is moſte ſtable and iuſt, affore that which at the firſt ſhow may happly ſeeme moſte
" great and moſt profitable: I confeſſe the Duchie of *Myllan* is an eſtate more riche
" and more commodious for many regardes,then *Burgonguie*,and that there can no a-
" mitie paſſe with *Italy*,vnleſſe *Myllan* be transferred eyther to *Frauncis Sforce*, or to

ſome

some other of the Popes lyking: And yet I rather allowe to do this, then to accorde with the Frenche men, for that *Burgonguy* apperteineth to you with better equitie and iustice then *Millan*, and beareth more facilitie to be mayntained then a contrey where is no person that willeth you good. To seeke to get *Burgonguy* your auncient inheritance, is an action of great worthynes and prayse: but to aspire after *Millan* eyther to your owne vse, or for any other that dependeth wholly vpon you, can not be without manifest notes of ambicion: The one calleth you to it by the honorable memorie of so many your predecessors, whose bones lying buryed in captiuitie, call vpon you to be deliuered and redeemed by your vertue, whose compassion accompanied with their iust, pityfull, and holy desires, may happly moue God to be more fauorable to thaction. Your Maiestie must consider that it is a more discrete and easie counsell, to establishe an amitie with him that vnwillingly becomes your enemie, then with one who in no time can be your friend: for there will neuer be in the French king but a perpetuall hate and desire to oppose agaynst your doings: where the Pope and the other potentates of *Italie* beeing once assured of all suspicion by the reuoking of your armie that is in *Lombardy*, will haue no occasion of controuersie with you, neyther through iealousie wherein they will be satisfied, nor by feare which then will be resolued into assurance, and remayning your friendes, you shall drawe from them both now and alwayes a greater commoditie and profite: So that there are to leade your Maiesties inclination to this amitie, not onely the consideration of honor, which ought to be most familiar with great princes, not only the regarde of profite, whiche fashioneth hawty mindes to reason and facilitie, not onely the respect of suretie, which to princes and peoples is the sweteſt ende and rewarde of their warres and contentions, but also the operation of necessitie, which aboue all other motions in the mindes of men, caryeth them violently to resolution and accorde: For, be it that you compounde with the king, and binde him to no other thing then to ayde you in thenterprises of *Italy*, yet it is not likely he will obserue it, since this will be his opinion, that in leauing you *Italy* for a pray, he should so much the more imbarke his owne Realme in perill and desperate daunger: Where on the other side, his hopes and oportunities will be great that by the compulsion of so mighty an vnion he shall be hable to vex and trauell you, and in the end to reduce you to accorde vnder easie conditions: So that of a king whom we holde prisoner, we shall not onely giue him libertie, but also prepare him to be our enemie, and sende home to the Realme of *Fraunce* a soueraigne chieftayne or leader, to thende that ioyning with the residue, he might rayse warre agaynst vs both with greater forces and with more profite. Howe much better were it to confederate with thItalians, who haue the same conformitie of reasons with vs? Howe much more necessary to contract a firme and true alliance with the Pope, who hath continually desired it? And howe muche assured to remoue from the Frenche all hope to ioyne with thItalians, seeing that in that case not onely necessitie or feare of new leagues, but also euen your owne will and qualitie of the conditions, will drawe you to accorde with the French. Then shall you see that their vniuersall necessitie and dispayre of their common condition, will constrayne them not onely to delyuer vp *Burgonguy* into your handes, and to followe you with greater offers, but also to assure them with suche obligations and ostages, that you shall not neede to doubt the obseruation: For the which his children are no sufficient pawnes so long as they hope to effect so great an vnion: And scarcely wyll suffice the townes of *Bayon* and *Narbona*, if they put them into your hands, nor an armie at sea. This is the waye to

" draw of your victorie a frute plentyfull, honorable, comely and sure: And otherwise
" (if I haue any insight in the matters of the worlde) by this accorde you shall em-
" barke your estate into so great daungers, that I see no way to deliuer you, vnlesse the
" indiscression of the French king may happly be greater then ours.

This oration, what with theloquence and good disposition of the matter, ioyned with the reputation and wisedome of the man, wrought muche in the minds of the greatest parte of the counsell: But the *Viceroy* being of an other humor, pronounced a contrary opinion in this sorte:

Oration of the Viceroy.

If it be a fault blameable in suche men as through the motion of worldly appetite and ambition, seeke to embrace more then they are hable to hold, the offence is
" no lesse in mine opinion, in others who eyther by too many suspicios or too muche
" incredulitie, do willingly depriue them selues of great occasions gotten with many
" difficulties and daungers: But if there be propertie of errour in both, obseruing the
" qualitie of the persons in whom they raygne, that which proceedeth of feare and
" abiection of minde, is more to be reprehended and condemned in a great prince,
" then that which moueth of an inclination heroicall and true greatnes of spirit and
" courage: And seeing it is to great thinges that the thoughts of great princes ought
" to be raysed and dressed, it can not but be more agreable to their merite and vertue,
" to seeke to winne muche with hazarde and daunger, then by auoyding of perill
" which is but casuall, to lose or corrupt suche occasions as verye rarely happen
" to mortall men. This is the very course layde out to your Maiestie by the Lorde
" Chauncellor, who doubting that by this accorde *Burgongny* and *Millan* maye not
" be obteyned, (we muste not thinke he is pushed on eyther with the loue of *Italy*
" which is his contrey, or with the benefite or good turne that he wisheth to the duke
" of *Millan)* hath made a resolution of a waye by the which as he sayth, we shall get
" *Burgongny* and lose *Millan*, an estate without comparison of greater importance.
" But I feare that in following that deuise, as we shall not onely lose *Millan* and not
" winne *Burgongny*, so also, where your Maiesty hath with great glory opened you a
" waye to the imperie and iurisdiction of all Christendome, there will remayne no o-
" ther frute of it if you take your direction by his counsell, then great domage accom-
" panied with perpetuall infamie: Effects which in all reasonable sorte your Maiestie
" is to auoyde, least through indiscression and sinister counsell of one priuate man,
" you blemishe the reputation and vallour of so many princes and braue Capteines,
" who vnder the felicity and fortune of your name fought for the victorie which now
" you haue: So will the world thinke you more apte to get then hable to holde, and
" lesse worthy of glory then meete to manage it. For my parte muche lesse that I can
" discerne any suretie in the counsell he hath giuen, seeing of the contrary it bringes
" lurking vnder it many tokens of manyfest daunger, and some apparances of a little
" profite and yet easy to slide out of our handes, not without our shame and your in-
" dignitie: Where of the contrary, in compounding with the French king, your Ma-
" iestie shall reape glory, which especially followeth the name of Emperours, it wyll
" bring you profite which is a sweete rewarde of victories, and it wyll giue you a
" sufficient assurance of your estates, which is the happiest ende and conclusion of
" warre and controuersies betwene Princes. I aske this question of the lord Chaun-
" cellor, vnder what reason, vnder what suretie, and vnder what fidelity he doth war-
" rant or promise that the Italians after we haue left them the Duchie of *Millan*, will
" obserue the accorde, and will not intermedle with the affayres that shall passe be-
" twene the French king and vs? Yea rather after they haue embased our reputation,

after

after they haue corrupted the armie that nowe holdeth them in bridle, and after
they ſhall be aſſured that no newe companies of Launceknightes can come into *Italy* becauſe there is no place of retrait for them, I aske agayne with what humor the
Lorde Chauncellor can aunſwere for thItalians that they will not recontinue their
practiſes, and threatning the kingdome of *Naples* whiche will almoſte remayne at
their diſcreſſion, they will not ryſe and force vs to deliuer the French king. If it bee
good to prouide that a miſchiefe happen not, it is better not to loſe thoportunitie of
the remedie that is proper for it, ſince there can be no greate daunger to defend the
harme that ſtandes in feare of a remedie to reſiſte it. It is farre from reaſon for my
Lorde Chauncellor to reapoſe confidence in *Frauncis Sforce* to acknowledge the
benefites that your Maieſtie ſhall do to him, ſeeing he hath already ſo yll obſerued
your honorable liberalities, & with treaſons hath recompenſed the fauors you haue
vſed to him? But what exſpectation of conſpiracie & worſe dealing, when he ſeeth
a deſire to call him to iuſtice, and to puniſh by ſentence of the law, the vnthankfulnes he hath pretended with ſo great iniquitie? And what feare will he haue of your
puniſhment, when he exſpecteth his ſafetie by the deliueraunce of your enemies?
He will not care to offende you, that feareth not your puniſhment: and that puniſhment will he not holde grieuous, which eyther he ſuppoſeth to ſuffer for innocencie, or is aſſured of his meane of deliuerie. And leſſe reaſon is there to induce you
to haue confidence in the *Venetians*, for that beeing by nature enemies auncient to
the Crowne of thempire and the houſe of *Auſtria*, can not yet but tremble vnder
the memorie of *Maximilian* your grandfather, who tooke from them many of thoſe
townes which they poſſeſſe at this day. The minde poſſeſſed with iniurie & wrong,
can neuer be made aſſured: and where the remembraunce of the harmes done remayneth without recompence or reconciliation, there is nothing leſſe certayne
then fidelitie, and nothing more frayle then the friendſhippes they profeſſe. Touching Pope *Clement*, there is no reaſon of confidence eyther in his vertue, or in his
inclination to themperour, ſince the firſt alliance that Pope *Leo* made with him after he had attempted many things agaynſt vs, was, for deſire eyther to be reuenged,
or to be aſſured agaynſt the French men, and for ambicion to occupie *Ferrara*: And
after him, the Pope raygning being hated of the one moytie of the world, continued
by neceſſitie (after the death of *Leo*) in your amitie, but being become Pope, he returned immediatly to the nature of Popes, which is both to feare & hate themprors,
and for his parte he hath nothing in more horror then the name of themperour. I
confeſſe theſe reaſons may be aunſwered with excuſes, and it may be alleaged that
their complotts and enterpriſes tooke no proceding of hatred or ambicion, but only of ſuſpicion and iealouſie of your greatnes, which being ceaſſed, all their conſpirations will take ende: But it may be aunſwered, that eyther this is not true, or if at
the beginning it hath bene true, it hath nowe by neceſſitie taken other roote, and
become an other humor, for that it is a thing naturall that hatred followeth ſuſpicion, and offences and vexacions come after hatred, and after offences men drawe
to alliance and amitie with thenemies of him whom they haue offended, laboring
to rayſe practiſes not onely for their proper ſurety, but alſo to make their profite of
him whom they haue offended. Nature hath ſowen in man ſeedes of hatred and reuenge, and though the lawes holde it more iuſt to reuenge an iniurie then to do it,
yet kinde and nature ſhoweth that both the one and the other proceede of one imbecillitie: Beſides, the remembraunce of wrongs is farre greater and more ſtirring
in the mind of him that doth them, then in him that receyueth them: So that where

" in the beginning ſuſpicion onely would ſet them vp and make them to moue, the
" ſame would be alſo the cauſe to make them become our enemies, to cary them both
" in inclination and in hope to the French part, and then to beginne to cantonize and
" make a diuident of the Realme of *Naples*, as they haue done in all contractes paſte:
" And nowe let vs giue them what ſuretie we will, and inferre what accorde we can,
" we ſhall finde kindled in their ſtomackes the ſame hatred and feare that before, with
" minds not diſpoſed to reappoſe confidence in that, which to their ſeeming we ſhal
" do through neceſſitie: In ſo much as vnder an opinion they may haue the more ea-
" ſily to raunge vs to their wills, and fearing leaſt in the ende there runne betwene the
" French king and vs a new appoyntment ſemblable to that which was made at *Cam-*
" *bray*, and laſtly deſiring according to their owne phraſes to deliuer *Italy* of ſtraun-
" gers, they will not ſticke to preſume to ryſe vp to giue you lawes, and to demaunde
" at your handes the deliuery of the French king: A matter whiche if your Maieſtie
" re fuſe, I ſee not howe you can defende agaynſt them the kingdome of *Naples*: And
" in according that, you loſe all the frutes of your victory, beſides a manifeſt diſhonor
" and reiection that will ſtande vpon your name for euer. But let vs laye the caſe that
" *Italy* will performe and obſerue thaccorde, and neceſſitie conſtrayne you eyther to
" leaue *Millan* or not to recouer *Burgongnie*, yet in iuſt compariſon there is great dif-
" ference betwene the one and the other: *Burgongnie* is a countrey of litle circuite, of
" ſmall reuenue, and nothing aunſwering the commodities that are perſwaded to be
" there: Where the Duchie of *Millan*, both for the riches and reputation of ſo many
" Cities, for the number and noblenes of ſubiectes, for the liberall and plentifull reue-
" nues, and for the oportunitie and ſufficiencie to nouriſh all the armies of the world,
" caryeth more value & price then many kingdomes: And yet beſides the amplitude
" and puiſſance of it, you haue to make a greater reckoning of the commodities that
" may reuert to you by conquering it, then of the ſimple accompt and valuation of it
" ſelfe: for *Millan* and *Naples* being at your deuotion, it followeth by congruent ne-
" ceſſitie that the Popes, as aunciently they are wont, muſte depende vpon thautho-
" ritie of Emprours: That all the region of *Tuskane*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the
" Marquis of *Mantua* muſt be your ſubiectes: And the *Venetians* beeing enuironed
" with *Lombardy* and *Germany*, ſtande in caſe to accept lawes at your hande: And ſo
" not with force and armes diſplayed, but with a glorious reputation of your name,
" with the onely ſommonce of a Herald, and with the enſeignes of the Empire, you
" ſhall commaunde abſolutely ouer all *Italy*. Lift but vp your Maieſties minde to the
" conſideration of *Italy*, and you ſhall finde it with great right eſteemed the ſupreme
" ſeate of all other prouinces, both for the oportunitie of ſituation, for temperature
" of ayre and Climate, for thexcellencie of wittes inclined to all honorable enterpri-
" ſes, for the fertilitie of all things neceſſary to the lyfe of man, for the ſtately repre-
" ſentation of ſo many noble Cities, for the ſoueraigne ſeate of religon, and for the
" auncient glory of thempire: To which prayſes as I may aptely adioyne the commo-
" ditie of imperie which it brings, extending ſo farre in your perſon, that if you com-
" maunde ouer it, the ſounde of your name and authoritie runneth fearefull in the
" eares of other Princes: So it can not but belong to your greatnes and to your glory,
" to rayſe your thoughtes to this, which is an action more agreable to the bones of
" your elders (ſeeing they are brought into counſell) who for their bounty and pietie,
" we are not to beleeue do deſire any other thing then what is moſt conuenient and
" agreable to the glory of your name: So that, according to the counſell of the Lord
" Chauncellor, we ſhall loaſe a matter of great price and value, for a thing of righte

ſmall

ſmal conqueſt, and yet wrapt in many vncerteinties, wherein we ought to ſtand warned by that which was like to happen certeine moneths paſt: Doe we not remember the great griefe that fell amongeſt vs when the French king laye in daunger of death, which griefe proceeded of no other humor then a knowledge we had that with his life we ſhould loſe the frute we hoped for by the victory: And who can now aſſure vs that the like accident will no more reuert vpon him? yea who feareth not the relaps with more facilitie, both for that the reliques of his maladie doe yet poſſeſſe him, and alſo the hope which till now hath ſupported him, being taken away, who doubteth not but his grieued mind will heape vpon him greater fits of ſorowe and diſcontentment, the onely cauſe of his ſicknes, eſpecially newe condicions and aſſurances being interpoſed, it can not be that for their hardnes, they make not the negociacion long and tedious, A matter ſubiect to the former accident and happly to others both more great and daungerous: We are not ignorant, that nothing hath ſo long reteyned the gouernment and councell of *Fraunce*, as an opinion they haue had of the ſpeedy deliuery of their king, In which humor of exſpectacion the Nobles and Chieftaines of that Realme, haue remayned peaſible and conformable to the Lady Regent: But when they finde the foundacions of this hope to fayle, who doubteth not that the Barons of that Realme will not eaſily enter into mindes of deſpite and reuenge, and with an vniuerſall conformetie, chaunge the courſſe of the gouernment: ſtronge is the operacion of ambicion, and no leſſe violent the paſſion and thirſt after imperie and ſouereintie, ſpecially where is ſeene no meane to make reſiſtance againſt ſo mighty mocions: which I allude to the diſpoſicion of *Fraunce*, where, if the greatnes of the kingdome get once the bridle in their hand, much leſſe that they will be carefull ouer the deliuerie of their king, ſeeing of the contrary, their ambicion will cary them to meinteyne an eſtate of libertie, and aſpyring to eſtabliſh ſupremacie in them ſelues, what will it offend them to ſuffer the captiuitie of their king: And ſo in place to get *Burgongnie* and ſo many other great conqueſts, what other thing doe we reteyne, then a deſperat hope both by his impriſonment, and by his deliuerie: But this further queſtion may be asked of the Lord Chauncellor, whether thEmprour in this reſolucion ought to regard the reckoning and reputacion of his dignitie and his maieſtie: Then what greater infamie, or what more diminucion of his honor, can he receiue then to haue his clemencie forced, and conſtrayned to pardon *Frauncis Sforce*, he who lately being halfe dead, detected of manifeſt rebellion, and a ſinguler example of ingratitude, not comming to humilitie nor imploring your mercy, but running betwene the armes of your enemies to ſeeke to force you to render to him the eſtate which ſo iuſtly hath bene taken from him, and compell you to take lawes of him, who by equitie of condēnation ought to beare ſubiection to your imperial name: It were better for your maieſtie, more agreable to the dignitie of thEmpire, and more worthy your greatnes and puiſſance to laye out your ſelfe to a newe fortune, and to referre eftſoones all thinges to hazard and daunger, then in blemiſhing thauthoritie of the Prince ſoueraigne ouer all Princes, and the name of thEmprour, and hauing ſo oftentymes vanquiſhed ſo mighty a king: To receiue at the hands of Preeſtes and Marchaunts, ſuch condicions, as if you had bene ouerthrowen there could not haue beene offered to you either more vniuſt or more vnworthy: honor and dignitie are the gifts of God, which by how much they are baſely eſteemed of thoſe to whome they are transferred, by ſo much more is highly offended the eternall goodnes that gaue them who will eftſoones reuoke them with no ſmall indignation: That man can not be accompted worthy of honor, that de-

" clareth himselfe not hable to vse it, since honor is a rewarde or effect of vertue, who
" enhableth to honor and dignitie those persons to whom her selfe is conioyned. So
" that, moste gracious Emprour, calling estsones into consideration all these reasons,
" both howe litle profite may resort to you by thaccorde with th Italians, and by how
" many accidentes it maye easily slide out of your handes, howe litle assurance or
" showe of fidelitie is in them, and howe vnworthy a thing it is to leaue the state of
" *Millan*: And lastely that it is necessary for vs to soart at last to a resolution, and that
" the imprisonment of the king profiteth vs not but in regarde of the frutes that maye
" be drawen of his deliuery. I stande firme and conclude vppon this aduise, that wee
" compounde rather with the king then accorde with th Italians, A matter which can
" not be denyed to be more glorious, more reasonable, and more profitable, so farre-
" foorth as we may be assured of thobseruation: Wherein I discerne some good fun-
" dation in this, that for a more thankfull acknowledging of your benefite, he offreth
" to take to wife your sister, a Lady for her vertue and stayed condition very well able
" and conuenient to enterteine you in amitie: Besides thoblation of two of his sonnes,
" of whom one to be theldest, which is suche a propertie of pawne and ostage, as a-
" mongest worldly men and to assure worldly things, there can not be offred nor re-
" ceiued a more worthy nor more important: And seeing our necessitie driueth vs to
" determine some thing, it is more reasonable we reappose confidence in a Frenche
" king vnder suche nature of ostages, then in a nation of Italians of no lesse infidelitie
" then without gage: and rather to trust the worde and fayth of so great a king, then
" to be caryed with the immoderate couetousnes of priestes and suspicious basenesse
" and bartring of Marchantes: And lastly, according to the example of our aunceStors,
" we may with more facilitie kepe amitie for a tyme with the Crowne of *Fraunce*, ho-
" norable for his proper dignitie, then with a confused people of Italians our naturall
" and perpetuall enemies. Taking this course, I do not onely discerne a greater hope
" of obseruancie and due keeping of fayth, but also a lesse estate of daunger in case of
" promise breaking: seeing if the king refuse to render to vs *Burgongnie*, at leaSt he will
" not dare (his children remayning ostages) to rise vp to offende vs agayne, but will
" labour by solicitation and sute to moderate the rigour of thaccorde: and being but
" as it were yesterday vanquished by you, he will retayne a working feare of your
" forces and armes, and being likewise this day deliuered out of prison, he will not be
" so hardie to make a newe proofe of your fortune: And if he take no armes agaynst
" you, you neede not doubt of the mouing of others, since vpon his example depen-
" deth ordinarily the vallour of the residue: By which meane you shall haue good o-
" portunitie to conquer the Castell of *Millan*, and so to establishe your suretie in that
" estate, that hereafter you shall not neede to feare the malice of any man. But if you
" come nowe to accorde with th Italians, and they in their infidelitie come to double
" with you, I see remayning no bridle hable to reteyne them, and as their power en-
" creaseth to vex you, so looke that their will will likewise ryse greater to conspire,
" and their handes more free to execute: So that I can not but interprete it to tyme-
" rousnesse and want of counsell, that for an humor of too great suspicion and incre-
" dulitie, we should loase the benefite of an accord so full of glory and many aduaun-
" tages, and no lesse accompanied with sufficient suretie, following in place of it a re-
" solution no lesse daungerous in the effecte and substance, then ielouse in all hys
" partes and circumstances.

This Oration of the *Viceroy* drew the residue of the counsel into diuersitie of opi-nion: It seemed to suche as were of iudgement sounde and vpright, that to accorde with

with the French king according to the maner declared, could not be but full of danger: And yet such was the parcialitie of the *Flemings* desyring to recouer agayne *Burgongnie* the auncient patrimonie and tytle of their Princes, that their affection would not suffer them to discerne the truth: besides, it was sayde that the giftes and great promises made by the French men, wrought not a little to corrupt and carry many: But themprour aboue all the residue, eyther for that suche was his first inclination, or for that thauthoritie of the *Viceroy* could do much with him hauing concurrancy with thopinion of the Count *Nausan*, or haply because he held it too great indignity to pardon by cõpulsion *Frauncis Sforce*, who had offended him by so great malice, seemed to heare with ready and willing eares all suche as counselled him to compound with the French king: So that after he had caused to be sounded agayne the Legate *Saluiatio* to knowe if he would consent that thestate of *Millan* shoulde be transported to the person of the Duke of *Burbon*, And that the Legate had certefied him that he had no commission to allowe that drifte, and therewithall had made offer to hym of the Popes amitie: he determined to goe on with thaccorde with the Frenche king, with whom things hauing already paste many disputations and acts, he grew in very fewe dayes to conclusion, not respecting at all the cõmunitie or interposing of the Popes Legat: And for the better perfection and stability of the accorde, themperour had obteyned before the Duke of *Burbons* consent to giue in mariage to the French king, his sister whom he had promised to him: The Duke was driuen to passe this consent, not so muche for a desire he had to carye the Duchy of *Millan*, which was promised him contrary to the authority of the Chauncellor and *Viceroy*, vnder obligation notwithstanding to pay a great summe of money: as for the necessitie of his affayres which were reduced to those tearmes, that neyther hauing nor could not haue any other piller or stay then themprour, he was constrayned to accommodate his condition to themprours will: And assoone as he had in all things accomplished this consent, to take him out of the presence of the Court in a tyme so vnconuenient, he departed foorthwith by themprours order, taking his waye by *Barselonia*, whither was appoynted to be sente to him necessary prouisions to passe into *Italy*, which for want of mony and lacke of vessels, had slow proceding, for that in *Spayne* were but three gallies at that tyme.

The solicitation of the peace which was resolued the fourteenth of February 1526. conteyned these couenantes: That betwene themprour and the french king should be a peace perpetuall, in which should be comprehended all such as should be named by their common consent: That the French king by the sixt daye of the next moneth of Marche, shoulde be set at libertie vppon the marches in the coaste of *Fontarabie*: That within sixe wekes after he should consigne to themprour the Duchie of *Burgongnie*, the Countie of *Charrolois*, the iurisdiction of *Noyers*, the Castell *Chaynro* dependancies of the sayde Duchie, the Vicountie of *Flussona*, the resorte of *S. Lavvrence de la Roche* a dependant of *Franche* Countie, together with all the appurtenances aswell of the sayd Duchy as Vicountie, all whiche for hereafter should be seperate and exempted from the soueraigntie of the Realme of *Fraunce*: That at the same and very instant that the king should be deliuered, there should be put into themprours hands the *Daulphin* of *Fraunce*, & with him eyther the Duke of *Orleance* the kings second sonne, or else xij. principall Lords of *Fraunce*, whõ themprour dyd name: It was left to thelection of the Lady Regent, either to deliuer the kings secõd sonne, or the xij. barons, & they to remayne as ostages vntill restitution were made of the lands and places aforesayd, and the peace sworne and ratified together with

The treaty of Madrill touching the deliuery of the fr. king.

all the articles by the estates generall of *Fraunce*, and inregistred in all the Courtes of Parliament of the kingdome with forme and solemnities necessary: for thaccomplishing whereof there was set downe a tearme of foure monethes: at which time returning the ostages, there should be put into themprours hands, the Duke *d'Angoulesme* the kings thirde sonne, to thende to trayne him vp with themprour the better to enterteine and assure the peace: That the French king should renounce and giue vp to themprour all his rightes to the Realme of *Naples*, together with all such titles and preeminences as were to come to him by thinuestiture of the Churche: That he shoulde do the lyke touching his interest in the state of *Millan*, of *Genes*, of *Ast*, and likewise of *Arras*, *Tourney*, of the Ile, and of *Dovvay*: That he should render vp the towne and castell of *Hedin* as a member of the countie of *Artois*, with all the munitions, artilleries, and mouables that were in it when it was laste taken: That he should disclayme and yelde vp all soueraignetie in *Flaunders* and *Artois*, and all other places or peces which themprour possessed: and that on the other side, themprour should resigne and giue vp to him all the right, title and quarrell which he pretended to any place possessed by the French men, and especially the townes and Casteldomes of *Perone*, *Mondidier*, *Roye*, the Counties of *Bolleyne*, *Guynes*, and *Ponthievu*, with other townes standing vpon the one & other shore of the riuer of *Somme*: That there shoulde be betweene them a league and confederation perpetuall for the defence of their estates, with obligation to ayde one another when nede required, with fiue hundred men at armes, and ten thousande footmen: That themprour should promise to giue in mariage to the king the Lady *Eleoner* his sister, whom assone as the dispensation should be obteined from the Pope, he shoulde contract or handfast with words obligatorie for the present, and afterwards she should be ledde into *Fraunce* to consummat the mariage at the same time that according to the capitulations the ostages were to be deliuered: That she should haue for her portion two hundred thousande crownes, with Iewels according to her estate, the one moytie of the money to be payed within sixteene monethes, and the other halfe in one yere after: That a mariage should be made betwene the *Daulphine* and the daughter of the king of *Portugall*, daughter to the Lady *Eleoner*, at suche tyme as their age woulde suffer: That the Frenche king shoulde do all that he coulde to induce the auncient king of *Nauarre* to giue vp to themperour the rightes of that kingdome, whiche in case he woulde not perfourme, then the king not to ayde him with any succours: That the Duke of *Gueldres* and the Counte of *Zulff* and the principall townes of those estates, shoulde promise with sufficient securitie, to giue themselues to the Emperour, after his death: That the kinge shoulde giue no succours to the Duke of *VVittenberg*, nor likewise to *Robert de la Marche*: That he shoulde furnishe and rigge for themperour, both when he shoulde passe into *Italy*, and two monthes after beeing so required, twelue gallies, foure shippes, and foure gallions, all well municioned and appoynted, except men of warre; and the sayde vesselles to be rendred three monthes after accompting from the daye of his embarking: That in place of tharmy by lande which the king offred for *Italy*, he should pay him two hundred thousande crownes in money, the one halfe within sixtene monethes, and the other halfe within a yere after: And that at the time when thostages should be deliuered, he should be bounde to giue billes of exchaunge for the paye of sixe thousand footmen for six monthes immediatly after themprours arriual in *Italy*: That he should also furnish for his seruice fiue hundred launces payed, with a band of artillerie: That he should saue harmeles themprour of his promise made to the king

of

of *Englande* by penſions which the Frenche king ſhould paye to him, the arrerages whereof amounted to fiue hundred thouſande crownes, or els to deliuer ſo much in ready money to themprour: That they ſhould both ioyne to beſech the Pope to cal a generall councell with all ſpeede to thende to conſult vpon an vniuerſall peace amongeſt Chriſtians, to aduaunce an enterpriſe agaynſt the infidels and heretikes, and to graunt to all the Croiſade for three yeres: That within ſixe weekes the king ſhould reſtore the Duke of *Burbon* in moſte ample forme, into all his eſtates, goodes mouable and vnmouable, and frutes and reuenues receyued: not to moleſt him for any thing paſt, nor conſtrayne him to dwell or go to the Realme of *Fraunce*: That it ſhould be lawfull to the ſayde Duke of *Burbon* to demaunde by the waye of lawe and iuſtice, the Earledome of *Prouence*: That in like ſort all thoſe that had followed him ſhould reenter in ſafetie into their goods and ſtates, and namely the Biſhop of *Autun* and *Monſr de ſaint Valier*: That the priſoners taken in the warre ſhould be deliuered on both partes within fifteene dayes: That there ſhould be reſtitution made to the Lady *Margaret* of *Auſtrich* of all that ſhe poſſeſſed affore the warre: That the Prince of *Orange* ſhould be ſet at liberty with reſtauration to the principality of *Orange*, and all that he poſſeſſed by the death of his father which had bene taken from him for following the faction of themprour: That the like ſhould be done to other Barons: That there ſhould be made reſtitutiõ to the Marquis of *Saluſſe* of his eſtate: That the king aſſone as he ariued in the firſt towne of his Realme, ſhould ratifie this capitulation, & be bound to procure the *Daulphin* to ratifie it whẽ he ſhould come to the age of fourteneyeres: Many were named by common conſent, & chiefly the *Svvizzers*: Onely there was not one of the Potentates of *Italy*, except the Pope whome they named as conſeruator of the accorde, and that more for maner ſake and ceremonie, then in effect and true meaning: Laſtly it was expreſſed in the ſayde capitulation, that in caſe the king for any occaſion, would not accompliſh theſe matters promiſed, he ſhould returne true priſoner.

This accorde, for the partes it conteyned, brought no ſmall aſtoniſhment to all Chriſtendom: for when it was vnderſtanded that the firſt execution therof conſiſted in the deliuery of the king, all mens opinions was, that being in his liberty, he would not deliuer vp *Burgongny* as being a member of too great importance for the realme of *Fraunce*: And except a few who had counſelled themprour to it, all his Court had the ſame iudgement, and namely the Chauncellor, who reprehended and deteſted the matter with ſo great vehemency, that notwithſtãding he was coommaunded to ſigne the capitulation according to thoffice of chief Chauncellors, yet he refuſed to do it, alleaging that in ſuch matters dangerous & hurtfull as that was, he ought not to vſe thauthority that was giuen him: neither could he be altred from this opinion notwithſtanding the emprour was angry with him: who ſeing him ſo reſolute in his opinion, ſigned it himſelf, & within few days after went to *Madrill* to confirme thalliance & make a fundation of amity & goodwill with the king, whom he enterteined in familiar and priuat ſort. Great were the ceremonies and demonſtrations of amitie betwene them: oftentimes they ſhowed themſelues together in places publike: and as often did they paſſe in ſecret familiar diſcourſes: They went together in one coache to a caſtell not halfe a dayes iourney from thence, where was queene *Eleoner* whom the king maryed: And yet in all theſe great ſignes of peace and amity, he was obſerued with as carefull and ſtrayte gard as before, without any aduauntage of libertie: So that he was embraſed as a brother, and garded as a priſoner, A matter whiche made manyfeſt to the worlde, that it was an accorde full of diſcorde,

The fr. king marieth themprours ſiſter.

an alliance without amitie, and that vpon euery occasion their auncient ielousies and passions woulde be stronger in them, then the regarde of that alliance made more by force then friendship.

Many days were spent in these offices & ceremonies of amitie, when was brought from the Lady Regent the ratification, together with the declaration, that with the *Daulphin* of *Fraunce*, they would rather giue in ostage the kings seconde sonne, then the twelue Barons: Then the king departed frō *Madrill*, taking his way to the frontier of his Realme, where was to be exchaunged his person for his sonnes who boare very small age: There was sent to accompany him the *Viceroy* the worker & author of his deliuery, to whom themprour had giuen the Citie of *Ast*, with other estates in *Flaunders* & in the kingdome of *Naples*. At this time themprour wrote to the Pope a letter of Court, wherein he certified him that in regarde to haue peace, and for the common benefite of Christendome, he had subdued all passions of iniuries & emulation, & restoring the French king to liberty, he had confirmed the league of amity betwene them with the mariage of his sister, and seeking to continue alwayes his obedient sonne, he had chosen him for conseruer of the peace. Not many dayes after he wrote to him an other letter of his owne hand, which he sent by the same Commandador *Erraro*, who brought him the Popes letter written with his owne hande: This was a letter responsiue indifferently tempered with words milde and gracious, and matter harde and rigorous, wherein he concluded that if *Frauncis Sforce* were not founde guyltie of the action of his accusation, he will render to him the Duchie of *Millan*, and touching the tryall of the cause, he referred it to the arbitration of the lawes vnder suche iudges as himselfe would appoynt as his superior: But in case his innocencie were found insufficient, he could do no lesse then in that state to inuest the Duke of *Burbon*, to whom the Pope was the cause that he had promised it, aduising him therevnto whyleſt *Frauncis Sforce* laye sicke: He added further in this letter to the Pope, that aswell to satisfie him, as to assure all *Italy*, he woulde neither reteine that Dukedome for himselfe, nor passe it by donation to his owne brother, vnder which testimonie he assured the Pope vpon his fayth that suche was his simple intention the which he desired him to allow and approue, offring to him alwayes his authoritie and his forces as a sonne obedient to the sea Apostolike. By the same *Erraro* was sent also the aunswere to the particulars of the Article whiche had bene set downe at length by the Pope in fauor of *Frauncis Sforce*, which themprour continuing in his first resolution, would not allowe. Themprour sent also by him to the Duke of *Sesse* the forme of thaccorde as he was determined to do the last time, with authoritie and power to contract if the Pope would accept it: In whiche was expressed that *Frauncis Sforce* should be comprehended in the confederation so farreforth as he were not founde guiltie in the crime of treason: But in case of hys death or depriuation, the Duke of *Burbon* should take place in the confederation, and receiue of him thinuestiture for the duchie of *Millan:* The obligation was confirmed which the *Viceroy* had made for restitution of the townes holden by the Duke of *Ferrara*, but vnder condition that the Pope should be bound to passe to him thinuestiture of *Ferrara*, and forgiue him the penaltie of contrauenion: A matter contrary to the Popes driftes, who had determined to exact a payne of an hundred thousande duckets, to make payment of the fine of an hūdred thousand which he had promised to themprour, in case that restitution went on: He did not admit thestate of *Millan* to make prouision of salt of the Church, and touching the collation of benefices in the realme of *Naples*, he would not be referred to the tenour of thinuestitures, but to the

Themprour writeth to the Pope touching the fr. kings deliuery.

the cuſtome and vſage of the kings affore, who in many caſes had contemned the rightes and authoritie of the ſea Apoſtolike: And becauſe a treatie had beene made with the Legate, that to remoue the armie out of *Lombardie* whiche was a great charge to all *Italy*, the Pope and he as king of *Naples* and the other potentates of *Italy*, ſhould paye an hundred and fiftie thouſande duckets, and then the ſayd army to retyre to *Naples*, or into ſome ſuche place out of *Italy* as ſhoulde ſeeme good to themperour, who ſayde he woulde tranſport it into *Barbarie*: yea it was added that becauſe there was more due to tharmie then at that tyme, there ſhould be exacted a paye of two hundred thouſande duckets: A copie of theſe Articles was preſented to the Pope by the Duke of *Seſſo* and the Commandator *Erraro*, with proteſtation that it was not in their power to alter or chaunge one ſillable: And yet all other difficulties had eaſily taken forme, if the Duchie of *Millan* had bene ſo diſpoſed as the Pope with the reſidue had had no cauſe to enter into ſuſpicion: But in the conſideration of the Duke of *Burbon* and the minde he bare, they made this iudgement of him, that he was ſo implacable an enemie to the Frenche king, that eyther for his ſuretie or for a deſire to enter *Fraunce*, he would be alwayes moſt deuout and ſubiect to themprour, and reteine in himſelfe nothing leſſe then humors of ambition and deſire to be great: They thought that Article to remoue the armie out of *Lombardy* (ſo greatly deſired of all, and for the which they would haue bene brought to haue aduaunced any ſummes of money) would be to little purpoſe, ſo long as there remayned at *Millan* a Duke, who not onely vpon euery gracious offer or motion of themperour, would be ready to accept the gifte of it, but alſo for his particular intereſt, woulde ambiciouſly aſpire and thirſte after it. In theſe regardes, the Pope, who for that in thaccorde which the Emprour had made with the Frenche king, was made no particular mention of him, nor of the ſuretie of theſtates of *Italye*, ſtoode more and more confirmed in his former opinion, that the ambicion and greatnes of themperour woulde in the ende be his ſeruitude and thraldome: And therefore he determined not to accept thaccorde in the maner it was offred to him, but to reſerue him ſelfe free vntill he were aſſured what courſe the Frenche woulde take touching the obſeruation of the peace: In which reſolution he ſtoode ſo much the more firme, by howe muche beſides thapparance and likelyhoodes of it, he had heard by the relation of certayne ſpeeches deliuered by the king affore hys libertie, and ſpread abroade by ſome that were familiar in counſell with him, that the king had a mynde altogether eſtraunged from performing the thinges he had promiſed to themperour: And the better to confirme the king in that deliberation (his owne ſuretie alſo depending vppon it) he ſent in poſte into *Fraunce*, *Pavvle Vittorio* a *Florentin* and capteine of his Gallies: his charge was to be at the Court at the ſame tyme the king ſhould aryue, vſing that diligence not onely to know his intention aſſone as might be, but alſo the king hauing a ready hope to be hable to drawe into league agaynſt themprour the Pope and the *Venetians*, he might take occaſion the ſooner to reſolue himſelf: It was enioyned alſo to the expedition of *Pavvle*, to congratulate in the Popes name the kings deliuerie, and to diſcourſe with him at large what he had done to that ende, and howe muche did induce themperours inclination to his libertie, the practiſes of confederation that were enterteyned with the Lady Regent: Laſtely that he ſhoulde impart with the king the Popes vehement deſire to haue an vniuerſall peace in Chriſtendome, and that thEmperour and he woulde perfourme together thenterpriſe agaynſt the Turke, who was reapported to make mightie preparations to inuade that yeare the Realme of *Hungarie*.

Theſe were his Commiſſions apparant and knowen, but this was his direction moſt ſubſtantiall and ſecrete, that aboue all things he ſhould ſounde throwly the kinges inclination, whom if he founde reſolute to obſerue the reſolution of *Madrill*, then to paſſe no further, leaſt vaynely he ſhould make his caſe more deſperate with themperour then before, but if he founde him to haue other thoughtes, and to hang in doubt, that he ſhould labour to confirme him in that diſpoſition, and ſeruing hys turne of all occaſions, he ſhould ſpecially compell him to take that courſe, giuing him knowledge of the Popes deſire to ioyne with him for the common benefite: He diſpatched in like ſort into *Englande* the pronotorie *Gambaro*, to manage the like office with that king, and to the ſame ende: Beſides, he procured the *Venetians* to ſende into *Fraunce* their ſecretory *Andrevv Roſſe*, with ſemblable commiſſions. As *Pavvle* paſt by *Florence* vpon his voyage, he fell ſicke and dyed, by reaſon of whiche accidẽt the Pope ſent to performe the legacion in his place, *Capui de Mantua*, taking it to an yll prediction, that nowe the ſeconde tyme the Miniſters which he had ſente into *Fraunce* to aduaunce thoſe practiſes, were in the waye intercepted by death. In the meane while making no omiſſion of time nor oportunities, he together with the *Venetians*, did all that they could to keepe in courage the Duke of *Millan*, and to enterteine him in hopes, leaſt the peace of *Madrill* ledde him not both with feare and raſhnes to make ſome accorde with themprour.

The maner of the deliuery of the french king.

By this time the french king was comen vpon the confines of *Fontaraby*, a towne apperteyning to themprour, ſtanding vppon the Occean ſea, and is a frontyer betwene *Biskay* and the Duchie of *Guyen*: And on the other ſide, the Lady Regent was aryued with the children of *Fraunce*, at *Bayonne* not many leagues from *Fontaraby*: The tormentes of the gowte tooke her by the waye, which was the cauſe that ſhe had lingred ſome tyme longer then the daye appoynted of permutation: But at laſt, the xviij. daye of Marche, the French king accompanied with the *Viceroy* and Capteine *Alarcon* with fifty horſe, was preſented vpon the ſhoare of the ryuer that deuideth the realme of *Fraunce* from the kingdome of *Spayne*: And on the other ſide, vpon the ſhoare oppoſite appeared *Monſr Lavvtrech* with the kings children and like number of horſe: There was in the middeſt of the ryuer a great barke made faſt with ankers, in which was no perſon: The king was rowed neare to this barke, in a little boate wherein he was accompanied with the *Viceroy*, Capteine *Alarcon*, and eyght others, all armed with ſhorte weapons: And on the other ſide of the barke were likewiſe brought in a litle boate, *Monſr Lavvtrech* with the oſtages and eight others weaponed according to the others: After this the *Viceroy* went into the barke with the perſon of the king, and all his companie: and alſo *Monſr Lavvtrech* with his eyght that accompanied him, ſo that they were within the barke a like number of both partes, *Alarcon* and his eyght being with the *Viceroy*, and *Lavvtrech* & the others, with the perſon of the king: And when they were all thus within the barke, *Lavvtrech* fetched out of the boate into the barke, the *Daulphin*, who being giuen to the *Viceroy* and by him committed to capteine *Alarcon*, was foorthwith beſtowed in their boate, and after him followed the little duke of *Orleans*, who was no ſooner entred the barke, then the French king leaped out of the barke into his boate, which he did with ſuche quicknes and celeritie, that thexchaunge or permutation was thought to be done at one ſelfe inſtant. Aſſoone as the king was on the other ſide of the ſhore, his newe libertie making him fearefull of ambuſh, he mounted vpon a Turkiſhe horſe of a wonderfull ſwiftnes, which was prepared for the purpoſe: and running betwene feare and gladnes vppon the ſpurre, he neuer

ſtayed

ſtayed till he came to *S.Iohn de Lus*, a towne of his obedience foure leagues from the place: And being there readilie relieued with a freſhe horſe, he ran with the ſame ſwiftnes to *Bayonne*, where, after he had paſt ouer the offices of Court done to him by his people, he diſpatched with greate diligence a gentleman, to the king of *England*, to whom he wrote with his owne hande letters of his deliuerie, charging the meſſenger vnder verie louing commiſſions, to tell the king of *Englande*, that as he acknowledged theffect of his libertie to be wrought whollie by him and his operacions, ſo, in recompenſe, he offred to remaine to him a perpetuall and aſſured frend, and to be guided in all his affaires by his councell: And afterwardes he ſent an other ſolemne Embaſſage into *Englande* to ratifie the peace which his mother had made with him as one that reappoſed a verie great fundacion in thamitie of that king.

The ende of the ſixteenth Booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE SEVENTENTH BOOKE.

The Pope, the french king, the Venetians, and the Duke of Millan, draw into league againſt th Emperour: The Duke of Burbon comes to Millan: The armie of the league breakes vp from before Millan: The caſtell of Millan is rendred to thimperialls: Many enterpriſes are dreſſed againſt the Pope: The confederats ſend their armies by ſea to Genes: Rome is ſurpriſed by the Colonnois, the Pope makes truce with thimperialls which hurteth the deuiſes of Lombardie: The Duke of Ferrara confederats with the Emperour.

THE SEVENTEENTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

NOtwithſtanding, the pledge of the two children of *Fraunce* (of whom the eldeſt being heire apparant to ſo great a ſucceſſion, was one) was added to the oth and faith that paſſed betwene the Emperour and the frenche king for confirmacion of the accorde ſolemnly made at *Madrill*, and notwithſtanding for the full perfection of thaſſurance, the king had contracted thEmperours ſiſter in his owne perſon: Yet, by his deliuerie, both ſtraunge for the maner, and ſeuere for the aſſurance and pawnes that were enforced, all the Princes of Chriſtendom, drew into no ſmall exſpectacion what would be the iſſue of thinges: And as during his captiuitie, the eyes of men ſtoode fixed vpon thEmperour, to behold vnder what raunſome he would reſtore him to libertie, ſo being deliuered they began now to turne all their thoughtes and contemplacions vpon the king, for that they diſcerned ſundrie and greate effects, depending vpon his deliberacion either to

obſerue or not obſerue, the capitulacion of *Madrill:* for, as in obſeruing the contract they ſaw a deſtinie of preſent ſeruitude to hang ouer the regions of *Italy*, both for the authoritie and greatnes of th Emprour, which went increaſing, and for the imbecillitie of the prouinces to whome was left neither fortune nor vertue, to make head againſt ſo great a courſe of victory: So in not performing the articles of thaccord, they ſaw the Emprour would be driuen, either to put vp in forgetfulnes the conſpiracies and enterpriſes dreſſed againſt him by the Duke of *Myllan*, and to reſtore to him that Duchie, leaſt the Pope and *Venetians* tooke occaſion to conioyne with the French king, by which meane he ſhould ſtand in hazard to loſe the great profits he hoped to reape by his victorie: or els (making his indignacion againſt the Duke of *Myllan*, more mighty, together with his deſire to haue no impediment of the French in *Italy*) he ſhould be compelled to aſſure the accord made with the king, conuerting into certeyne payments of money, all his obligacions and promiſſes to reſtore *Burgonie:* or laſtly, neither yelding to the one nor the other, he would be driuen to ſuffer to be brought againſt him by ſo many enemies a warre very greeuous almoſt by his owne confeſſion, ſince to auoid it, he was reduced to this ſtraite, to let the king goe with ſo great a daunger.

But the world ſtoode not long in doubt of the will and intencion of the French king: for that aſſoone as he was got into *Bayonne*, being required by a gentleman of the *Viceroys*, to ratifie thaccord according to thobligacion of his word being come into a place free and aſſured, he deferred it from one day to an other interpoſing reaſons and excuſes generall: wherein to thende to hold ſtill the Emprour in hope, he ſent to aduertiſe him by a man eſpeciall, that he forbare for the preſent, to accompliſh the ratificacion, not by omiſſion or willing negligence, but vpon this neceſſitie, that before he proceeded really to ſuch an act, he was to labor to reappeaſe and reduce the mindes of his ſubiects ill contented with the obligacions he had made, tending to the diminucion of the crowne of *Fraunce*: Neuertheleſſe, he would in his time, reſolue all difficulties and obſerue with fidelitie all that he had promiſed to him, both in ſubſtance and circumſtance: By this dealing, no leſſe doubtfull for the manner, then daungerous in meaning, might eaſily be comprehended, what were his intencions, the ſame being more manifeſtly detected at the arriuall of the Meſſengers ſent to him not many dayes after, by the Pope and *Venetians*, In whome was no great neede of induſtrie or labor, to ſownd out the plaine courſe of his inclinacion: for, after he had receiued them with many demonſtracions and offices of Court, he enterteyned them ſeuerally and a part with ſondry ſpeeches of compaſſion, ſuch as tended to manifeſt complaints againſt the inhumanitie of th Emprour: who he ſaid did neuer adminiſter to him during his captiuitie, any one office apperteyning to the ranke of a Prince, Nor at any time, ſhewed him ſelfe touched with that affection and commiſeracion which one Prince ought to expreſſe vpon the calamities of an other, And much leſſe would vſe any courſſe of common comfort, either to relieue the heauines of his condicion with any propertie of apt conſolacion, or once to enter into conſideracion, that the ſame accident that had falne vppon him, might alſo be as heauily heaped vppon his owne heade. In this complaint, he alleaged the example of *Edvvard* king of *England* called of ſome *Edvvard Longe ſhanke*, To whome when was preſented as priſoner *Iohn* king of the French men, taken by the Prince of *VVales* his ſonne in the battel of *Poytiers*, he did not only receiue him with greate comfort & compaſſion of his afflicted caſe, but alſo, all the tyme of his impriſonment, within the Realme of *England*, he let him go at libertie vnder a free gard, he had

The fr. king complaineth vppon th Emprour.

had daily familier cõuersation with him, he would oftentymes haue him to accompany him on hunting to communicate in the open ayre and solace of the field, and was not curious to call him to eate with him at his table: And by these humanities muche lesse that he loste his prisoner, or raunged him to an accorde lesse fauorable, but of the contrarie, by the operation of those graces and good offices, there grewe betwene them suche a familiaritie and confidence, that the French king, after he had continued many yeres in *Fraunce*, made a voluntary voyage into *Englande*, to honor and gratifie vnder that propertie of office, the liberalitie and franknes of the king: He alleaged that as there was onely remembraunce of two kings of *Fraunce* that had bene taken prisoners in battell, king *Iohn* and him selfe: So the diuersitie of thexamples was also worthy of singular memorie, seeing vpon the one was exercised all facilitie and mildnes of the victor, and to the other were ministred all those rigours and seuerities, which tyrantes in the height and pride of their fortune are wont to vse: That muche lesse that he boare towardes others a disposition eyther more peasible or better qualified, seing he gathered by the construction of his speeches vsed at *Madrill*, that following the humor of his ambition, he employed his thoughts most how to subdue vnder seruitude the imperie of the Church, the potẽtacies of *Italie*, & all other Princes of Christendome: In which regard he wished the Pope and *Venetians* to prouide for their proper safety, wherein he offred him selfe with great affection to be concurrant with them in the quarrell of their common safetie, and to establishe agaynst themprour a straite alliance, not that he intended to reconquer to himselfe the estate of *Millan*, or otherwise to encrease his puissance, but onely that by the meane of warre he might make recouerie of his children, and reassure the libertie of *Italy*, seeing the too great couetousnes of themprour had taken from him all cooller and reason of bondes to obserue tharticles of the capitulation: A libertie which he insisted the rather for that at the first whyleste he was in the Castell of *Pisqueton*, and afterwardes in *Madrill*, he had oftentimes protested to themperour for the iniquitie of his demaundes, that if through necessitie he were driuen to compounde vnder conditions vnequall or suche as were not in his power to performe: that muche lesse that he would obserue them, but of the contrarie, taking thaduauntage of the iniurie in constrayning him to make promises vnreasonable and vnpossible, he would omit no occasion wherein oportunitie were offred, to be reuenged: And that he had not forborne to tell him that whiche of them selues they might knowe, and which he beleeued was obserued in other Realmes, that it was not in the power of a king of *Fraunce*, to binde him selfe to the alienation of any thing depending vpon the Crowne, without the consent of the estates generall of the Realme: That the lawes of Christians did not beare, that a Prince made prisoner by the accident of warre, should be deteyned in perpetuall prison, A punishment proper for malefactors, but not rigorously executed agaynst such as had bene persecuted with the crueltie of fortune: That no man doubted, that all obligations made by constraynt in prison, were of no vallue, and that as suche capitulations were of no force, so likewise the fayth which was but the accidentes, and the confirmation of the same, coulde not be bounde: That the othes whiche he had made at *Rheines*, where the kings of *Fraunce* are consecrated with so great ceremonie and with the sacred oyle, were first, by the which he was bounde according to the precedent and custome of all other kings of *Fraunce*, not to make alienation of the patrimonie of the Crowne: That for these reasons he was no lesse free then ready to moderate thinsolencie of themprour, and ryse vp agaynst his ambicion: Wherein

the kinges mother made apparance the ſame deſyre, together with his ſiſter, who taking vpon her in vayne a long iourney to goe into *Spayne*, complayned grieuouſly againſt the rigour of thEmperour, and the ſeuerity of his Court, and namely ſuch as were moſt familiar with him in councell: for end, the king affirmed that if commiſſions and directions were once addreſſed from the Pope and *Venetians*, it ſhould not be long ere the league were accompliſhed, which he ſaid were beſt to be negociated in *Fraunce*, to thend to draw in with more facility, the king of *England*, in whom they ſhowed to haue a great hope.

This was the diſcourſe of the ſpeeches which the king held with them, being in like ſorte aſſured and confirmed by the vniuerſall inclinacion of thoſe that gouerned him: but in ſecret, his thoughts were farre others: for, albeit he had no diſpoſicion to deliuer vp *Burgongnie* to thEmperour, yet he bore a minde farre eſtraunged to moue warre againſt him, onleſſe he were compelled by great neceſſity: Only he hoped that in laboring to be confederate with thItalians, thEmperour, to auoyde ſo great a gulphe of difficulties, would be induced to conuert into obligacion of money, the article of the reſtitucion of *Burgonie*: In which caſe, not one regard touching the matters of *Italie*, ſhould ſtay him from couenaunting with him, for the deſire he had to retyre and reuoke his children.

Theſe Agents of the Pope and *Venetians*, made ſpeedie relacion of the hopes and good inclinacion which they founde in the frenche king, and that at a time, when were much increaſed in *Italie*, both the neceſſitie and occaſion to confederat againſt the Emperour: This was the neceſſitie: The Duke of *Millan* in the beginning of the ſeege, partly by the fault of his officers, and partly for the ſhortnes of time, had beſtowed within the caſtell, a very ſmall proporcion of vittells, and yet the ſtore he had prouided was more immoderatly exſpended, then men reduced to ſo hard tearmes, are wont to do, for which cauſe (hauing notwithſtanding the ſtraitnes of the ſeege, good meane to wryte out of the caſtell) he gaue knowledge of his wants, which if they were not remedied by the next moneth of Iune, he ſhoulde be conſtrained to giue him ſelfe vp to the diſcreſſion of the Emperour: And albeit it was beleued that (according to the cuſtome of ſuche as are beſeeged) the Duke ſet downe a greater want and ſcarcetie of vittells then in deede there was, yet there were many reaſons to perſwade that the ſtore coulde not be ſufficient for any long time: And to ſuffer the caſtell to fall into the handes of thEmperour, was a matter that made more hard the recouering of that ſtate, beſides that it would increaſe not a litle the reputacion of thEmperour: But it ſeemed not that thoccaſion was the leſſe increaſed, ſeeing the people were reduced to the laſt diſpaire: for, as the Emperour ſent no money to the armie, to the which many payes were due, and leſſe meane to leauie any in any other place: So the Capteines to ſtoppe as well as they coulde all courſe of mutinie amongeſt the ſouldiours, had beſtowed all the regimentes of the men at armes and light horſemen, in ſeuerall places of the countrey, taxing euerie towne ratelike with bands & numbers, & compelled the townes to compound for money with the Capteines and with the ſouldiours: A taxacion executed with ſuch exceſſe, that it was aſſured by the credible informacion of many that had priuity with the affaires of that ſtate, that the Duchy of *Millan* paied euery day to thEmperours ſouldiours, fiue thowſand duckats, of which came to the priuat purſe of *Anthonie de Leua*, thirtie duckats dayly: By thexample of the horſemen, the bands of footemen, that were diſperſed in ſeueral lodgings within *Millan* & other townes, were inſolent vpon the owners of the houſes wherin the lay, whom they cõſtrained not only to make prouiſion

sion of al things which they thought meete for their feding & clothing, but also many of them being lodged in one house enforced the seruice of the good man for the prouision of them all: And such houses as had not meane to feede them, were cõpelled to compownd with them for money at their owne rate: And as it often fell out that one onely souldier had to him selfe a whole house with absolute commaũdement of all, so, he taxed to furnish him of money, all the residue, except him whõe he vsed in the prouision of his dyot: This miserable condicion exercised with so great crueltie, made desperat the whole inhabitants of that Duchie, and namely the townesmen of the city of *Myllan*, to whom had bene nether custom nor precedent, before the entry of the Marquis of *Pisquairo*, to be charged eyther with vittells or contribucion for the lodging of souldiours: Their custom in times of warre before, ronning in a courss of greater humanitie and facilitie, made the yoke of this innouacion more heauy to them, In which respect, looking into their owne estate, both to be mighty in numbers and armes, and remembring the lawe and obligacion of their freedom and libertie, they beganne to murmure as men not able any longer to endure so great insolencie and moste greeuous exactions: And therefore to make some honest way to be deliuered, or at least to reduce them to some comely moderacion, the towne of *Myllan* sent Embassadors to th Emprour, who brought from him no other expedicion then words generall, and that without any remedie to their afflictions: The towne of *Myllan* principally and ouer and besides all the other townes of the Duchy, being charged according to his proporcion with a greater number of souldiers then the other townes, was also taxed to prouide money for expenses publike such as were set downe by the Capteines for the conseruacion of th Emprours things: the Ministers of which exaction proceded with no lesse rigour and seueritie then the others: for remedy of which aggreuances, since by solicitacion they could neither be easied nor pitied, the people pushed on with the impressions of men in a desperate state, determined to resist with their weapons in hande those sore exactions which the iniquitie of the warre had layed vppon them to eate them vp: They gaue order that whosoeuer were oppressed by the cruelty of the exactors, should call vpon his neighbours to come to his defence, who, together with the vniuersall multitude of all the residue, should ronne at the commaundement of certeine chieftaines assigned in many partes of the citie, to resist the furie of the Officers and represse the insolencie of the souldiours that should rise in their fauor: After this order and direction was established amongest them, the first experience fell vppon a Marchant of retayle, who being vexed by the Collectors of the exactions, stirred vp for his defence, his neighbours, who calling to the alarme a great part of the populars, the whole towne was forthwith in a tumult: which, by the diligence of *Antho. de Leua*, and the good office of the Marquis of *Guast*, and other of the principall gentlemen of *Myllan*, was eftsoones reappeased: But vnder this condicion and promisse, that the Capteines had assured the people to rest contented with the publike reuenues, and would not laye vppon them other imposicions, nor bringe into the towne other bands of souldiers: This was an accord but for a very short tyme, since it endured no longer then till the day following: for, the people hauing aduertisement that new regiments of souldiers approached neare the towne, they fell againe into armes, but both in a greater tumult, and better gouerned, and with a greater assistance of the people, then the day before: yea, what with the rage of the populars, which in their furie is daungerous, and what with their well ordering of the vprore being taught by the example of the daye before, The Capteines fearing not to

The inhabitants of Myllan rise vp against the Imperialls.

be hable to reſiſte ſo great a furie, were vpon the poynt to goe out of the towne with their bandes: A matter which in deede the humor of their feare had drawne them to do, if the people with a ſetled reſolution had marched on to be reuenged of them and their ſouldiours: But as in tumultes and popular vprores there is alwayes ſomething of imperfection, and that aſwell by the propertie of the action which holdeth of diſobedience and rebellion, as by the ignorance of the leaders, who for the moſt parte haue more paſſion then reaſon: So firſt of all they wente without all order or skill to ſacke the olde Court, a place where laye the Capteine of Criminall iuſtice with certayne bandes of footemen, making their beginning with that which ſhould haue bene the laſte acte of their execution: A matter whiche gaue no litle life and aduauntage to thimperiall Capteines, who in that oportunitie omitted not to fortefie their ſtraytes and places of acceſſe, and reuoking from the ſiege the moſt parte of the footmen that kept the Caſtel enuironed, they aſſembled al into one ſtrength, to make head agaynſt the people if they offred to inuade them: By that occaſion the beſieged within the Caſtell made a ſally out to ſet vpon the ramparts caſte on that ſide within: But when they ſaw the people made not on to their ſuccours, they retyred eftſoones into the Caſtell, leauing vnperfect the enterpriſe which with due execution would haue done muche to haue eſtabliſhed their libertie: The people, partly for want of experience in actions of warre, and partely for the care of the pillage they had made at the olde Court, did not onely omit to do that which apperteined, but alſo began to breake and ſeperate them ſelues, euery one beeing more mindefull to preſerue the praye he had made, then to followe further the victorie which their fortune offred to them: By which occaſion the Capteines of the army, concurring the ayde of certayne gentlemen of the towne, reappeaſed eftſones this tumult, with promiſe to leade out of the towne and contrey of *Millan*, all the ſouldiours except thoſe bandes of launceknightes which helde the Caſtell beſieged: In this ſort the Capteines and men of warre, by their pollicie and induſtrie, quenched a daungerous fyre which the furie of the people had kindled in their raſhnes, and rightly skorned their diſorders and ignorance to manage armes and weapons, errours which familiarly do followe a communaltie drawne into mutinie, hauing no leaders of experience and vallour: But by theſe appeaſementes and accordes, all intelligences were not broken, and muche leſſe layde downe the armes of the people, but retayning ſtill many tokens of a diſpoſition to ſtirre vp a greater emotion, it ſeemed that who ſo euer would take vpon him to trouble thaffayres of themprour, neede not want a fitte occaſion, conſidering principally both the ſmall forces and other great difficulties which thimperialls had, and alſo that in the laſte warres, the wonderfull vallour of the people of *Millan*, and of other townes expreſſed in their fauor, had bene a great fundation for the defence of that eſtate.

Theſe were the tearmes and eſtate of the affayres of *Italy*, when were brought out of *Fraunce* the reapports of the ready diſpoſition and offers of the king, together with his requeſt for the ſending of Commiſſions: And at the ſame time thembaſſadours of the king of *Englande* reſident with the Pope, laboured to induce him by reaſons and perſwaſions to deuiſe howe to moderate the greatnes of themperour, and to encourage the Frenche king not to obſerue the capitulation: By reaſon of which inducementes accompanied with thauthoritie and inclinations of their princes, not onely the *Venetians*, who in all times and in farre leſſer occaſions had giuen counſell to take armes, but alſo the Pope, notwithſtanding his harde diſpoſition to enter into that trauell, iudged nowe that by neceſſitie he was to reduce and gather together

together the ſumme of all thoſe diſcourſes, and no more deferre to take ſome deliberation: The reaſons which in the monethes before had made him inclined to the warre, were not only the ſelfe ſame in nature & property, but alſo were more mightie and of greater conſideration: for as themprour for his part, by howe muche the practiſes and treatiſes had bene holden out in tract & longnes of time, was apte and hable to diſcouer what intentions the Pope bare agaynſt his greatnes: So the Pope tooke occaſion by the contentes of the accorde which the emprour had made with the french king, to enter into a iuſt ſuſpicion not to be hable to obteyne of him any reaſonable conditions, & that he had a ſecret reſolution to proceede to oppreſſe the reſidue of *Italy*: Wherein the daunger was more apparant then euer, for that the caſtell of *Millan* beeing not hable to holde out any long time, ſtoode almoſte vpon the poynt of rendring: He was alſo prouoked with the conſideration of newe iniuries redoubled by the Imperial capteines, who ſince the capitulation of *Madrill* had ſent to be forried vpon the territories of *Plaiſanca* and *Parma*, certeine enſignes of Italian footmen, ſuche as executed vpon the places many inſolencies and domages: And when the Pope complained of their oppreſſions, they made him aunſwere, that they were drawne thither of their proper authority, for that there was no pay diſtributed in the army: He was likewiſe incenſed with matters happly more light and frayle, but taken in the worſe part, as often cõmeth to paſſe in ſuſpicions & quarels which haue this in propertye, to take nothing in good that is not agreable to the humor of their will and liking, and to turne all things to blame that hath no coreſpondency with their owne intentions & meanings: For as themprour had publiſhed in *Spayne*, certayne Edictes pragmatike agaynſt the authority of the ſea Apoſtolike, by vertue whereof his ſubiectes were forbidden to treate of cauſes of benefices within his realmes: So vnder that warrant a Spaniſh Notary tooke boldnes euen in the court of *Rome* and in the Chamber of audience, to commaund certen men in themprours name, to deſiſt to pleade any more in that Auditory: And alſo it did not only ſeeme that by the deliuery of the french king, the knot was vnfaſtned which had bound euery man in doubt that the French men, to haue agayne their king, would not ſticke to abandon the league: And withall it was well diſcerned that the ſocietie and preſence of the kings perſon was of farre greater importãce for the enterpriſe, then the felowſhip of his mother and the generall gouernment: But alſo there were ſeene other farre greater occaſions: for as the cõmotion of the cõmons of *Millan* ſeemed to draw with it a matter of great conſequence, ſo by the penury of vittels that paſſed generally ouer al that eſtate, it was thought it could not be but a great aduantage to ſet vpon thimperials, before they fell into the oportunity of the harueſt to reuittell and refurniſh their ſtrong places: and before neceſſity compelled the caſtell of *Millan* to yeelde: and before themprour had time to ſende into *Italy* newe ſupplyes of men, or releeue them with prouiſions of money. Moreouer there fell into conſideration, that the French king, in whom for the memorie of things paſt, was greate likelyhoode of diſtruſt agaynſt the Pope, and nowe finding not in him a zeale and forwardnes to make warre, would eſtſones reſolue to obſerue thaccord made at *Madrill*, or elſe to reconfirme it of newe: And it was not doubted, that ſo great forces both by ſea & land being conioyned in one, together with ſufficient meanes to continue for long time thexſpences of the warre, that the conditions of thẽpror ſtãding both abãdoned of al other princes, & made naked of al ſtore of mony, would be farre inferior in the warre: Only there was one ſcruple to the contrary, cauſed by a feare that the frẽch king to redeme his childrẽ, would not leaue abãdoned the other cõfe-

derates, according to the doubt that was had of the gouernment of *Fraunce* at ſuch time as the king was priſoner: And yet there was eſtemed great difference, for that in taking armes againſt themprour with ſo many good occaſions, there was ſo great hope to recouer them by force, and the action to ſuccede with ſo great a reputation of the king, that he would haue no reaſon to open his eares to any accorde particular, which would not only bring infamy to him, but alſo would be preiudiciall to hys affayres, though not for the preſent, at leaſt in time to come: for that it could not but be a matter moſt daungerous for the realme of *Fraunce*, to ſuffer themprour to diſpoſe of *Italy* according to his owne arbitration: of which reaſon did likewiſe follow, that he would not fayle to make ſharpe warre vpon him, ſince it could not be but a naked Counſell, in confederating agaynſt themprour, to depriue him ſelfe of the recouering of his children by thobſeruation of the accord: And yet on the other ſide, to lay apart all things by the which he might hope to redeeme them glorioufly by armes: Suche as made their diſcourſes in this ſorte, conſidered happly more that which reaſonably he ought to do, then they looked with iudgement into the nature and diſcreſſion of the French men: A fault wherein men do oftentimes fall, in matters of deliberations and iudgementes that are made of the diſpoſition and will of others: Perhappes alſo they did not ſufficiently conſider, howe much Princes that are culpable, who of their proper inclination do oftentimes preferre vtilitie affore fidelitie, are eaſily perſwaded the ſemblable of other princes: And that therefore the French king ſuſpecting leaſt the Pope and *Venetians* woulde become negligent and careleſſe of his intereſtes, when by the conqueſt of the duchie of *Millan* they ſhould ſtande aſſured of the power of themprour: would iudge that the longnes of the warre would be more profitable to him then the victorie, as a meane more eaſie to induce themprour to reſtore his children vppon ſome newe compoſition, beeing already made wearie of the long trauelles and exſpences of warres. So that partely by the reaſons affore rehearſed making deepe impreſſion in the minde of the Pope, but more for repentance that he had ſtande an ydle beholder of the iſſue of the battell of *Pauia*, and ſomewhat for that he was reproched by euery one of tymerouſnes, and laſtely for the common murmure of all his Court and of all *Italy*, who caſte in his teeth, that by his faulte the ſea Apoſtolike together with the whole eſtate of *Italy* were reduced into ſo great daungers: He determined in the ende, not onely to enter confederation with the Frenche king and the reſidue, agaynſt themprour, but alſo by hys labour and ſolicitation, to aduaunce and purſue it to ſpeedy concluſion: In which good inclination, he was puſhed on partely for the other regardes, but principally for this, that in tyme might be aduaunced the prouiſions for the reliefe of the Caſtell of *Millan*, before the extremitie of famine compelled them to reappoſe more in the mercy of thennemies, then in the remedie of their friends: That neceſſitie was the cauſe of all the aduerſities which followed: for that otherwiſe the Pope proceeding more ſlowly (vpon whoſe authority the *Venetians* depended much in this action) had exſpected if themprour being moued with thinobſeruation of the French king, would not propounde for a common ſurety, thoſe conditions which had bin ſet downe before, ſpecially when he ſhould ſee him ſelf conſtrayned to take armes: And being not compelled to ſhow to the french king ſo great a neceſſity, he had eaſily obteyned of him aſwell for him ſelfe as for the *Venetians* better conditions: And it had bene without doubt that therby tharticles of the confederation had bin better ſet down & particulated, together with more aſſurãce of thobſeruatiõ, & that the warre had not begon but that the

Svviz-

Svvizzers had ſtirred, and all the prouiſions neceſſary had bene ready: and laſtely the king of *Englande* might happly haue bene drawne into the confederation, with whom for the diſtance of places, there was no leaſure to negociate. But for that by the daunger of the Caſtell of *Millan*, the Pope and the *Venetians* ſawe that celeritie was of greate importance, they diſpatched with ſpeede (but ſecretely) commiſſions to their ſeuerall Agentes, to goe thorowe with the confederation, wherein they were enioyned to followe almoſte all thoſe Articles which had bene debated before with the Ladye Regent of *Fraunce*, the more to haſten thexpedition: There were ſent dayly aduertiſementes of the neceſſitie of the Caſtell, which made the Pope enter into conſideration, That where as it was neceſſarie for that the high waye from *Rome* to the Court of *Fraunce* was ſtopped, to ſend his meſſenger & corriers by a long circuit of way through *Svvizzerlande*, and where he thought that in the action of capitulation might fall out ſome difficultie which neceſſarily might drawe ſome intermiſſion and tract of time, it might happen that they might ſtand ſo long vppon the concluſion of the confederation, that if tyll then the Caſtell were deferred to be reskewed, there were daunger leaſt the ſuccours would come to late: for which conſideration importing almoſte the effect and ſubſtance of the whole, he called to conſulte of the preſent perill, the *Venetians*, by whoſe counſell together with thimportunate ſolicitation of the Agentes of the Duke of *Millan* reſident at *Rome* and at *Venice*, and concurring alſo the counſell of many others of his factiō, they reſolued to prepare a ſufficient force to giue reskew to the Caſtell, to thende to be ready to employ them aſſone as the concluſion of the league were come out of *Fraunce*, and in the meane while to giue hope to the people of *Millan*, and to nouriſhe many practiſes whiche they enterteyned in the townes of that ſtate: They made then a reſolute concluſion that the *Venetians* ſhoulde ſende the Duke of *Vrbin* to their frontiers towards the ryuer of *Adda*, accompanied with their men at armes, and ſix thouſande footmen Italians, and the Pope to ſende to *Plaiſanca*, the Count *Guido Rangon* with ſixe thouſande footemen: And for that it was neceſſarie to ſo great a warre, to haue many numbers of the *Svvizzers*, of which nation the Duke of *Vrbin* counſelled to leauye twelue thouſande for the aſſured obteyning of the victorie, who alſo aduiſed the Pope and the *Venetians*, that not to diſcloſe them ſelues ſo muche agaynſt themperour ſo long as they were not aſſured that the league was made, it were not good to ſende out their Agentes to leauye the *Svvizzers*, they gaue eare to *Iohn Ia. de Medicis* of *Millan*, who of a Capteine of the rocke of *Mus*, had made him ſelfe lorde of the place, partely by a knowledge he had of the ſituation and fortreſſe, and partly by the occaſion and fauour of the time running: he tolde them that many monethes before, he had practiſed to that effect with many of the *Svvizzer* Capteines, and did offer vnder an impreſt of ſixe thouſande duckets, to make diſcende an armie of ſixe thouſande *Svvizzers*, whiche ſhould not be leauyed by the decree of the Cantons, but particularly, and then to procede to furniſh their paye, aſſone as they were diſcended into the duchy of *Millan*: So that as it often hapneth in enterpriſes which of the one ſide are eſtemed eaſie, and on the other ſide are preſſed with the ſhortnes of time, the offer of this man was accepted by the Pope and the *Venetians*, being alſo approued by the Agentes of the Duke of *Millan*, and by *Ennia* Biſhop of *Verula* in whom the Pope reappoſed wholly for matters of the *Svvizzers*, for that he had long time followed the ſolicitation of thoſe affayres in the name of the Church, and in that action had lyen many moneths at *Breſcia* by his direction, & was at that time with the Agent of the

Venetians, where he treated continually with many of that nation: In like sorte they harkned at *Venice* to *Octauian Fregosa* Bishoppe of *Loda*, who offring to make an easie leauie of many numbers of that nation, had immediatly his expedition (without communicating with the Pope) for *Swvizzerlande* to wage sixe thousande, in the same sorte and at the same rate of payes: Of which deuises, both yll vnderstanded and worse ordered, was bred (as shall be recited in his place) a beginning to put to confusion the enterprise, which was dressed with so great hope.

Whyleſt theſe preparations were in hande in *Italy*, themprour beginning to enter into suspicion for the delayes that were interposed to the ratification, dispatched into *Fraunce* the *Viceroy* of *Naples* and Capteine *Alarcon*, to be fully informed of the kinges intention, who was nowe gone from *Bayonne* to *Congnac*: The *Viceroy* had stayed all that whyle in the towne of *Victoria*, hauing with him the ostages and the Queene *Eleoner*, to thende to present them to the king assoone as he had accomplished the contentes of the capitulation: And albeit the *Viceroy* was receyued with very greate honor, both for that he was Embassador from themprour, and also the king acknowledged in him and his working, a great parte of his deliuerie, yet he found the king wholly estraunged and farre of to leaue *Burgongnie*, sometimes taking his excuse vpon the obstinacie of the estates of the Realm whose consent he coulde not obteine: and sometimes alleaging that willingly he neuer passed a promise, which for that it was very preiudiciall to the Crowne of *Fraunce*, it was impossible for him to obserue: Onely in respect of his great desire to enterteyne the league of amitie begonne with themprour, and to giue perfection to the mariage promised, he sayde he was contented, obseruing all other couenantes betweene them, to paye vnto him two millions of Crownes, in place of the resignation of *Burgongnie*: To which excuses he added, that no other thing induced him to confirme with this moderation the accord made at *Madrill*, then an inclination he had to continue in good intelligence and correspondencie with themprour, the rather for that he wanted not the working of offers and motions from the Pope, the king of *England*, and the *Venetians*, to incense him to the warre: Which answere comprehending his last resolution, the *Viceroy* signified to themprour the message, being accompanied with one of the kings secretories, to confirme the same: By this it hapned that notwithstãding the commissions from the Pope & *Venetians* so much desired before, were now come to the Court, yet the king bearing a more inclination to haue agrement with the Emprour, and in that regard had determined to exspect his answere vpon the new offer wherin the *Viceroy* had giuen him some hope, began openly to defer the cõclusion of the cõfederation, not altogether dissembling (since it was impossible to hide it) that he solicited a new accorde with themprour, which being propounded by the *Viceroy*, it was a matter which could no way do hurt to be vnderstanded: Besides, he assured thẽ (notwithstanding he had other intentions) that he would neuer make any conclusion which should not conteine the restoring of his children, the release of the duchy of *Millan*, & vnfayned prouision for the suretie of all *Italy*: An alteration of it selfe sufficient to consume the Pope, if for his impressions of suspicion & feare, he had not iudged that the onely remedie for his affayres, was to confederate him selfe with the French king. But it is not to be douted with what discontentment and perturbation of minde, the Emprour receiued the newes of the *Viceroys* aduertisementes, confirmed by the relation of the secretory of the french king: for, as it brought no little griefe to him to fall frõ the hope he had to recouer *Burgongnie*, a matter which he vehemently desired aswell for thaugmentation

Themprour ill contented.

of

of his glory, as for thoportunitie of that prouince: So his indignation seemed redoubled, for that the french king by finding euasions to shift off his promises and fayth giuen, made manifest declaration to all the world that he reiected & despised to performe the thing he had promised: But the thing that bred most torment in his mind, was a certayne shame & reprouing of himselfe, for that both contrary to the counsell of all his Nobles, and agaynst the vniuersall iudgement of all his Court, and also contrary to the prediction or foreshowing of the countrey of *Flaunders* related to him by the Lady *Margaret* his Aunt, and by all his Agentes and officers in *Italye*, he dyd not measure with better reasons and more maturitie of counsell, the importance and condition of affayres, but lulled simplye in the humor of affection, perswaded him selfe that the Frenche king would obserue thaccorde: And as amidde these impressions and varietie of thoughtes, he had diligently cast alwayes that concerned his dignitie, and foreseene in what tearmes of daunger and difficulties his affayres woulde stande at all assayes: he determined to alter no one ioate of that article or chapter whiche spake of the restoring of *Burgongnie*: no he rather resolued to accorde with the Pope, and to consent to the reintegration of *Frauncis Sforce*, as though it had bene more agreable or comely for him, to pardon a prince lesse then him selfe, then by yeelding to the will of a king ambicious and puissant, and enuious of his greatnes, to make as it were a voluntary confession of feare: wherin his passion caryed him into this resolution, to haue rather a most dangerous warre with euery one, then to remit the iniurie receyued of the French king: for he feared least the Pope seeing his amitie contemned, was not wholly estraunged in minde from him, wherein his suspicion was augmented by the aduertisement he receyued, that besides the Pope had sent into *Fraunce* a particular messanger to congratulate with the king, he had also sent publikely an Embassadour: But muche more dyd he suspect, for that he had newely taken into his paye, vnder cooller to assure agaynst the *Mores* the sea shoares of the Churche, *Andrea Dore* with eyght gallies vnder the pay of thirtie thousand duckets for enterteinment, and pensions for euery yere: A matter which, both for the qualitie of the man, and for that neuer heretofore the Pope had any thought to make him selfe strong vppon the sea, and also because *Andrea Dore* had bene many yeres in the pay of the French king: made him enter into suspicion least that practise were subborned of intention to trouble thestate of *Genes*: For these reasons he prepared him selfe to endure all accidentes, and leauyed at the same tyme many prouisions of warre, bothe to offende and defende: He solicited the passing of the Duke of *Burbon* into *Italye*, who made but slowe preparation to that expedition, before he gaue order to that ende, that the seuen gallies which laye at *Monaco* in *Italye*, shoulde be brought about to *Barcelonia* to be ioyned with the residue, and that there should be sent to releeue the necessities of *Italy*, an hundred thousande duckets, for that without them the going of the Duke of *Burbon* woulde serue to nothing: He dispatched to the Pope *Don Hugo de Moncado*, with commission (as he sayde) to satisfie hym: But his directions were to passe firste by the Courte of *Fraunce*, to thende that learning of the *Viceroy* if there were any hope that the kinge woulde obserue, that eyther he should passe no further, or if he did, that he should chaunge his instructions & commissions according to thestate and necessitie of affayres: But to euery good counsell that was giuen to the Pope, was opposed the daunger of the Castell of *Millan*, which being almost consumed with want of vittels, he had great feare least it would be rēdred to thenemy: he was also timerous that by some meane were not cōtracted

a newe accorde betwene the Frenche king and themprour: he was vncertayne of that which might be wrought by the comming of *Don Hugo*, whose legation was made so muche the more suspicious, by howe muche he was to passe firste by the Court of *Fraunce*: And he was ielouse of the dissimulations and conninges that would be vsed when he should be passed into *Italy*: In which regard the Pope together with the *Venetians*, soliciting with great instance the conclusion of the confederation, the king at laste began to harken with better inclination to the resolution of the League: Wherevnto he was induced partely for that he did vnderstande by the comming of *Don Hugo*, that themprour would alter nothing of tharticles of the capitulation, and partely through feare that if he should deferre further the action of confederation, the Pope would be caryed into newe counsells: he iudged also that by this confederation his affayres should stande in better estate of reputation with themprour, in whom feare might happly plye or moderate the rigour of his mind: And lastely he wanted not thincitations of the king of *Englande*, who more with perswasions and reasons then with effectes and sounde meaninges, seemed to fauor that conclusion. This league was cõcluded the tenth day of May in the yere a thousande fiue hundred and six, at *Cougnac*, betwene the kings Counsell deputies for the king on the one parte, and the Agents of the Pope and *Venetians* on the other part: That betwene the Pope, the french king, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Millan* (for whom the Pope and the *Venetians* assured the ratification) should be a league and confederation perpetuall, to thende to repossesse *Frauncis Sforce* freely of the Duchie of *Millan*, and restore to libertie the French kinges children: That the League should be signified to the Emprour, to whom was graunted power to enter into it within three monethes, vpon condition to redeliuer the kings children, receyuing a competent raunsome, such as should be arbitrated by the king of *England*: which condition also was extended to leaue wholly the duchy of *Millan* to *Frauncis Sforce*, and the other potentates and estates of *Italy*, as they were affore the laste warre began: That for the deliuery of *Frauncis Sforce* nowe besieged within the Castell of *Millan*, and for the recouery of that estate, a present warre shoulde be made with eight hundred men at armes, seuen hundred light horsemen, and eight thousande footemen for the Popes parte: and for the *Venetians*, the warre to be furnished with eight hundred men at armes, a thousande light horsemen, and eight thousand footmen: for the Duke of *Millan* foure hundred men at armes, three hundred lighte horsemen, and foure thousande footemen: this proportion to be furnished assoone as he should be hable, and in the meane tyme the Pope and *Venetians* to accomplish for him: The French king to sende immediatly into *Italy* fiue hundred launces, and so long as the warre should endure, to paye to the Pope and to the *Venetians* fortie thousande crownes monthly, whiche money was to be employed in the leauie of bandes of *Svvizzers*: That the French king should immediatly open the warre agaynst themprour beyonde the Mountes on what side he should thinke most conuenient, and that with an army of two thousande launces, and ten thousande footmen, with sufficient numbers of artilleries: That the French king should arme xij. light gallies, and the *Venetians* thirtene, at their proper exspences: That the Pope should ioyne to those gallies, that proportion of Nauie with the which he had enterteyned into his paye *Andrea Dore*: That the charges should runne in common touching necessary shippes for the sayde armie by sea, with the which they should addresse their course to *Genes*: That after themprours armie in *Lombardie* were eyther vanquished or weakned, they should mightily inuade the kingdome of *Naples*

The Pope, the fr. king, and Venetians make league together.

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aſwell by lande as ſea, which being once conquered, the poſſeſſion and inueſtiture ſhould be transferred to which of the confederates it pleaſed the Pope: And yet in an article ſeperate was ſet downe that the Pope could not diſpoſe of it without the conſent of the confederates, only there was reſeruation made of the tributes & contributions which aunciently were vſed to be payed to the ſea Apoſtolike, together with one ſingular eſtate of forty thouſande duckets of reuenue, to gratifie whom it pleaſed the Pope: That to thend the French king were certayne, that by the victorie to be obteined in *Italy* and the conqueſt of *Naples*, might be made eaſie the deliuery of his children: that if the Emprour in that caſe would within foure monethes after the loſſe of that kingdome, enter into the confederation vnder the conditions afforeſayd, the kingdome ſhould be rendred to him: but if he would not accept that power to reenter into the league, then the french king ſhould take and enioye the yerely and perpetuall rent of that realme: That the french king ſhould not at anye time, nor for any cauſe, moleſt *Frauncis Sforce* for the duchy of *Millan*, but ſhould be bound together with the others, to defende him agaynſt all men, and to do what he could to introduce betwene him & the *Svvizzers* a new confederation: Onely the king ſhould receiue of him yerely and perpetuall tribute, ſuch as ſhould be ſet down by the arbitration of the Pope and *Venetians*, and that not to be leſſe then fiftie thouſande duckets: That *Frauncis Sforce* ſhould take to wyfe ſuche a Lady of the blood of *Fraunce*, as it ſhould pleaſe the king to prouide for him, and ſhould be bounde to enterteyne as apperteyned, his brother *Maximilian*, in place of the yearely penſion which he receyued of the king: That the king ſhould reenter into the Earledome of *Aſt*: That if *Genes* were recouered, the king to reteyne the ſame eſtate of ſuperiority which he was wont to do in times paſt: and that if *Anth. Adorne* who then was duke there, would compounde with the league, he ſhould be receyued ſo farreforth as he woulde acknowledge the French king for ſuperior, in the ſame ſorte and manner as *Octauian Fregoſa* had done a fewe yeres before: That all the confederates ſhould demaunde of themprour the deliuerie of the children of *Fraunce*, and if he refuſed to reſtore them, that it ſhould be denounced to him in the name of them all, that the League would do all that they coulde to haue them agayne: That aſſone as the warres of *Italy* were finiſhed, or at leaſt the Realme of *Naples* taken, and themperours armie ſo weakned as there was no feare of it, all the confederates ſhould be bounde to ayde the Frenche king agaynſt themprour beyonde the Mountes with a thouſande men at armes, a thouſande fiue hundred light horſemen, and ten thouſande footemen, or elſe with money in place of men, at the kinges choyſe: That not one of the confederates without the conſent of the others, might not contract with the Emperour, to whom it ſhould be permitted in caſe he would enter into the confederation, to goe to *Rome* to take thimperiall Crowne with ſuche a trayne of men as ſhoulde not be feared, the ſame to be rated by the Pope and *Venetians*: That thoughe anye one of the confederates were taken awaye by death, yet the league ſhoulde ſtande good and abſolute: That the kinge of *Englande* ſhould be protector and defender of the league, to whome was lefte power to enter into it: And in caſe he woulde enter, there ſhoulde bee giuen to hym in the Realme of *Naples*, an eſtate of thirtie thouſande duckets of reuenue, and an other of tenne thouſande to the Cardinall of *Yorke*, and that to bee leauyed eyther in the ſame Realme or in ſome other parte of *Italy*: The Pope woulde not ſuffer the Duke of *Ferrara* to be comprehended within the confederation, notwithſtanding the french king and the *Venetians* did greatly ſolicite it: yea he procured that the confedera-

tion ſhould beare (though vnder generall words) that the confederates ſhoulde be bound to ayde him to recouer thoſe places, for the whiche the ſayde Duke was in contention with the Churche: Touching the *Florentins*, there was no doubt that they were not effectually comprehended in the confederation, for that the Pope made his reckoning not onely to ſerue his turne with their men at armes and their forces, but alſo to reduce them concurrant with him, yea euen to make thē ſuſteine the greateſt burden of the exſpences of the warre: But, not to hinder the traffike and entercourſe which that nation had with the ſubiectes of themprour, as alſo not to put in daunger their Marchantes and factors, they were not named vnder the tytle of confederates: Onely it was ſet downe that they ſhould enioy all the exemptions, priuileages, and benefites of the confederation, as if they had bene expreſly comprehended, the Pope aſſuring for them that they ſhould be in no ſort agaynſt the league: There was no prouiſion nor nomination of the Capteine generall of this armie and warre, for that by the ſhortneſſe of the tyme they had no leaſure to bring into counſell and election vppon whoſe ſhoulders they ſhoulde laye ſo great a burden, both for the authoritie and qualitie of the man, and the confidence that euery one had in him: Neither was it eaſie to finde out ſuche a man, in whoſe perſon were concurrant ſo worthy conditions.

The League beeing thus contracted, the Frenche king who had not as yet altogether withdrawne his minde from the practiſes whiche he enterteined with the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, both deferred to ratifie it, and to beginne to make to marche his companies of men at armes, and alſo to ſende the fortie thouſande ducketts for the firſt moneth, vntill the ratification of the Pope and the *Venetians* were accompliſhed: And albeit ſuche an intermiſſion was not a litle troubleſome to them, yet being preſſed by their neceſſities to purſue their purpoſe, they diſpatched the ratification, and entred immediatly to giue beginning to the warre vnder the tytle that they would reskew the Caſtell of *Millan:* In which action the Pope, who had before ſent to *Plaiſanca*, *Guido Rangon* generall of the Church armie with his companies of men at armes, and a ſtrength of fiue thouſande footemen: ſent thither of new with other regimentes of footmen and the men at armes of *Florence*, *Vitello Vitelli* their Capteine and gouernour, together with *Iohn de Medicis* commaunder ouer the Italian infanterie: He created *Frauncis Guicciardin* at that tyme preſident of *Romagnia*, his lieftenant generall ouer the armie and ouer the whole iuriſdiction, induing him with moſt ample and almoſte abſolute power: The *Venetians* on their ſide encreaſed their armie which remayned at *Chiara* in the contrey of *Breſſia*, ouer the whiche was conſtituted capteine generall the duke of *Vrbin*, and for their treaſorer was appoynted *Peter Pezero:* Both the one & other armie had one direction, which was to endomage the imperialls, and to inuade them without deferring or ſuffring for any reſpect. In this meane while was aryued at *Millan Don Hugo de Moncado*, who albeit the league was ſtill kept from the knowledge of the *Viceroy* and him, yet diſtruſting by the kings aunſwers, that matters could not be reduced to the contentment of themprour, he had followed his way into *Italy:* and there carying with him into the Caſtell of *Millan* the pronotorie *Carraccioll*, he labored to aſſure the Duke of the facilitie and clemency of themprour, ſeeking to perſwade him to referre him ſelfe to his will: But the Duke made aunſwere, that in regarde of the iniuries which themprours Capteines had done to him, he was driuen to haue recourſe to the Pope and *Venetians*, without whoſe priuity and participation he could not diſpoſe of himſelfe: *Don Hugo* put him in hope that themprours intention was, that the crimes that

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were charged agaynſt him, ſhould be ſummarily viewed & examined by the pronotorie *Caracciolli*, who was a prelat of great confidence with the Duke: A courſe which he ſayde themprour tooke, rather to reſtore vnto him his eſtate with a better conſeruation of themprours reputation, then for any other occaſion: and yet he would not conſent that the ſiege might be firſt leauied, nor promiſe to innouate any thing according to the inſtance of the Duke. It was beleued that the authority and power which themprour gaue to *Don Hugo* was very ample & large, the ſame extẽding not only to enhable him to contract with the Pope according to the reintegratiõ of the duke of *Millan*, but alſo his cõmiſſion bare to compound with the duke alone, taking aſſurãce that being reſtored to his eſtate, he ſhould do no act preiudicial to thaffaires of themprour: Only this cõmiſſion was vnder limitation according to the trayne of times and neceſſity, So that *Don Hugo* conſidering into what extremity was reduced the caſtel, & that to compound with the duke profited nothing the affaires of themprour, but inſtrumentally or as a meane to eſtabliſh thaccord with the Pope and the *Venetians*, iudged it would be a matter vnprofitable to contract with him alone. Afterwards *Don Hugo* & the Pronotory cauſed to be brought from *Monce*, *Moron*, kept priſoner within the rocke of *Trezzo*, the ſame being for this cauſe that the Pronotorie who was to be iudge of the cauſe, ſhould take his information of him. Immediatlye after this, *Don Hugo* tooke his way from *Millan* to *Rome*, hauing firſt written to *Venice*, that they ſhould ſend ſufficient authority to their Embaſſador at *Rome* to negociate & debate of thaffayres occurrant: Beeing come to *Rome* he was brought to the preſence of the Pope together with the duke of *Seſſo*, to whom he declared with braue words, that it was in his election to accept eyther peace or warre, for that themprour, notwithſtanding by his good intention & inclination was not eſtranged from peace, yet he was neuertheles both in courage & in preparation ready diſpoſed both to the one and to the other. Wherevnto the Pope aunſwered generally, and complayned that what for the harde tearmes which the Emprours officers had vſed to him, and the very late arriuall of *Don Hugo*, he ſtoode now bound to others, where afore he was in his owne liberty: They returned to him the next day, ſignifying that themprours intention was to leaue wholly the duchy of *Millan* to *Frauncis Sforce*, ſo farreforth as the caſtell might be conſigned into the hands of the pronotorie *Carracciolli*, vntill for themprours honor there were examination made of the cauſe, though not to the bottome & ſubſtance, yet in apparance & by ceremony: That alſo themprours intention was to put ende to the quarrels betwene him and the *Venetians* by ſome reaſonable and comely meane, & to withdrawe his army out of *Lombardy* with the payes which had bene treated vpon at other times: And that in counterchange and recompence of all theſe, he demaunded no other thing of the Pope, then that he would forbeare to interpoſe betwene him & the French king. To theſe propoſitions the Pope aunſwered, that he doubted not that all the world had not taken ſufficient knowledge, how carefully he had alwayes deſired to kepe amitie with themprour, & that he had neuer demaunded greater things, then thoſe which themprour himſelfe did willingly offer him: Matters which could not be more to his contentment, for that his deſire was always greater to the cõmon benefite, then for his profite: That ſtill he continued in the ſame inclination, though there were giuen to him many occaſions to fal from it: Neuertheles that he heard now with a greater griefe of mind the matters which were offred to him by accord, then he had heard them at ſuche time as they were denyed him, An alteration which had not proceeded of his fault, but of the ſlownes of themprour deferring ſo long to reſolue: By which oc-

casion, ioyning also that there was neuer brought vnto him any hope of the assurance of the common affayres of *Italy*, and seeing in the meane while the perill of the castell of *Millan*, he had bene constrayned for his owne safety, and for the common interest of others, to ioyne confederation with the french king, without whom he had no power to determine any thing. This was the constancy of the Pope verified with many other replications & circumstãces tending to assure his faith giuen: Agaynst the whiche after *Don Hugo* had in vayne obiected his reasons and inducements, he departed from *Rome* ill contented with the Popes aunswers: By whose example also all the imperiall capteines fell to murmure, for that the hopes of peace being cut of, they saw things tende to a manyfest warre, which both for the might and power of the league, and for their owne extremities and disorders, they supposed it would be very heauy for them to susteine.

About this time the Popes lieftenant surprised a packet of letters written by *Ant. de Leua* to the Duke of *Sessa*, by the whiche he gaue him aduertisement of the yll disposition of the people of *Millan*, and touching their affayres, there was no other remedie then the grace of God: He also intercepted letters written from him & the Marquis of *Guast*, to *Don Hugo* after he was gone from *Millan*, wherein making earnest solicitation to aduañce the peace, they insisted greatly to know forthwith what would ensue of the negociation, not fayling with words of great compassion to recommend vnto them the daunger wherin their liues stoode, and the perillous condition of themprours army: But there was not so great assurance in the mindes of those that were to dispose of the forces of the league, as the feare was great ioyned with incertentie of resolution amongst the imperiall capteines: for the Duke of *Vrbin*, who for the title he had of Capteine generall ouer the *Venetian* army, & also for his singularity of estate, authoritie, and reputation aboue the others, managed in effect the absolute gouernment of the whole army: he esteemed happly more then was conuenient, of the vallour of the Spaniards & launceknightes, and doubted no lesse of the vertue of the Italian souldiors: In which distrust he had resolued in hys mind, not to passe the riuer of *Adda*, if he had not at the least in the army a strength of 5000. *Svvizzers:* And fearing also least the Imperials would passe *Adda* and set vpon him, if only with the companies of the *Venetians* he passed the ryuer of *Oglio*, he made instance that the army of the Church which was then at *Plaisanca*, passing ouer the ryuer of *Pavv* beneath *Cremona*, might marche to ioyne with the *Venetiãs*, and so in one mayne strength to drawe neare the riuer of *Adda*, and vpon the shores of the same in some place of strength, to attende the comming of the *Svvizzers*: who contrary to their custome and nature were slowe to discende, beeing lette with many impedimentes & difficulties, the rather for that the charge to leauy them was vndiscretly committed to capteine *Mus* and the Bishop of *Loda:* of whom as the Bishop being a man full of humors of vanitie & lightnes, was not apte to manage that busines as apperteined, So capteine *Mus* according to his couetousnesse sought chiefly to possesse him selfe of one parte of the money that was sent to distribute in impreſt to the souldiours: And for other respectes neyther of them bothe caryed suche authoritie with that nation, as vnder so small a quantitie of money, to make leauy of so great a number, and that with that speede which the necessitie of the seruice required: Besides, thexpedition was corrupted by the imperfection of the parties, the one beeing caryed with ambition, and the other with vanitie, and they both more disposed to respect their interests particular, then to obserue the generall cause of the seruice: Agaynst this action also the French Agents that lay in the con-

trey

trey of *Svvizzerlande* oppoſed ſome difficulties, for that they neyther knewe what will and inclination their king bare to it, nor whether it was contrarie or conformable to his intentions: for not by omiſſion or forgetfulnes, but willingly and expreſly they had fayled to aduertiſe the king of that expedition, following happly thoſe counſels which oftentimes ſeeming very diſcrete and well raunged, are found in the ende very ſuttle and fallible: for *Albert Pio* the kings Embaſſador reſident with the Pope, had ſignified to them, that if the king vnderſtood before the concluſion of the league, of the direction giuen to make a leauy of *Svvizzers*, there would be daunger leaſt he would defer longer to conclude, for that it ſemed to him euery way that the warre againſt thempror had bin begon without him, by the Pope & *Venetians*. Thus for the long tarying of the *Svvizzers*, was forſlowed one of the moſt principall and moſt mighty fundations layd for the reskew of the caſtell of *Millan*, notwithſtanding both the Biſhop and capteine *Mus* gaue daylye moſte certaine and preſent hopes that they would be ſpeedely at the campe. But when the capteines Imperiall ſawe that the warre was prepared openly, and that their former doubtes & ſecret coniectures were now reſolued & turned to manyfeſt aſſurance, they determined, leaſt at one time they were trauelled with enemies both within & without, to ſtande aſſured of the people of *Millan*, who riſing euery daye more inſolent, did not onely denie to anſwere all thoſe prouiſions that were demaunded vpon them, but alſo accompanying their diſobedience with fiercenes & blood, they fayled not to make ſlaughter of the ſouldiors in the city, when they found any ſingle or ſeperat from his felowes: So that the capteines Imperiall taking occaſion of the diſorders that were done in the towne, required that certaine heades & chieftayns of the populars ſhould depart the city of *Millan*: which demaund could not ſo eaſily be diſgeſted, but that the cõmons beginning to draw into tumult, there was a new ſlaughter made of certen Spaniards going alone in the ſtretes: And to meete with that miſchiefe before it proceeded to greater degrees, *Anth. de Leua* & the Marquis of *Guaſt*, after they had ſecretly drawne neare to *Millan* their forces, & denoũced to the people that they were now no more bound to thaccord made certen daies before, they gaue the alarme to the tumult by killing in their preſence foure of the cõmons who would do no reuerence to thẽ in paſſing by them: and then iſſuing out of their lodginges with a trowpe of launceknights, they gaue occaſion to the cõmons to ſound their alarme: But as in al popular cõmotions there are many errors, & the people for the moſt part more rude and obſtinat, then skilful to order a fight, runne in their ignorance to their owne deſtructions with cries & ſhowtes: So notwithſtãding in their firſt fury they had forced the olde court & the groſſe towre of the Biſhoprike garded by many Italians: yet partly by their own diſorders, & partly by the importunity of certen ſhot beſtowed in places of aduantage which the Spaniards had furniſhed before, many of them fighting in their wilfull humor of liberty, founde wretchedly at one inſtant the priuation of their life & liberty together: In ſo much as their diſorders & feare encreaſing by equall degrees, and their lateſt perills haſtning with a deſperate ſwiftnes, for that the launceknights were vpon poynt to put fire into the next houſes, beſides the calling into the citie the regimentes of Spaniards attending the token or ſigne to be giuen by the capteins: the commons in their laſt feares offred to parley with thimperials, wherin they agreed that their leaders & many other perſons of ſuſpect, ſhould go out of *Millan*, and that the popular multitude ſhould depoſe armes & ſubmit themſelues to the obedience of the capteins imperiall: who for their partes receiuing the conditions, made haſt to reappeaſe & ceaſe the tumult before the regiments of Spaniſh

footmen entred within the towne, fearing leaſt both partes being in armes, it would be hard for them to gouerne or bridle the fury of warre, or to reſtraine the ſouldiors in that readynes, from ſacking the towne: A matter which they doubted, & yet were loth it ſhould happen, aſwell for feare leaſt the army being made riche with ſo great a booty, would not grow into corruption and great diminucion, as alſo conſidering what want of money and other difficulties they might ſuffer in the warre, they iudged it a pollicy more profitable to preſerue the citie in which they might long nouriſh the army, then in one day & in one fury, to conſume the force and liuely ſpirite which it had. Thus it ſeemed that the affayres of the league proceded not with that proſperity which men in their imaginations had promiſed in the beginning, bothe for that there were many difficulties in the diſcending of the *Svvizzers*, and alſo the fundation of the people of *Millan* was ſhaked and quayled: But as there is no eſtate or condition of worldly things, which is not full of vncertenties and caſualties, ſo by a new accident that hapned, both their reputation was eftſones reſtored, & the facilitie of victory made both more great and more apparant, then before. In ſo great a diſcontentment or rather a laſt diſpaire of the duchy of *Millan*, there was entertained for certayne monethes by the working of many perſons, ſundrye intelligences and practiſes of innouation, almoſt with all the townes of the Duchy: Amongſt the which, one ſucceded to good effect in the citie of *Loda*, being managed by the Duke of *Vrbin* and treaſorer of *Venice*, with *Lodovvike Viſtarin* a gentleman of the ſame Citie: who what with the impreſſion that he had bin an auncient ſeruant to the houſe of the *Sforceis*, and with the inducement of compaſſion ouer the calamities of his contrey, being no leſſe rudely delte withall by *Fabricio Maramo* Colonell of xv. hundred footmē Neapolitains, then *Millan* was by the Spaniards & launceknights, determined to help into the towne the *Venetian* regiments notwithſtanding he was in the paye of thimperials: But he aſſured and the Duke confirmed it, that he had before, both demaunded and obteyned his leaue to go away, taking his excuſe vpon this reaſon, that he was no longer hable to enterteine without money the bandes of ſouldiors which were committed to his charge. This was the order & direction of the enterpriſe: That vpō the xxiiij. day of Iune by night, *Malateſta Baillon* with three or foure thouſand footmen of the *Venetians*, ſhould about the vaniſhing of the day, approche the walls of the citie on that ſide where was a certayne baſtillion, to thend to be receiued in by *Viſtarin*: who a litle before, with two others that accompanied him, being come neare the baſtilliō which ſix ſouldiors garded, as it were to ſearch, & being folowed with ſome others of his faction whō he had hidden within certen houſes thereby, he leaped vpon the baſtillion, and began to fight with the ſouldiors that garded it: for albeit he had pronounced before the watchword according to the cuſtome of warre, yet the ſouldiors being doubtfull of treaſon, were come to handſtrokes with him, when others running by the brute of thalarme that was made, the baſtillion was in great daunger to be recouered by the fury of the fray wherin *Lodovvike* was hurt: But as he was almoſt reduced to the laſt neceſſitie, *Malateſta* aryued with his bands, & skaling the baſtillion by the helpe of their ladders, they entred the towne which they had ſo long deſired: by which entry both by force & intelligēce, the alarme running through the towne, *Fabricio Maramo* prepared himſelf to go to the walls with a great part of his ſouldiors, but cōming to late to the reskew of that which was already loſt, he was conſtrayned for his ſafety to retyre into the Caſtell. Thus the towne was ſurpriſed, and the moſt part of the ſouldiors that were lodged in ſundry places of the city, were ſtripped & made priſoners. A litle after the Duke

Loda ſurpriſed by the Venetians.

of

of *Vrbin* arriued with one part of his regiments, who to make his approches the better, was marched the day before, to lodge at *Oragno* vpon the riuer of *Oglio*, which he passed the same night by the fauor of a bridge made in hast, & vnderstanding of the entry of *Malatesta* within *Loda*, he passed also vpon a like bridge, the riuer of *Adda*: and after he had bestowed a greater garrison within *Loda* for the better defense in case succours should be ministred by the meane of the castell, he returned immediatly to the army: But assone as the knowledge of this accident was come to *Millan*, the Marquis of *Guast* with certeine troupes of light horsemen, & a strength of three thousand spanish footmen amongst whom was *Iohn* of *Vrbin*, made with great celerity to *Loda*, & hauing without impediment, bestowed his bands of footmen within the castel, by the benefit of whose scituaciō, he might enter with sauety by a way naturally couered & defended, without daunger to be annoied with shot cōming from the flanks of the city: he made a sodaine irruptiō into the city by the castel, & got to the market place, where the forces that *Malatesta* brought with him and the succours that came afterwards, had made their strength or place of defence, & put diuerse houses vnder gard, together with the streete that led to the gate by the which they were entred, to thend they might be hable to retire and issue with sauety, if it hapned that thimperialls became maisters: The fight was valliantly performed for the beginning, which vallor if it had continued in the Spaniards, the iudgement ran that they had recouered *Loda*, for that the *Venetian* souldiors declined no lesse to cowardise thē to wearines: But as in surprises, when thenterprise commeth to an execution, distrust is for the most part greater then confidence, & feare farre aboue resolucion & assurance, so the Marquis of *Guast*, either for that he found a greater number of souldiors then he had esteemed in the beginning, or for that he had a conceit that the *Venetian* army was at hand, retired presently from the fight, & returned to *Millan* after he had furnished the castell with a garrison: Immediatly after this skirmish the Duke of *Vrbin* came againe to *Loda*, making no litle glory that without staying, he had passed his army ouer two great riuers by the benefit of bridges: and the better to assure the victory, he resupplied the regiments that were within *Loda*, to thend to make the better resistance in case thennemies would returne to recouer the thing frō the which they had bene repulsed: he caused artilleries to be planted roūd about the castel, the better to assure the seege & cut of the reskewes that might be sent, neuertheles the defendāts both for their small exspectacion of succors, the meanes of their releese being cut of, and lesse hability to defend the castell which for his small circuit was not capable of many men, left the castell abandoned the night following, being receiued by certeine horsemen sent frō *Millan* for that purpose. This cōquest of *Loda* hapned very cōueniently & gaue great reputacion to the affaires of the league, both for that the city was well fortified, and bare a name to be one of those which it was thought thimperialls would defend to the last: from *Loda* the victors might march without impedimēt, euen to the gates of *Millan* & *Pauia*, for that those cities bearing a scituacion in triangle, are twenty miles one from an other, for which cause the imperialls dispatched with great expedicion xv. hundred launceknightes to *Pauia*: Moreouer the league had won the passage of *Adda*, which before was supposed to be very troublesome, all impediments were remoued that might hinder all the armies of the league to ioyne together, all meanes taken away to succour *Cremona*, in which city lay in garrison, Capteine *Couradin* with xv. hundred launceknights, and the enemies depriued of place apt to trauel and vex the state of the Church & the *Venetians*: Insomuch as the common opinion of the whole army was, that if they aduaunced with speede according to their fortune, the

imperials could not but be reduced into great perplexity & cõfusiõ: But the Duke of *Vrbin* was of an other iudgemẽt, holding it an enterprise of great peril to draw nere to *Millan* without a great strẽgth of *Svvizzers*: & yet for that he would not discouer to others that which he reteined in his secret opiniõ, he was cõtented to seme to do the thing he intẽded not, & in that resoluciõ marching slowly, & reappoſing alwaies one day at the least in euery lodging, he determined neuertheles to giue time to the discẽding of the *Svvizzers*, hoping that within few daies they would be with the army: yea he had so great exspectaciõ of their cõming (notwithstãding by thexperiẽce of their long tract & deferring, there was great dout) & reappoſed such assurãce in their vallour, that onles they came, he contẽned al mocions & inducemẽts to action & enterprise what reason or property of likelyhoode soeuer they bare. After the conqueſt of *Loda*, the church army marching to *S. Martin* within iij. miles of *Loda*, it was resolued there by cõmon councel, that after the ij. armies, that is to say thEcclesiastikes & the *Venetiãs* had soiorned there one day, they should draw the next day towards old *Loda*, about v. miles frõ *Loda*, where it is writtẽ that *Pompey* builded *Loda*, & so taking the high way that leadeth to *Pauia*, they pretẽded vnder that marching, to threatẽ *Millã* & *Pauia*, a deuise to hold thimperials in greater feare & suspẽce: the same day the armies Ecclesiastike & *Venetian* ioined together in the field as they marched, being almoſt equal in nũbers of footmen & cõteining in all, few lesse thẽ xx. thousand: only the *Venetians* exceded thẽ in nũbers of men at armes & light horsemen, & in prouisions of artilleries, municions with al other necessary habillemẽts of war: The day following they reappoſed at old *Loda*, where the Capteines taking councell for the dispoſing of their marching, determined that hereafter the armies shoulde keepe along the high way, the better to auoide the incõmodities of the contry, which out of the high way is full of ditches & risings & other impediments to marching: One reason also of following that way, was the facility to giue succours to the castell by the oportunity of the way that leadeth towardes the gate of *Coma*, rather then by the way of *Landriano* which turneth to the gate of *Verceill* by the which was greater difficultie to lead the army in regard of the quality & dispoſicion of the contry: & lastly, by the benefit of that way, there was a more safe recourse & traffike for vittels to follow the armies, & more easy for the discẽding & receiuing of the *Svvizzers* who were alwaies to secõd thẽ & back thẽ: with this resolucion the army being gathered into one maine strẽgth, ariued the last day of Iune at *Marignan*: where being drawn into coũcel touching the further directiõ & dispoſing of the warre, the Duke of *Vrbin* perswaded vehemẽtly to abide the cõming of the *Svvizzers*, of whose discending he had happily some more assured informacion thẽ before: he considered that without such a strength and firme backe, it could not but be daungerous to draw neare *Millan* with regiments of souldiours vntrained and leauied in hast, notwithstanding there was within the towne of enemies but a very slender strength of horsemen, three thousand launceknights, and but fiue or six thowsand Spaniards footmen, to whose small numbers of bodies were adioyned many discommodities & wants, as lack of money which maketh the souldiors vnwilling, & very litle prouision of vittells which weakeneth him for the fight, with other impediments much hindring the action exspected in souldiours: But the other capteines were not of his opiniõ, for that they iudged that marching in order, and alwaies vsing good skoutes to discouer their camping places for the day before, there could be no daũger to approch *Millan*, the rather for that the parts of the contry were euery way so strong and defensible, that without difficulties the army might alwaies incampe in places of surety: They reasoned that it was not likely, that thim-

perialls

perials would issue out into the field to inuade thē, for that leuing necessarily the castell besieged, & by that occasiō, being not to lead their whole forces out of the town for suspicion of the cōmons of *Millan*, their nūbers would be too few to set vpon so great an army, which albeit was dressed & cōpounded of bodies new & raw, yet was gouerned by the best experienced Capteines in *Italy*, hauing withal dispersed in seueral bands of the army, many troupes of footmen well disciplined & of good traineur in warre: Besides, albeit they coulde not make their approaches to *Millan* without daunger, yet to draw neare it, was not without hope to carie the victory, for that the subburbes of *Millan* being not fortified, but by negligence left open in many parts, it semed not credible that thimperials would stand to defend so great a circuit of place: Of this were discerned already many manifest tokens, for that thimperials vsing smal care to reenforce their subburbes, had turned all their industry to the fortificacion of the towne: Insomuch that if they once abandoned the subburbs & gaue place to the army to lodge there, it could not be reasonable that the towne could long hold out: Not so much for the wants of vittells & money which afflicted their whole army, as for that *Prospero Colonno* with the other Capteines of knowledge and iudgement, had bene alwaies of this opinion, that with great difficulty could the towne of *Millan* be kept against an army that was Lord of the subburbes, both for that the Citie is verie weake in walls (the houses of certeine particulars serving for want of wall in many places) as for that the subburbes haue a great aduantage & cōmaundement ouer the City: To these reasons lastly was added, that they had the castel at deuocion. But not only the estate of this direction or deliberaciō, but also the absolute resolucion of the whole body of the warre, depended chiefly vpon the Duke of *Vrbin*, for that albeit he was but only Capteine ouer the *Venetians*, yet the Ecclesiastikes to auoyde contencions, had determined to referre themselues ouer to him as to the Capteine generall of the army. Neuertheles notwithstanding these reasons had no power to stirre him to aduance & passe further, nor the vehement instances, which (by order frō their superiors) the Popes Lieutenant & the Treasorer of *Venice* vrged, with whom did concurre many other Capteines: yet in the end, he considered that if he made any long abode in that place without a better certeintie of the comming of the *Swvizzers*, it would not be but to his great infamy & challenge: therfore after the army had rested two daies at *Marignan*, he remoued it the third of Iune to *S. Donato* within fiue miles of *Millan*, from whence he determined to passe further, though more to satisfie the desire and iudgement of others, then of his proper inclinacion or councells, and he reserued to him selfe this order and intencion, to put alwayes one day betwene the remouing of the campe, to thend to giue time to the comming of the *Swvizzers*, of whom a thowsand discending by *Bergama*, were ariued at tharmie, and for the others (according to their custome) they sent euerie day messengers to enterteine the exspectacion of their comming, and to signifie that their absence should not be long.

In this sort the fift of Iuly, the army passing frō *S. Martin* which is out of the high way on the right hand, marched on to incampe within iij. miles of *Millan*, in a place of good strength and surety: where the same day was executed some light action of warre against certeine harquebuziers of the Spanyards who were fortified within a house; & the day following, the campe being at the same place executed some other small exploit of warre, & immediatly after ariued at the campe fiue hundred *Swvizzers* led by *Cæsar Gaulois*: heare the Capteines fell againe to councell of the maner of passing further, & albeit the first intention was to march directly to succor the castell of *Millan*, whose trenches that were cut round about without were not so strong, but

that there was great hope to win them: yet, by the authoritie of the Duke of *Vrbin* whose aduise was at last approued of all the others, not altogether for the sufficiency & soundnes, but partly for the priuiledge and prerogatiue of his place, which caried him to expresse his opinion in councel, & either not to attend the answers of others, or at least in their answers the Capteines durst not impugne his reasons: The armies tooke the way that leadeth directly to the subburbes of *Millan*, and he alleaged, that for the making plaine of the waies which of necessity must be done by reason of the naturall impediments of the contry, it would be a labor long & not without daunger of some disorder, to lead the armie out of the high way to the reskew of the castell: Both for that they were to show themselues too neare in flanke to thenemies, & also it was to giue thenemy meane to make a greater resistãce, because they would raũge all their forces on that side towards the castell: where otherwise they should be constrained to remeine deuided for the better resistãce of thenemies, & not to abandon the gard of the castell, & drawing to the gate of *Rome*, it would be alwaies in the power of the Capteines of the league, to turne easilie on what side they would according as occasions called thẽ: According to this councell it was resolued, that the seuenth day the campe should lodge at *Vnfaletto* and *Pillastrello* which are crokings or turnings alõg the high way within shot of cannon, & there to take that course which occasion and proceeding of thenemies should minister: Many were of opinion that thenemies whẽ they should see the campe so neare them, would not (specially in the night) embrase the hazard to defend the subburbs, both for that the ditches were filled vp in many places, & the rampartes cast downe & made plaine & in some places so open & discouered, that very hardly could they preserue their bodies which they brought to defend the place: But the night before the day wherein the army was to aduance, the Duke of *Burbon*, being ariued a few daies before at *Genes* with six gallies & bringing bills of exchaunge for an hundred thowsand duckats, entred into *Millan* accompanied with viij. hundred spanish footmen whom he had brought with him: his comming in such a time of perill, & after so long exspectacion for succour, gaue a new corage to the souldiors that so desperatly lay exposed to the daunger of their liues: By his cõming, being vehemently solicited by the Marquis of *Guast* & *Anth. de Leua*, may be easily cõprehended the affected negligence or rather cold disposicion, which the french king had to the warre: for, where the Pope in the beginning when he interteined into his pay *Andrea Dore*, had consulted with him, with what forces & preparacions thenterprise of *Genes* should be executed: he tolde him it would be an action very easie so farre forth as it were put to execucion at the time that the warre should be begon in the Duchy of *Millan*, & that to his eight gallies should be ioyned the kinges gallies riding in the port of *Marceilles*, or at least that they might be emploied to stop the comming of the gallies of the Duke of *Burbon*: wherein his reason was, that remeining in that sort Lord of the sea with his eight gallies, the City of *Genes*, hauing the sea shut vp, could not menteine it selfe long, both for the restraint of marchandise, for thimpediment of exercises, and for the cutting of accesse of vittels: And notwithstanding the frenche king protested to stop the comming of the Duke of *Burbon*, yet it was a promise vaine and ill assured, both for that his vessells were not in order, which hindred thexpedicion, and also the Capteines of his gallies, partely for want of money and partelie through negligence, and happilie of purpose, were very slowly furnished to accomplishe the seruice: The same fault or negligence was also vsed in aduauncing the men at armes appointed to his porcion.

But the ariuall of the Duke of *Burbon* being vnknowen to the army of the league

that

that was without, the resolucion that had bene set downe to aduaunce forward, was peruerted by the Duke of *Vrbin*, & that either by some aduertisements which he had receiued from *Millan*, or by the reapport of some spie: for, leauing the distrust which he had reteined till that day, he assured the Popes Lieutenant in the presence of the *Venetian* treasorer, That he made an assured reckoning that the day following would be a day of prosperity & happy successe: seing saith he, if thenemies issue out to fight (which he could not beleue) they could not but be ouerthrowen & broken: & in case they did not issue out, he was certeine that either they would abandon *Millan* the same day & retire into *Pauia*, or at least abandoning the defense of the subburbs, they would gather themselues into the Citie, which they had no meane to defende after the subburbes were lost: insomuch as he warranted that any of these three accidents was sufficient to make them remeine victors & maisters of the warre: Therfore ioyning diligence to the oportunity that offred, the day following being the seuenth of Iuly, they left the lodging appointed for the day before hoping to win the subburbes without resistance, wherein rising in a glorie to surprise them by assault in marching, certeine troupes of their souldiours ran in their insolency, to giue a charge vpon the gates of *Rome* & *Tosa*: where, notwithstanding the aduertisements they had the day before & redoubled the same day, that the Spaniards would breake vp and go away, yet they found vaine those relacions, for that the Spaniards affronted them & made head orderly against their disordered charge, not that they ment to make a cõtinuall resistance, but like men of warre showing their faces to thenemies, to retire in order to *Millan*, rather then to leaue to thenemy that aduantage to say that they found the subburbes cowardlie abandoned: Moreouer by making that resistance, they did not only preserue the reputaciõ of their army reteining still in their power to make their retraite alwaies into the City without disorder: But also in the action might happen some occasion to take hart and perseuere in the defense of the subburbes, a matter of right great importance: for that, to make their retire into the towne, was an election to be followed rather by necessity then of will, seing that besides many other reasons if they should restraine themselues into a circuit of place so strait & litle, it would be so much the more easie to the armies of the league to stoppe the entrie of vittels into *Millan*, without which kinde of releefe they could not long hold out, for that the prouisiõs of new corne were not yet come in. Thus certeine bands of harquebuziers being presented to the defense of the two gates, where also the other Spanyardes ceassed not to labor & fortifie cõtinually. The Duke whose opinion was beguiled in that resistance, caused three cannons of battery to be drawne within a crosbow shot of *Rome* gate, and hauing planted them brauely, he began to execute vpon the gate: In whiche batterie he laboured to leauie or dismount a falconnet, and so made discend certeine bands of souldiours to giue thassault, and gaue direction to bring on the skaling ladders: But altering immediatlie his purpose to giue thassault, the matter was turned into light skirmishes of shotte betwene those that were without, and the defendantes that were vppon the rampartes, who fighting at great aduauntage, slewe about fortie of the confederates, and hurte many: In this meane while the gate had felt many blowes of the cannon, though with verie small dammage, for that the cannons being planted farre of, the bullet lost muche of his force by the farre distaunce, of the place, insomuche as no benefite rising by the execucions of the cannons, and no aduauntage gotten by the skirmishe of the shotte, the Duke considering it woulde be verie late to lodge the campe, woulde not suffer the assault to be performed, but gaue order to bestow and forrie the campe in that place,

The armie of the league before Millan.

which was not done not without confusion, for the shortnes of the time: There was left a reasonable gard for the three Cannons, and the residue of the campe were bestowed almost full vpon the right hand of the way, euerie one hauing great hope of the victorie, both for that by many aduertisementes and by the relacion of prisoners taken, they had certeine informacion that thimperialls trussed baggage & prepared rather to depart, then to defende the place: To this hope was ioyned also this good happe, that in good time the same euening, there came to the campe sixe Cannons of the *Venetians*, a releefe muche helping on the comfort and hope of the victorie:

" But as in worldly things there is no assurance till the end be knowen, and all mortall
" men and their actions are put vnder an estate of incerteinty and errour according to
" their constitucion being full of frailtie and imperfection, so, not long after, that hope and the glorious imaginacion of the victorie, did not onely chaunge, but also the whole estate of the affaires varied & altered, for that certeine bands of spanish footmen issuing out almost vppon the beginning of the night to set vppon thartillerie, were repulsed & beaten in by the footemen that had the gard of the same notwithstanding the Duke of *Vrbin* said that they were driuen in in disorder: Insomuch as after two or three howers of the night were past, he determined without councell to dislodge and retyre the armie, taking his reason for so sodaine alteracion vppon the matter of his hope which he sawe abused, for that he founde resistance at the gates, and defendantes vpon the rampartes of the suburbes, and also the feare he had conceiued before of the infanterie of thenemies, was in this rashnes of some consideracion with him: And proceeding in his sodaine passion to execute the matter he had resolued without councell or consent of others, he gaue order to the artilleries and municions to march away, and commaunded the regiments of the *Venetians*, to prepare to depart: Lastly he sent to the Treasorer and Lieutenant, and other Capteines of the Church, to signifie more in speede then with reason, the resolucion he had set downe, perswading them to do the like without tract or deferring: A matter of such astonishment and confusion to either of them, both for the sodainnes being against all order and course of warre, and for the newnes seeming to containe some misterie for that it was cõtrarie to thexspectacion of all men, they went to him to vnderstand more particularlie his inductions and reasons of this alteracion, and to labour with words and arguments to bring him backe againe to his former resolucion: But he insisted stil vpon the remouing of the campe, wherein with speeches cleare & resolute, he complained manifestly that contrarie to his aduise & only to satisfie the humors of others, he was cõpelled to approch so nere *Millan*: which since it was an offence, he told them it belonged to wisdom and good councell rather to correct the fault in time, then by suffring, to let it run out of all cure and remedie: he knew that both for that the armie the day before for the shortnes of the time, had bene lodged confusedlie, and for the cowardise of thItalian footemen in the same euening that the artilleries were assailed, if the campe lay there till the day following, it woulde not onely be the destruction of thenterprise, but the ruine of all the state of the league: for, he stoode so assured that they would be defeated and broken, that he held it not reasonable to stande to dispute with any man, seeing that the imperialls the same euening had planted a Sacre betwene *Rome* gate and the gate of *Foso* which executed in flanke vpon that quarter where lay the *Venetian* footemen: That the same night they would go on in that oportunity to plant other peeces of artilleries and the day following would sound thalarome, for which cause the armie being constrained to fall into order, should be so annoyed in the flanke by the artilleries, that they would

be

be driuen into disorder, and so vpon the sallie of th Imperialls out of the towne, the whole campe full of passions of feare and disorder would be easily ouerthrowen: That he was sory that both by the shortnes of the tyme, and th impediments of the municions and artilleries which were farre greater in his armie then in the armie Ecclesiastike, he was compelled to leauy and breake vp affore he had communicated with them: But he tolde them that in elections done by necessitie, it was a labor superfluous to alleage excuses: That he had aduentured a greater matter, then euer had done any Capteine, offring as it were in marching to giue an assalt to *Myllan*, And that now he would take vp and vse discression, and dispaire nothing of the victorie of the enterprise for the retraite: That *Prospero Colonno*, happly with lesse iust causes, leauied his seege from before *Parma* when it was halfe taken, & yet not long after he gloriously conquered the whole Duchie of *Myllan*: he aduised them for end to beleue his councell and followe it, and not in other weenings to deferre their departings, since he eftsoones assured them with a newe vehemencie of words, that if they stayed there til the rising of the Sunne, their destruction was more certeine then the remedie, and therefore to thend to flee from the storme before the clowde brake, he willed them alwayes with one constancie to returne to their lodgings at *Saint Martyn*: These speeches borne vp more by thauthoritie of the man then by any reason they brought, were not a litle greeuous to the residue of the Capteines that happly bare an other corage to the warre, and reasonably sawe further into the facilitie of the victorie, and therefore were of a contrary opinion: Amongest whom the Popes Lieuetenant assaying by words and reasons to make him constant whom feare caried into so many variacions, made him aunswer, That albeit there was none amongest them who thought not that his resolucions were made with great forecast and wisedom, yet the Capteines in their experience & tradicions of warre, saw no manifest cause to constraine him to breake vp so suddeinly: he reduced to his memorie the dispayre of the Duke of *Myllan*, beholding in his calamitie the going away of such as he hoped would haue succoured him, and dispayring to be reskewed, what could stay him from doing the thinge from the which the hope to be succored by them, had holden him? howe much it would discourage the Pope and *Venetians*, and what impressions are wont to stirre and moue in the mindes of Princes when enterprises begin to succeede il, especially in their beginnings: Lastly that if the place of their campe, and the ill disposing of it, was the cause of so great a daunger as he pretended, it was easie without depriuing the armie of so great a reputacion, to remedie it both in bestowing it in some other place with better order, & also in remouing it with such aduauntage, that the fakers planted by the enemies should haue no meane to annoye them: But the Duke confirmed of newe his first conclusion, and added with vehement termes that according to the reason of warre, they could not take any other deliberacion: And lastly he knitte vp that he would take vpon him selfe all the faule, and to lay him selfe downe to all opinions and imputacions that the world would heape against him for being the Author of the action: And so aduising them not to consume vainely in wordes and reasons, the time which they should employ for their sauetie, he told them that if they were not dislodged before the ende of the night, it would be too late to apply the medicine when the ill was past cure. With this conclusion he dismissed euery one, who returning to their seuerall quarters, euery one prepared to dislodge and make to depart their charge and companies: Amongest whom such bands as laye before, brake vp with such astonishment, that many going almost with demonstracion to be broken

and deſeated, many bands of footemen and horſemen of the *Venetians*, disbanded them ſelues, ſome of them not looking behind them till they came to *Loda*: And the artilleries of the *Venetians* paſſed beyond *Marignan*, but being reuoked, they were ſtayed there: The reſidue of the bands but principally the arearegard marched away in order: And *Iohn de Medicis*, who with the footemen of the Church was in the laſt part of the army, would not ſtirre til it was high day, eſteeming it not agreeable to his honor, in place of the victorie ſo much hoped for, to cary away infamie and imputacion of fleing away by night: A matter which his experience induced him, that he had no neede to doe, becauſe he ſaw none of thImperialls yſſue out of their ramparts to charge vppon the tayle of the army: Onely when they within the towne ſaw by the benefit of the Sũne & clearnes of the day, how the campe was diſlodged in manner of a tumult, they ſtoode wondering at the going away of thoſe, whome if they had taried they could not but haue ſtande in feare of: And yet in the interpretacion of ſouldiers and martiall doings, they could not imagine the cauſe of ſo ſuddeine alteracion: The infamie of this retrayt was alſo augmented by this, that notwithſtanding the Duke had giuen order that the campe ſhould ſtay at *S. Martyn*, yet he ſent out a new direction without communicating it, that the campemaiſters of the *Venetians* ſhould leade their men to *Marignan*, wherein he feared that eyther the ennemies would yſſue out to aſſaile him in his lodging at *S. Martyn*, or at leaſt that the caſtell of *Myllan*, ſeeing to retyre the forces that were comen, to reskewe it, (A matter more then all other that terrifieth thoſe that are beſeeged) would ſue for compoſicion, and reſigne by that vile compulſion the holde they had kept ſo longe with their vallour: In which caſe becauſe he durſt not abide at *S. Martyn* he iudged it leſſe diſhonorable to retyre once for all, then to make two retraits in ſo litle tyme: And in that humor, he cauſed the artilleries, the baggage, & the foremeſt regiment of the *Venetian* army to hold on to *Marignan* without ſtaying at *S. Martyn*: of which alteracion when the Popes Lieuetenant demaunded the cauſe, the Duke aunſwered that touching their ſewertie he put no difference betweene the one and the other place, eſteming *S. Martyn* as tenable and defenſable againſt thennemies, as *Marignan*, But the cauſe why he marched further was, for that the bands of ſouldiers being made weary with the actions of the dayes before, might with good commoditie reappoſe and refreſhe them ſelues without receiuing any impediments or vexacions of thennemies: And as the Lieuetenant replyed touching the equall ſewertie of the one and other place, that if the campe retyred as farre as *Marignan*, the hope of ſuccours would be more deſperate to thoſe that were beſeeged in the caſtell of *Myllan*, then if the armies ſtayed at *S. Martyn*: So the Duke returned vppon him with wordes vehement that ſo long as he caried in his hands the ſtaffe of commaundement ouer the *Venetians*, he would not ſuffer any other to entermedle with his authoritie: In which obſtinacie both the one and other army with the great diſhonor and clamour of all the ſouldiers, went to encampe at *Marignan*, exclayming contrary to the ſaying of *Cæſar, veni, vidi, fugi*, we are come, we haue ſeene, and we are ronne away: The Duke determined to remeyne at *Marignan*, vntill not onely the campe were poſſeſſed of the number of fiue thowſand *Swyzzers* whereunto were reſtrayned the promiſſes of Capteine *Mus* and the Biſhop of *Loda*, who at the ſame time that the campe brake vp came thether with fiue hundred, but alſo till he were furniſhed of ſo many other of that nation as would make vp the full nũber of twelue thowſand ſtronge of thoſe regions: And that for an opinion he had, that becauſe there could be made no more foundacion of the caſtell of *Myllan*, it would be impoſſible

possible to force the towne, or to reduce it to a necessitie to yeeld for want of vittells and other relieues necessary, without the action of two armies, and either of them so mighty that of it selfe it might suffice to defend it selfe against all the forces of the nemies vnited together.

The army of the league broken vp from before Myllan.

Thus the eight day of Iuly, did retyre from the walls of *Myllan*, the two armies of the league, A matter of no small astonishment to many men, and no lesse concurring the infelicitie of the prediction, for that the same daye, with the common consent of the whole confederats, the league was published at *Rome*, at *Venice*, and in *Fraunce* with ceremonies and solemnities accustomed. In the iudgement of all men of obseruacion or skill, it seemed to hold so litle of necessitie to take a courrse so infamous, that many doubted least the Duke of *Vrbin* were not caried into that deliberacion by some secret order and direction from the Senate of *Venice*, who for some ende vnknowen to others might desire to haue the warre protracted: And others were of opinion that the Duke, by the memorie of iniuries receiued of *Leo*, together with the wrongs which the Pope raigning had done to him when he was Cardinall, and fearing withall least the greatnes of the Pope would put his estate in daunger, could not brooke so suddeine a victorie of the warre, being indifferently caried both with the passion of hatred which is much, and the humor of ielousie which is more: Wherein one thing that gaue him so iust a cause to doubt and feare the Pope, was that the *Florentyns* held *Saint Leo* with all the contry of *Montfeltro*, and that the only Daughter of *Lavvrence de Medicis* being as yet very younge, reteyned alwayes the name of Ducheesse of *Vrbin*: Neuertheleesse the Popes Lieuetenant was aduertised by very especial Messengers that the *Venetians* were not a litle discontented with that manner of retyring, and that they had alwayes solicited that the army might approch to *Myllan* in hope that the towne might be easily caried: And withall, seeing it was not likely that the Duke, if he had hoped to take *Myllan* would haue depriued him self of a glory, by so much more greate aboue the merit of any other generall in times past, by how much was greater the reputacion and renowne of th Imperiall armye aboue all others which had bene in *Italy* many yeares before, of which glory followed almost by necessitie the sewertie of his estate, seeing the Pope, either to auoyd so great an infamie, or not to offend so much the *Venetians*, would not dare to inuade him: And considering also with diligence the action of all those dayes there: The Lieuetenant iudged it more likely (wherein many others were concurrant with him in that opinion) that the Duke falne from the hope which two dayes before had nourished him, that th Imperialls at least would abandon the subburbs, was returned in that vehemencie to his first opinion, wherein he shewed him selfe to haue a greater feare of the Spanyards and distrust of the Italian footemen, then any of the other Capteines had: And by that meane entring into impressions of deeper feare, he embraced rashly and confusedly that deliberacion.

Katherine de Medicis.

The Pope in great astonishment.

This retrait astonished not a litle the Pope and *Venetians* and made them so much the more altered and confused, by how much they were entred into hope and expectacion to heare newes euery daye of the taking of *Myllan*: But principally the perplexitie of this accident touched the Pope, who neither with money which was farre from him, nor with constancy of mind which was suppressed by his frailtie, was not prepared to endure the traite and longnes of the warre: Besides that aswell at *Rome*, as in other quarters of his estate, many emotions and difficulties were disclosed: for, a regiment of three hundred footemen and certeine cornets of horsemen lying in garrison within *Carpy*, began to make incursions and very hurtful actions vp-

pon all the confynes that apperteined to the Church, obiecting by that meane many impediments to the passage of corriers and money sent to tharmy from *Rome* & *Florence*: An aduersitie which could not be mette withall but by bestowing stronge garrisons within the townes: And the Pope, who was entred into the warre with very litle store of money, and deepely imbarked into great exspenses, could hardly, both with the money of his owne store, and with the contribucions brought to him continually from *Florence* to furnish the charges of the warre, make sufficient prouisions to stoppe them, Being withall troubled with a new enterprise in *Tuskane*, and constrayned to stand vpon his gard about *Rome*: for, after *Don Hugo* and the Duke of *Sesso* had taken leaue of the Pope and had deposed them selues from the action of their embassage, *Askanius* and *Vespasian Colonno* being then reduced within the small borowes of the *Colonnoys* which are neare to *Rome*, made many demonstracions to stirre vp some emocion on that side, Many of their factioners and adherents being drawne to a strength within *Alagno*: And the Pope was driuen to keepe a diligent eye vppon their doings and stirres, aswell for the regarde of the *Gebelin* faction in *Rome*, as for that not many dayes before, were discouered against him many signes of the ill disposicion of the Commons: The reason was, for that when he tooke into his pay *Andrea Dore*, and for the better furnishing of that charge, had raysed and improued certeine impostes vnder coller to assure the seas of *Rome* against the foystes of the *Moares* by whome the traffique and wealth of the citie was greatly hindred, the Butchers refused to pay their part of the taxacion, assembling in manner of a tumult affore the lodging of the Duke of *Sesso* not as yet departed from *Rome*, And by their example all the Spanyards that were within the towne, ranne thether in armes: Neuertheless this tumult was easily appeased. About this tyme, the Pope stoode in doubt if he should enforce the enterprise to alter the state of *Syenna*, for that the councells of such as were about him, differed and were of diuers humors: for, some reapposing confidence no lesse in the great number of the exiles then in the confusion of the gouernment popular, perswaded by many reasons that thinnouacion and chaunge of the state would be an action of great facilitie, wherein they ledde him on in this propertie of well liking, that in that tyme it would be a matter of great importance to assure him selfe of that estate: for that in all accidents that might happen, the entry which the enemies might make that way, might be very daungerous for the affayres of *Rome* and *Florence*: But others induced him, that it were farre better for him to addresse all his forces into one place onely, then to intangle him selfe with so many enterprises with a very litle or none at all alteracion or diuersion of the principall effects: for that in the ende such as remeyned maisters in *Lombardy*, would become Commaunders in euery place: Lastly they told him he was not to lay such a foundacion of confidence vppon the forces and trayne of the exiles whose hopes in the ende would be found vayne, as to set vppon the mutacion of that state without making of mightye and stronge prouisions, suche as was very hard for him to accomplishe, aswell for the greatnes of the expences which in enterprises draweth the deepest care, as for the want of principall Capteines, whome he had already sent to the warre of *Lombardye*. It may be these last perswasions had preuailed more with him if those that gouerned within *Sienna*, had proceeded with that moderacion which in affayres of small importance the inferiors ought to vse towards their superiors, hauing more regard to necessity then to a iust discontentment: for, thus it hapned, There was one *Iohn Baptista Palmier* Capteine within *Sienna* of an hundred footemen for the citie, who hauing of long time before, giuen hope to

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the Pope that in sending his bands of souldiers to the towne, he would put them within by a sluce or gutter that passed vnderneath the wall neare to a bastillion: And by his direction the Pope hauing sent to him two footemen men of assurance and credit, to one of the which *Iohn Baptista* gaue his enseigne to beare: The Magistrats of the citie with whose priuitie he entertеyned this practise and abused the Pope, caused these two footemen to be apprehended, against whome after they had proceeded by way of accusation and iudicially condemned them with publicacion of the conspiracie, they passed them to the execucion of manifest death to thende to slaunder the Pope as much as they could: Moreouer they sent certeine bands of their souldiers to beseege *Iohn Martynozze* one of the exiles dwelling in the contry about *Syenna*: all which things done as it were in despite of the Pope, incensed him with the fury of a mind iniuried, to aduenture to restore all the exiles within *Sienna* with his owne forces & the strength of the *Florentyns*: But as the general prouisions were more weake then apperteyned to the action of such an enterprise, & especially the numbers of footemen: So also the vallour & authoritie of the Capteines recompensed nothing the weaknes of the army, ouer the which he instituted as chiefe cõmaunders *Virginio Vrsin* Count of *Languillaro*, *Lodovvyk* Count of *Petillane* & *Iohn Fran.* his sonne, *Gentill Baillon* & *Iohn Suffatello*: who making their muster at *Centyna* & drawing along the riuer of *Arbyra* so much renowmed for the worthy victorye of the *Gebelins* against the *Guelffes* of *Florence*, approched the walls of *Sienna* about the xvij of Iuly with nyne peeces of artilleries, twelue hundred horse & more then eight thowsand footemen, almost all leauied in the state of the Church & *Florentyns*, or at least all sent without money to the exiles by their friends, from *Perousa* & other places: And at the same time *Andrea Dore* with his gallies & a thowsand footemen sent to him in supply, made inuasion vppon the hauen of the *Siennoys*: But in this, their hope was deceiued, that when the forces approched neare the walls of *Sienna*, they within made no signe of tumult, by which disappointment they were constrained to setle in campe & beseege the towne, in which was a strength of six hundred horsemẽ & three hundred footemen forreyners: And as the enemies made their approches to the gate of *Camollia*, and began on that side to batter the wall with their artilleries: So, the citie being strong by situacion, & wel fortified with rampars, & for the circuit so great that the army enuyroned but the lesse part of it, They found the inhabitants disposed with firme resolucion to defende the gouernment that then ranne, wherein their hatred against the Pope & *Florentyns* caried them more vehemently, then the affection they bare to the exiles: And of the contrary in the army that beseeged them, the souldiers hauing no pay made to them, were litle profitable to the seruice, And the Capteines hauing no reputacion in armes, were also in ciuill diuision amongest them selues together with the exiles, who varied not onely vppon the prouisions & daily councels, but also contended for the forme of the future gouernment, seeking to impart and deuide being without, the thing which could not be estabilished but by such as were within: for which condicions after they had made a vaine battry vppon the wall and had no harts to goe to the assault, they began vnder those signes of dissolute dealing, to haue a very slender hope of the victory.

In these times the difficulties of the confederats increased in *Lombardy*: for, notwithstanding the regiment of fiue thowsand *Svvizzers* leauied by Capteine *Mus* & the Bishop of *Loda*, were at last come to the armye: yet for that the Duke of *Vrbin* held them not a number sufficient to execute the enterprise of *Myllan*, there was exspectacion of an other proporcion of that nation which they had sent to require of

the Cantons in the name of the French king: They hoped the Cantons would not be hard to accord those leauies though not for other hope, at least to deface the ignominy of the battel of *Pauya*, And that for the same reasons the bands of souldiers would agree to goe to the warre with a ready corage, specially in so great a hope of the victorie: But as in that nation who not many yeares before for their vallour & for the authority they had won, had no small oportunities to get a very large dominion or iurisdictiõ, There was now no more neither the same desire of glory, nor any care of the interests of the cõmon weale: So, of the contrary, hauing their minds ouercaried with incredible couetousnes and appetites of gaine, they gaue them selues ouer as to the chiefest end & honor of the exercise of warre, to returne to their houses loden with money & bootie: In which humors, the generall Cantons harkning to the solicitacions of warre, as marchants do in bargaines & marting, either publikely seruing their turnes of the necessitie of others for their owne profit, or els hauing amõgest them many men whose mindes were vendible & corrupted, They did either accorde or refuse to depart with souldiours according to the working of those endes: And by their example the chiefe & special Capteines, being labored to be enterteined into pay, did rise so much the higher & made their demaunds so much the more intollerable, by how much they saw that Princes & cõmõ weales had neede of their seruice: In regard of these reasons, the french king summoning the Cantons according to the articles of the contract, to ayde him with men, who by common consent were to be paid with the forty thowsand duckats which the king deliuered out of his treasor: The general Cantons after many coũcels & deliberacions, made him aũswer according to their custõ, that they would not agree to any leauies or mooster of soldiours, onles the king made them first contented of all the arrerages of their pensiõs which he was bound to pay by yearely reuenue: which summes being great, & hard to be satisfied in a litle time, the kings agents were cõstrained to enterteine capteines perticular & yet not without leaue & authoritie of the Cantons, who graũted such power not without great difficultie: A course which besides the long tract & consuming of time which could not be but daungerous for the present estate of affayres, did neuertheless not succeede neither with that effect nor that reputacion, which it would haue done if the consent & authority of the Lords of the Cantons, had concurred. Vnder this occasion no lesse slaunderous to the Duke of *Vrbin*, then hurtfull to the general proceeding of the warre, the Imperials who in this meane while were dispensed with from all vexacion of thennemies lying idlely at *Marignan*, turned all their diligẽce to fortifie *Myllan*, Not the body of the city as they did in the beginning of the warre, but the rampars & bastillions of the subburbs, which they did no more distrust to be able to defend: for that by howe much the reputacion of thennemies was diminished, by so much was their hope reconfirmed & their corage redoubled: And because they had taken from all the inhabitants of *Myllan* their armes & weapons, & had thrust out of the towne all persons suspected, much lesse that the Capteines had now so great a feare or ielousie as before, seing they established their own assurance by reducing the towne to so cruell a seruitude, that they stoode careles to make payes to the souldiours: And lodging the bands by their tyranny in the houses of the inhabitants, they did not onely compel the masters & owners of houses to minister daily foode to the soldiers both plẽtifully & delicatly, but also to furnish them with money for all other things which in their vanities & fancies they would desire, not forgetting to impose vpon them as much as the rigour of tyranny could deuise: which dealings were so intollerable to the citizens, that they had no other remedye then

The inhabitants of Millan ill handled by the Spanyards.

then by ſtelth and ſecret wayes to flee from the place where were layde vp the monumentes of their natiuities, the effect of their delightes, and the rewards of all the pleaſures and ſolace of their lyfe: Neyther durſt they ſeeke this miſerable ſafety openly or manifeſtly, for that the eyes of thoſe that oppreſſed them kepte a ſeuere eſpiall vpon them: And the better to aſſure the ſouldiours of thoſe rates and taxations impoſed vpō euery houſholder, but eſpecially the Spaniards, for in the launce-knightes was a greater modeſtie and fauour, the Capteines kepte bounde and in chaynes in their owne houſes, certaine principall houſholders with their wiues and little children, not omitting to expoſe euery ſex and age to their abhominable luſte: By reaſon of this tyrannie all the ſhoppes of *Millan* were ſhutte in, and euery man ſought to hyde as ſecretly as he coulde, his goods and Iewells of moſte value, making alſo the ſame conueiance and beſtowing of the riches and ornaments of Churches, which for all that were not altogether in ſuretie: for that the ſouldiours vnder cooller to ſearche for armor and weapons, tooke libertie to ranſacke all the corners of the towne, and in that inſolent authoritie, forced the ſeruauntes to diſcloſe the goodes of their maiſters, which when they found, they imparted to the owners porcions not according to equitie or conſcience, but ſuch as in their licentiouſnes they thought good: The face & vniuerſall apparance of that Citie was made miſerable, to beholde the auncient inhabitantes and glory of the ſame reduced to an eſtate of extreme oppreſſion: A matter worthy of great commiſeration, and an incredible example of the mutation of fortune to ſuch as had ſeene it fewe yeres before, moſte populous and riche in Citiſens, plentifull in Marchantes and Artificers, proude in pompes, and very ſumptuous in ornaments for men and women, naturally addicted to feaſtings & pleaſures, and not only full of reioyſing & ſolace, but alſo moſt happy in all other nature of comfort & contentment for the life of man: Where nowe it ſtoode lamentably depriued of inhabitantes, what by the ſtroke of the plague that raged there, and for the continuall euaſions of ſuche as fledde from the violation of tyrantes: Miſerable was the apparance of men & women being moſte wretched in pouerty and nakednes: No entercourſe of marchantes or trade which before was wont to enrich the citie: And the chearfulnes and ſpirites of men were wholly conuerted into a ſtate of languiſhing dolor and feare: No, no other thing remayned of the glorious apparance of that city, then the fundations of houſes & Churches, and yet euen in them was diſcerned a lamentable ſpectacle, in regard of the former memory of them. Neuertheles as there is no ſorrowe without his comfort, nor no miſchiefe without his remedy, ſo their afflictions and heauines tooke ſome conſolation for the comming of the Duke of *Burbon*, for that the brute went he brought ſome reliefe to the army: and alſo in their miſerie they made this laſt perſwaſion, that for the retrayte of the campe of the confederates, their neceſſities and daungers would ſomwhat diminiſh: And they hoped that the Duke to whom it was ſayde themprour had giuen the Duchy of *Millan*, would for his owne intereſts, and the better to preſerue the reuenues and eſtate of the citie, take order agaynſt ſo licenſious oppreſſions of the Spaniards: This was a naked hope without any ſtaye or fundation, for that they knew by relation of their embaſſadors whō they had ſent to themprour, that there was no further exſpectation of remedy from him, eyther for that by hys farre diſtance he could not apply neceſſary prouiſions for their ſafety, or elſe (which they iudged by many experiences) the compaſſion of the oppreſſions and miſeries of the people was farre colder in him, then his deſire for thintereſts of his eſtate to miniſter to tharmy and maynteine it: To the which becauſe paymentes were not

made in times due, neither his authoritye which was farre of, nor the lawes of his capteines ioyned to their preſence, could not conteine the ſouldiors frō inſolencies and iniuries: Neither did the capteines, to inſinuate & winne the harts of the ſouldiours, & ſharing alſo in the profite of ſo vniuerſall a ſpoyle, labor much to reſtrayne this licence of warre, the rather for that vnder their cōplaintes & excuſes of want of payes, they cloked what ſo euer was done in inſolency & oppreſſion. In ſo much as the chiefeſt within *Millan* aboue the reſidue, aſſembling in one great number, & expreſſing in their face, their attire, and whole apparance, the miſerable eſtate of their contrey, including alſo their own wretched condition: went with many teares & cōplaints to ſeke the duke of *Burbon*, afore whoſe feete that pitifull ſpectacle of Citiſens fell proſtrate, and one of them deliuered the complayntes of their griefe in this ſort:

The inhabitantes of Millan implore the compaſſion of the Duke of Burbon.

Were it not that the heauy oppreſſions of this Citie, for their nature more bitter, and for their time more intollerable then euer raged ouer any city or contrey within the age or memory of men, did not hinder the due offices and humilities which in ſo generall inclination of the whole contrey to haue a prince proper and peculiar, our affections would offer & prefer, your cōming (oh gracious Duke) had bin embraſed with ceremonies & apparances agreable to the gladnes & comfort we receiue in the aſpect of your gracious & honorable preſence: For as to men liuing vnder a cloude of obſcurity & darknes, nothing is ſo ſwete as the deſire of light, and nothing more acceptable thē the vſe & benefit of the ſame: So to the citie of *Millan* ſo long reſtrained vnder the yoke of ſeruitude and oppreſſion, no worldly thing could be offred of more felicity or comfort, thē to behold in your face the effect of our long exſpectation, & to receiue of the hand of thempror, a prince of right noble diſcending, & in whom, in many actions & at ſundry times, we haue experienced your wiſdome, your iuſtice, your vallor, your clemency, & your liberality: But our ſeuere & bitter fortune vnder whoſe lawes we are without all moderation ſubdued, conſtrayneth vs (exſpecting our remedy of none other then of you) to poure out afore you our miſeries, being greater without compariſon then thoſe that any townes taken by aſſalt, did euer endure by the fury, by the ambition, or by the luſt of any tyrants that conquered thē: Which things of themſelues intollerable, are yet made more grieuous to vs by the continual reproches heaped againſt vs, that they are inflicted vpō vs for puniſhmēt of our infidelity to themprour: As though the late tumultes proceded by publike conſent, & not by the incitation of certen yongmen ſedicious, who in their raſhnes drew to their factiō the cōmons, who by their pouerty were aſſured to loſe nothing, & by their nature liue always deſirous of innouation & change: and therefore are a kind & an eſtate of people that with ſo much the more facility are allured to cōmocion, by how much they are cōpounded of humors repleniſhed with errors & vaine perſuaſiōs ſtirring at the appetite of euery thing that moueth thē, euen as the waues of the ſea are caried with euery light vapor or wind that bloweth. And touching the accuſations that are heaped againſt vs, we ſeke not either for our excuſe, or to make leſſe the quality of the crime, to reduce into reckoning the merites of the people of *Millan* frō the greateſt to the hieſt for the ſeruice of thēpror in the yeres before: firſt when the whole citie vnder the memory of their auncient deuotion to the name of thempror, roſe againſt the gouernors & againſt the french king: an experience reaſonably inducing with what property of affection we ſought to introduce the authority & ſupremacy of thempire: Secōdly whē with ſo great cōſtancy we bare out two moſt ſtraite & harde beſiegings, ſubmitting willingly our vittels, houſes and our mony to the cōmodity of the ſouldiors, & with thē cherfully expoſed our perſons to

euery

euery watch and ward to all daungers, and to all actions of warre: An example of
sufficient credit to iustify our faith & loyaltie to the sacred name of themprour: And
thirdly when at the battell of *Bicocque* the inhabitantes of our towne defended with
so braue resolution, the bridge, the onely passage by the whiche the Frenche were
to pearce euen into the bowels of the imperiall army, A confirmation without resi-
stance, that we preferred the defence of themprours cause before the safety of oure
owne liues: Then was our fayth recõmended, then was our valour reputed to vs for
good, & then was our constancy lifted vp to the third heauẽ both by *Prospero Colon-
no*, the Marquis of *Pisquairo*, & by the other capteines: And in these actions we may
truly call vpon the testimony of your excellencye, since beeing present in the warre
which thadmirall *Bonnyuet* made, your eyes saw, your toung cõmended, & your hart
did oftẽ maruell at so great fidelitie, & so assured disposition: But it agreeth not with
our condition to insist vpon the memory of these things, nor to counterpeise merits
with offences, since our misery present offreth to stand agaynst all operations of me-
rits or seruices paste: And if nowe there can be found in the people of *Millan*, any
humor, any vayne, or any inclination of yll affection agaynst themprour, we lay our
selues downe to what penalties shall be determined vpon vs, yea much lesse that we
wil speake in our iustification, seing we wil no lesse willingly submit our necks to the
blocke, then we will hold for iust the sentence that condemneth vs: Onely we loued
not a litle *Frauncis Sforce*, as a prince giuen vnto vs by the Emprour, and as one in
whose father, grandfather, & brother had bin inuested a cõmaundement & gouern-
ment ouer vs: And we could do no lesse then honor him for the peculiar exspectatiõ
that euery one had of his vertue: For which causes it brought no litle griefe vnto vs
to see him so sodenly deuested & dispoiled without information of the cause, yea we
were not certified that he had conspired any thing agaynst themprour, but of the
contrary, both he & others assured vs, that it proceded rather of the ambitiõ of him
that gouerned the army, then of any cõmission from themprour: And yet the whole
city passed an oth of fidelity to thẽprour, & submitted themselues to thobedience of
his capteins: Such was the resolution of the city, such was the vniuersall counsell of
the Magistrates, such was the publike consent of thinhabitants, & such was the for-
wardnes & fidelity of the nobility, whom to persecute thus for falts particular, there
is neither law of reason, iustice, nor exãple: But euen in the very dayes of the tumults
our faith was showed according to the quality of the places that we held, since both
in the beginning of the stir & in the heate & fury therof, we fayled not to labor with
our authority & petitions to make thẽ leaue armes: And in the last day of the tumult
there were none others then we that induced the chieftayns & sedicious youngmen
to go out of the city, & perswaded the cõmons to submit to the obedience of them-
prours capteins: But both the cõmemoration of our actions & merits, & our iusti-
fications agaynst the infamies heaped agaynst vs, might haply be necessary or con-
uenient, if there were any correspondency betwene the punishments we endure, &
the faltes we haue committed, or at least if our afflictions did not farre exceede our
offences: But there is great difference betwene the one and the other, for we may
boldlye saye (and we saye it in our owne trueth) that yf all the calamities, all the
cruelties, all the inhumanities (without speaking for our honour of filthye luste or
violation) which at any tyme within the memorie of men haue bene endured by
any Citie, any people, or any congregation of inhabitantes, were gathered toge-
ther and reduced into one presence, they woulde make but a little parte of those
miseries whiche we wretchedly do suffer, not for a moment, not for an howre,

"not for a daye, but continually and without intermission: seeing that in one in-
"stant we are dispoyled of all our substance, free men liue tormented with bondage,
"our wiues are imprisoned in their houses and kept chayned by the souldiors, who
"with a perpetuall rage runne vpon vs for vittels, for money, for armor, for all their
"wantes, and in their licentiousnes will not be vsed as belongeth to men of warre, but
"as best liketh their insolent fancies: If we be not hable to furnishe them dayly with
"freshe supplyes of money, they dryue vs to seeke to do that which is impossible to
"our estate, and in their crueltie they constrayne vs with threates, with iniuries, with
"beatinges, and with all sortes of outrages: So that there is not one of vs which in-
"terpreteth not to a singular grace and felicitie, to abandon to praye and spoyle all
"our goods, and for the sauing of our wretched lyues, to flee barefoote out of *Mil-*
"*lan*, and for euer to loase the solace of our countrey which for euer hath preserued
"vs tyll this accursed daye. In the tyme of our aunceſtors *Federike Barberoſſo* made
"desolate this Citie, and executed no small cruelties against the inhabitantes, against
"the buyldings, and agaynst the walles: But alas the miseries of that tyme holde no
"comparison with the calamities of vs wretches, not onely for that the tyrannie of
"thenemie is more easie to be endured as beeing more iuste, then the crueltie vn-
"iuste of a friende, but also for that one daye, two dayes, three dayes sufficed to glot
"the wrathe and inhumanitie of the victor, and the punishmentes of the vanqui-
"shed tooke ende: But with vs it is more then a moneth that we haue bene exerci-
"sed vnder these miseries, wherein our tormentes haue increased by so many degrees
"of crueltie, by howe many haue bene the dayes and howres since our persecution,
"yea we endure those crosses which before we would haue thought had bene impos-
"sible to the state of humaine condition, and as men reprobate and damned to eter-
"nall perdition, we suffer without hope to see an ende of our woes. Onely the con-
"fidence we haue resteth in your vertue and clemencie, vppon which we make oure
"implorations, that you would not suffer this Citie lawfully made yours, and com-
"mitted to your protection, to be wholly deuowred with the iawes of Lions and Ty-
"gers: Wherein reclayming vs with that property of piety, besides the perpetuall
"honor of your name to be the onely patron and restorer of this Citie, yet you shall
"settle & establish more in one day your principality with the goodwil and deuotion
"of subiects, then other new princes do in manye yeres with armes and forces: For
"ende, all our petitions, all our humilities, all our oblations, and all our desires tende
"to this, that if for any cause whatsoeuer, your wyll be estraunged to deliuer vs from
"this infinite oppression, or if you stande curious or restrayned by anye inducement
"to remoue from our neckes the yoke of this intollerable seruitude, at least wee be-
"seech you with the deareſt teares of our inwarde hartes and affections, that you will
"turne agaynst vs, and discharge vppon this people, vppon vs all, vppon euery one,
"vppon euery sex and vppon euery age, the furie, the forces, the fyre, and the ar-
"tilleries of your armie: In which action, we wyll conster to a speciall felicitie to
"dye by the stroake of your hande rather at one blowe, then by languishing in our
"present myseries, to dye by degrees more grieuous, then the lyfe and breath that
"is leste vs can suffer: And if you haue no other remedie to comfort vs, your
"pyetie shall bee so muche the more commended to adde the laste ende to oure
"calamities, by howe muche more theyr inhumanitie wyll bee deteſted, who
"seeke to leade vs in a lingringe deathe, and yet wyll not adde the blowe that
"shoulde dispatche vs: Neyther shall it bee lesse easie for vs to ende in this sorte
"our moste wretched lyfe, then suche as loue vs wyll be gladde with this kinde of

our

our death, euen as fathers and parentes are wont to reioyse at the birthe of theyr children.

These words were folowed with the teares and wepings of the whole assistantes, to whom the Duke answered with a chearfull affability, that he was no lesse agreued with their infelicities, then touched with remorse and desire to releue them: which compassion he tolde them he would extende as much as in him lay, not onely vpon the citie, but also ouer the whole Duchy: he excused the insolencies done, that they were not only agaynst the will of themprour, but also contrary to thintention of all the Capteines, whom for that there was no meane to paye the souldiours, necessitie had induced to consent rather to suche outrages, then to abandon *Millan*, and leaue the armie in daunger, and put all thestate which themprour had in *Italy* in manyfest praye to thenemies: He tolde them he had brought with him some quantitie of money, but not sufficient to content the souldiours to whom many payes were due: Neuertheless if the Citie of *Millan* would furnishe him with thirtie thousand duckets for the pay of one moneth, that he would cause the armie to issue out of *Millan* and bestowe them elsewhere, assuring them that though at other times they had bin abused in the like promises, the custome of other men should breede no law in him, for that he would alwayes obserue his fayth and worde, vpon the which they might assuredly reappose themselues, which he confirmed with this last addition, that if he fayled them, he wished his head might be take from his shoulders by the first shot of Cannon from thenemies. But albeit suche a summe, both for the quantitie whiche was great to men already consumed, and for the suddennes wherein was matter of more astonishment to those who were already amazed, was hard to be found in the citie so muche wasted, yet the miseries they endured in lodging the souldiors being greater then all other degrees of calamities, they accepted the cõdition of the duke, and began to make prouision with as great diligence as they could: But their calamities were rather suspended then ended, for that albeit one part of the souldiours amongest whom was imparted ratably the money that was leauyed, were sent to lodge in the suburbes of *Romegate* and the gate of *Tosa*, and there both to garde the rampars, and worke at the fortifications, and also to labour at the trenche towards the garden where *Prospero Colonno* had made one before: yet they retayned still no lesse then the others that abode in the towne, the same lodginges they had, and continued to handle their hostes with the same rudenes: Wherein it seemed the Duke of *Burbon* helde no reckoning of his promise, or at least, as was beleeued, he was not hable to resiste the rage and insolencie of the souldiours, beeing enterteyned and pushed on in that humor by certayne Capteynes, who eyther by wyll, or through ambicion, or for hatred, gaue impedimentes to his counsells. But the miserable people of *Millan* beeing thus depriued of their laste hope, and hauing not where to make their further recourse, fell into suche an estate of dispayre, that some of them, to put ende by dying to so many miseries and cruelties, which they coulde not ouercome by liuing, threw them selues headlong from the toppe of their houses into the streetes, and some dyd wretchedlye hang them selues: And yet notwithstanding all those grieuous spectacles, neyther the rauine, nor rage, nor inhumanitie of the souldiours, coulde bee anye waye appeased. In that tyme also the playne countrey was in poore condition, beeing no lesse ransackte by the souldiours of the Confederates, who as they were receyued at firste wyth a greate ioye and desyre, so not longe after, theyr inhumanities and extorsions had conuerted the first affections of the people into iuste hatreds, A corruption which

generally ranne amongeſt the men of warre of that tyme, who taking example by the Spaniardes, waſted their friendes aſwell as they deſtroyed their enemies: for, notwithſtanding in many chaunges of tymes, the libertie of ſouldiours had bene great in *Italy*, yet it had taken infinite augmentation by the footemen of the Spaniards, though not vppon iuſte cauſe, yet for reaſons neceſſary, for that in all the warres of *Italy* they were alwayes yll payde: So that vnder the cooller of examples, notwithſtanding they had a beginning excuſable, yet they proceeded and continued alwayes from yll to worſe: By whoſe rule, the Italians albeit they had not the ſame neceſſitie, for that their payes were orderly performed, yet making the cuſtome of the Spaniardes a lawe to them, they began not to be inferiour to them in any courſe of enormities: In which corruption, to the great contempt of the diſcipline of warre of that time, the ſouldiors waighed in one ballance both their friends and their enemies, and ſo both peoples and countreys were no leſſe deſolated by ſuche as were payed to defende them, then thoſe that receyued their payes to inuade and ſpoyle them.

About this time the beſieged within the Caſtell of *Millan* were reduced to ſuch ſtraytes for want of vittells, that they were at poynt to render the Caſtell: But becauſe for their longer holding out, certayne of the chiefe confederates enterteined them with hopes to be ſuccoured, they thruſt out in the night at the Caſtell gate which hath his proſpect vpon the trenches that enuironed it without, more then 300. footmen, women, children, & mouthes vnprofitable: Who albeit the enemies that warded at that place hearing the noyſe of their going, gaue the alarme to the reſidue, yet they paſſed away all in ſafety without any impedimēt, finding fauour in the ſtraytnes of the trenches & aide of their pikes. There were two trenches about two ſtones caſt from the Caſtell, & betwene them both a rampar of forty faddomes high: which rampar as it ſerued as a garde agaynſt the Caſtell, ſo alſo it couered ſuch as without would aſſayle the trenches: This miſerable trowpe excluded out of the Caſtell, went to *Marignan* where the army was, and giuing good teſtimony of thextremitie wherein the Caſtell was, and no leſſe experience of the weaknes of the trenches, for that both women and little children founde paſſage thorow them, the Capteines by their relation turned eftſones to deuiſe for the ſuccour of the Caſtell: with whom did readily concurre the Duke of *Vrbin*, to thend he woulde not take vpon him ſelfe alone the burden of thexcuſe which he ſuppoſed would not be nowe ſo eaſie as before, for that his army being nowe poſſeſſed of a ſtrength of fiue thouſande *Svvizzers*, there was cut off the principall cauſe of daunger alleaged to make their approches to *Millan* without other footemen then thItalians: So that it was ſet downe with a full conſent of Counſell, that the armie ſhould directly addreſſe their approches to the Caſtell, and commaunding the Churches of *S. Gregorie* and *S. Angelo* neighbours to the counterskarpes, they ſhould incampe below *Millan*: With which reſolution the armye brake vp from *Marignan*, and for the impedimentes of the wayes being cloyed with hilles & ditches, they marched foure dayes by wayes troubleſome, and the xxij. of Iulye they came to incampe betwene the Abbey of *S. Cæſareo* and the ryuer of *Ambro*, in a place commonly called *Ambro*: In which place the Duke chaunging the firſt direction ſet downe in the councell, gaue order to diſpoſe the lodgings of the army in ſuch ſort, that the front of the campe might haue his proſpect vpon the Abbey of *Cæſareo* which is within a myle of *Millan*, and keeping the ryuer of *Ambro* vpon his backe, it might ſtretche out of the right hande vntill the harbour, and on the lefte hande vntill the bridge:

The armye of the league come before Millan the ſecond time.

So

So that the lodgings of tharmy bare directly betweene the porte of *Renze* and the port of *Toso*, and holding little of the newe gate, it bare a strong situation and disposition, aswell for those regardes as for the nature of the contrey: The Duke alleaged that he had exchaunged the lodging of the Monasteries for that place, both for that it was more neare the Castell, and also not so farre vnderneath the walles as to be put into daunger by any compulsion, and withall for that threatning thenemies in many places, they should be constrayned to bestowe gardes in seuerall quarters, A matter which for their small number, encreased not a little their difficulties. And nowe the armie being incamped in those lodgings, some regimentes were sent out the same day to besiege the towne of *Monceo*, which they tooke by composition, and the day following with artilleries they subdued the Castell, wherein was a garrison of an hundred footemen Neapolitans: There the Capteines began to deuise straytly howe to put vittels within the castell of *Millan*, which they were enformed was reduced to suche a state of necessitie, that there was intention to sende oute *Frauncis Sforce:* And albeit there were amongst them many Capteines, who eyther for that simply suche was their opinion, or else to showe themselues forwarde and valiant in those things which were to be determined with a greater daunger of honor and reputation to others then to them selues, gaue counsell to giue a charge vpon the trenches: yet the Duke seeing into the perill and desperate hazarde of thexployt, would not be agaynst it openly, but obiecting difficulties and temporising with delayes, he hindred that there was made no conclusion: In so muche as the deliberation being referred ouer tyll the next day, the Capteines of the *Svvizzers* demaunded to be introduced into the councell, which neuer tyll then was permitted to them: In which, capteine *Mus*, who for that he had leauyed the greatest parte of them, reteyned amongest them the tytle of capteine generall, alleaged in the behalfe of all his nation: That they maruelled not a litle that the warre beeing begon for the reskew of the Castell of *Millan*, whose necessities redoubled by so muche tyme as it was deferred; they stoode to dispute vaynely whether they should succour it or not, at a tyme when was more necessitie of courage and execution: That he did not doubt that in suche a councell would not be set downe a resolution agreable to the vniuersal safetie of the state of *Millan*, to the honor of so many braue Capteins, and to the reputation of so florishing an armie: In which case he let them to vnderstande that the Capteines and souldiours of his nation would interprete it to their great iniurie and shame, if in the approching and action of the Castell, they were not referred both to that place, and to that parte of the perill, which the fidelitie and honor of their nation did deserue: Lastly he protested that in taking that counsell he would not fayle to reduce them not to keepe so great a memorie of such as with infamie had lost the enterprises begon before, as thereby they should passe into forgetfulnes the glory and fortune of those that had vanquished.

As they stoode vpon consuming of time about these counsels and deliberations, wherein was manifestly discerned that the Duke of *Vrbin* was of opinion that the Castell could not be succouted: Newes came to the campe (though not very certayne) that the Castell had compounded with thImperialls, or at least was vppon the poynt to capitulate: These aduertisementes were easily beleeued of the Duke, who alleaged in the presence of the whole Councell, that though the accorde could not be but preiudiciall to the Duke of *Millan*, yet it was agreable and profitable to the affayres of the league, seeing it tooke them out of the daunger whiche eyther desire or necessitie to releeue the Castell might happly bring vpon the army,

being caryed with raſhe and ſodayne mindes to aduenture to do the thing which in reaſon and experience of warre helde almoſte of impoſſibilitie: In ſo much as that daunger being nowe taken away, they were to beginne of newe to conſult and deliberate vpon the proceedings of the warre in the ſame ſort, as if it were the firſt day of the beginning of the ſame: So litle a thing hapning accidentally doth alter the whole eſtate and reſolution of great affayres. But not many dayes after, the campe was credibly aduertiſed that the compoſition was paſte: For the Duke of *Millan* who ſawe the Caſtell reduced to ſuche an extremitie for vittells that it coulde ſcarcely holde out one daye, and being altogether out of hope to be reskewed, for that he ſawe no aduauncing of the campe of the League who had lyen ſo neare two dayes, was driuen by the conſideration of his owne perill, and not to be founde vnready to enterteine the parley which had bene begon many dayes before with the Duke of *Burbon*, who after the retyring of the army, was ſent to viſite him in the caſtell, and there the xxiiij. of Iuly, they fell to accord in this ſort: That without preiudice to his rightes and intereſtes, he ſhould delyuer vp the caſtell of *Millan* to the Capteines appoynted to receyue it in the Emprours name, who promiſed him to depart in ſafety together with thoſe companies that were with him: That it ſhould be lawfull for him to remayne at *Coma*, which was deliuered to him with the gouernment and reuenues of the ſame towne, vntill they had receyued further direction from the emprour touching his affayres: And that there ſhould bee added ſo muche of other nature of reuenues, as ſhould in the whole amount to thirtie thouſande duckets yerely: That they ſhould giue him ſafeconduit to go in perſon to the Emprour, with obligation to content the ſouldiours that were within the Caſtell for all their payes due and paſt, which were ſuppoſed to amount vnto twenty thouſande duckets: That the Duke of *Millan* ſhould put into the handes of the pronotorie *Caracciolli*, *Iohn Angelo Riccio*, and *Politiano*, to thende he might examine them: Neuertheleſſe *Caracciolli* to giue his fayth to ſuffer them to go away afterwards, and to giue them ſafeconduit to ſome place of ſuretie: That the Duke ſhould deliuer the Biſhop of *Alexandria* who was priſoner within the Caſtell of *Cremona*, and that newe caſtell in *Tortono* ſhould be deliuered to *Sforzino*. In this conuention there was no ſpeeche made of the caſtell of *Cremona*, which being no longer hable to reſiſt the rage of hunger, the Duke had giuen charge to *Iames Phillip Sacco* whom he had ſent to the Duke of *Burbon* to promiſe it to thimperialls, if compoſition coulde not be obteined otherwiſe: But he diſcerning by their words and maner of dealing what deſire they had to accorde, and declaring vnto them that the Duke could neuer paſſe ſuche a matter, obteyned ſo muche that there ſhould be nothing ſpoken of it: for albeit the Capteines imperials had great coniectures that the Caſtell had no great ſtore of vittells, and that the neceſſitie of the defendantes would ere it were long make them ſatisfied of the ende and exſpectation of their intention: yet being deſirous to be aſſured of it, they were determined to accept it vnder any conditions, for that they ſtoode doubtfull whether the army of the league that lay neare, would aduenture to ſuccour it: In which caſe hauing no confidence to be hable to defende the trenches, they had reſolued to iſſue out into the fielde and fight: Which doubtfull euent of fortune they were willing to auoide in accepting what conditions they could obteyne of the Duke, who the day following iſſued out of the Caſtell, and being accompanied with many of thimperiall capteines euen as farre as the barryers and limites of tharmy, he taryed there one day: and afterwards he tooke the way to *Coma*, thimperialls ſtanding vpon this, that they had promiſed to giue him ſafe

The Caſtell of Millan rendred to thimperialls.

retraite

retrayte and lodging within *Coma*, but not to make departe out of the towne their companies of ſouldiors that were there in garriſon: In regarde of which dealing, he ſawe no cauſe to reappoſe further confidence in them, and albeit he had determined before to do nothing that might incenſe or ſtirre vp the minde of themprour, yet for his ſafety he tooke the waye to *Loda*, which Citie the confederates reſtored wholly into his handes, and there, for that there was no one article of the capitulations obſerued to him, ſauing that he & his companies came away in ſafety, he ratified by publike inſtrument, the league made in his name by the Pope and *Venetians*.

But in this time albeit the Pope, who for the commotion of the *Colonnoys*, had publiſhed a Bull agaynſt the Cardinall and all others of the famulie of *Colonno*: yet ſeeing his hope to chaunge the gouernment of *Siena* much diminiſhed, and no leſſe grieuous and troubleſome to him to be vexed and trauelled in the territories of *Rome*: he began with better inclination to open his eares to *Don Hugo de Moncado*, who not with intention to contract with him, but to make him more negligent in aduauncing his prouiſions, made a motion that vnder certayne conditions, the offences ſhould ceaſe agaynſt the *Siennois*, and all quarrels betweene him and the *Colonnois*: And to deale in this negociation, *Veſpaſian Colonno* whom the Pope truſted muche, came to *Rome*, by which occaſion the Pope hauing loſte all hope of ſucceſſe about *Sienna*, and treating to leauye the armie from before the walls, delayed thexecution of that good counſell, exſpecting, to runne into a leſſer ſlaunder, to make it breake vp aſſone as the accorde nowe in negociation ſhoulde be concluded: And yet for the diſorders and confuſions of the army which went encreaſing, it was determined at *Florence* that it ſhould retire: But ſodayne and ſtraunge be the accidents of warre: The day before the army was appoynted to departe, a regiment of foure hundred footemen iſſuing out of the towne, marched towards the artilleries which were garded by *Iames Corſo*, who ſeeing the faces of the ſouldiors comming, ranne away in feare from the place that he had promiſed to defende: By whoſe example together with the noyſe and brute of the accident comming to the armie, the whole armie hauing neyther order nor obedience, tooke to flying, beeing neyther charged nor folowed: In which confuſion of running away, there was ſtriuing who could make beſt ſpeede, and for the deſyre they had to eſcape the daunger whiche their tymerous imaginations ſtirred vp, the deſire to flee was all one in the capteins and the ſouldiors, and in the horſemen and the footemen, nothing being hable to aſſure them, in whoſe eares the noyſe of feare did continually ring: They left to the enemies their vittels, their baggage, and artilleries, of which ten peeces great and ſmall belonging to the *Florentins*, and ſeuen apperteyning to *Perouſa*, were caryed into *Sienna* with no little gladnes tending almoſte to a triumph: By the example of this accident, the people began with great ſhowting and cryes, to renewe the infamies deſerued by the *Florentins* in the like caſe, loaſing long time before euen afore the wals of *Sienna*, their artilleries which were garded vpon the publike place of the ſame city. This chaſe was giuen the day after the rendring of the caſtell of *Millan* to the Imperials: At which time alſo the publike calamities of all Chriſtendome being added to afflictions particular, the Pope had aduertiſement out of *Hungary*, that *Solyman Ottoman* who was come from *Conſtantinople* with a mighty army to inuade the kingdome of *Hungary*, hauing paſſed the ryuer of *Sauo* without impediment, by the commoditie of *Belgrado* which he had ſubdued fewe yeares before: had taken the Caſtell of *Peter Varradin* and paſſed the ryuer of *Drauo*: in ſo muche as hauing no impediment of mountaynes or ryuers, the rage of the Turke was like to reduce

Soliman Ottoman in Hungria.

the whole kingdome of *Hungary* into manyfeſt daunger.

Nowe for as muche as the Caſtell of *Millan* was falne into the handes of themprour, it ſeemed that in *Italye* the ſtate of the warre was wonderfully chaunged: Wherein the Duke of *Vrbin* tooke his reaſon vppon neceſſitie to take newe counſelles, ſuche as they ſhoulde haue ſet downe and taken if from the beginning of the warre the Caſtell of *Millan* had not beene in the handes of *Frauncis Sforce:* And in that regarde the ſame day the Caſtell was rendred, amplifying a diſcourſe which he made to the Popes lieftenant and treaſorer of *Venice* touching the eſtate of affayres, he added that it was neceſſary to create a Capteine generall ouer the whole league to take charge and commaunde all the armies: Wherein he ſayd he ioyned with himſelfe the intereſtes and reſpects of others, beeing determined for his owne particular without that authority, not to intangle him ſelfe with care of any other thing then to commaunde ouer the *Venetian* army, A reſolution which he prayed them to ſignifie to the Pope and *Venetians:* Wherupon the Senat agreed, the rather to remoue him from that demaund which was made in a time ſo inconuenient & ſo greatly diſcontenting the Pope, to ſende to the campe *Lovvis Piſan* a gentleman of great authority, by whoſe working his vehement inclination was rather moderated, then his determination altered. But touching the maner of proceding in the warre hereafter, it was determined that the armie ſhoulde not remoue from the place where it was, tyll the *Svvizzers* were come, who were waged vnder the name and with the money of the Frenche king: The Duke of *Vrbin* thought it neceſſarye after they were come, to lye about *Millan* in two ſeuerall quarters, not to aſſayle it or proue to force it, but to holde it languiſhing tyll for want of vittelles it were dryuen to yeelde, whiche he hoped would come to paſſe within three monethes: He was with great vehemencie agaynſt thopinion of thoſe who counſelled that after the campe was ſetled they ſhould aduenture to take the towne, wherein he inferred that the League beeing mightie in men and money, and the Imperialles in neceſſitie of both, all reaſons and inducementes of warre promiſed the victorie of thenterpriſe: He ſayde there was not one argument for the whiche the contrarie ought to be feared, but the deſire to aduaunce the victorie, for that thennemies conſuming them ſelues with tyme and patience, there was nothing to ſtoppe the good courſe and ſucceſſe of things. He was aunſwered, that the diſcourſe he made was ſtrong and credible, if he ſtoode aſſured that there woulde not come out of *Germanie* a newe ſuccour of footemen, whiche if it were ſuche as to enhable thimperialls to take the fielde, there was no doubte that the euent of the whole warre woulde not be expoſed to the arbitrement of fortune. But he replyed that euen in that caſe he made no leſſe accompt of the victorie, for that knowing the Duke of *Vrbin* to be of nature burning and actiue, he made this iudgement of him, that when ſo euer he eſteemed him ſelfe to be equall in forces with the armie of the confederates, he would aduaunce ſo faſte as by his raſhneſſe woulde ryſe occaſion of ſome good accident to haſten the victorie: But becauſe for the difficulties whiche they vnderſtoode fell out in leauying them, they feared they woulde drawe a long tract of time in comming which might bring daunger: it was determined by the counſell of the Duke of *Vrbin* and ſolicitation of the Duke of *Millan*, to ſende out *Malateſta Baillon* with an armie of three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horſmen, and fiue thouſande footmen, to take the towne of *Cremona*, which they ſuppoſed might be eaſily forced for that it conteyned not but an hundred men at armes, two hundred light horſemen, a thouſande launceknightes of choyſe, and three hundred

dred Spaniards, verye ſmall ſtore of artilleries, leſſe quantitie of munitions, and a ſlender prouiſion of vittells: the inhabitantes notwithſtanding they were appalled in courage, yet they were enemies to thimperialls: and the Caſtell no leſſe hatefull to the name of themprour: And albeit the Caſtell was ſeperate from the Citie by a trenche, yet by the reapport of *Anniball Picciánard* who was capteine, it was eaſie to ſupplant the flankes, and by that meane to cary it without daunger: With theſe directions and counſells *Malateſta* went to *Cremona*, for whoſe departure the army beeing diminiſhed, the Duke of *Vrbin* fell into no ſmall feare, leaſt the regimentes that were within *Millan* ſhould giue them in the night a Canuiſeado in their lodgings, ſo farre were things remoued from all hope of the victorie: Neuertheles *Iohn de Medicis* prouoked many skirmiſhes and performed them, wherein notwithſtanding he made many good impreſſions of his vallour, with no leſſe declaration of the vertue of thItalian footemen whiche had not bene ſeene but ſithence he had the charge of them: yet thoſe skirmiſhes did rather hurt then helpe the ſubſtance of the warre, for that ordinarily they conſumed ſome of the moſte braue and beſt experienced ſouldiors.

Here is to be noted that for theſe aduerſities and contrarie euentes of affayres, the Pope was growne into a marueilous diſcourage and appalement of minde, both for that he was not prouided of money to furniſhe the long trayne of the warre which he nowe diſcerned, and alſo not diſpoſed to make leauyes of treaſors by ſuch meanes as thimportance of the affayres required, and ſuche as other Popes affore him had wont to vſe to releeue thoſe wants: But the thing that troubled him moſt, was, that he ſawe not that the effects of the French king were correſpondent to the obligations of the league, and to the aſſurance and promiſe which euery one made of him: for, beſides he was long before he would make payment of the xl. thouſand duckets for the firſt moneths pay, and giue order for the leauying of the *Svvizzers*, yet there was not diſcerned in him any preparation to begin the warre beyonde the Mountes: No rather he found reaſons to alleage, that it was firſt neceſſary to ſignifie to themprour what had bene contracted in the articles of the confederation, for that otherwiſe the king of *England* who had a particular league with themprour for their common defence, might happly miniſter ayde vnto him, where, if ſignification were made, that regarde and conieƈture would ceaſe: and that then he woulde immediatly beginne the warre, hoping the king of *England* would do the like, who promiſed aſſone as ſignification were made, to proteſt agaynſt themprour, and then to enter into the confederation made at *Coignar*. Moreouer the French king proceded coldly to prepare his army by ſea, And the thing that diſcouered more his intention was, that the fiue hundred launces whiche he was bound to ſende into *Italy*, were long in paſſing the Mountes: Agaynſt which albeit was alleaged, that ſuche a traƈt and lingring proceeded eyther of the negligence of the French men which is natural to that nation, or of the diſhabilitie to recouer money which hapned by the loſſe of credite the laſte yeares with the Marchantes of *Lyon*, or for that the companies of men at armes were in very yll poynt, for their loſſes receyued in the battell of *Pauia*, and had not bene repayred with any money ſince: ſo that they could not reorder and refurniſh themſelues, but with the fauor of a good time: Yet ſuch as made a more neare obſeruation of things, began to doubt by the procedings of the frēch, leaſt to the king was more agreable the lingring of the warre, then thexpedition of the victorie: They ſuppoſed he feared (according to the ſmall fidelity & confidence amongſt princes in thoſe times) that thItalians recouering once the duchy of *Millan*

and by that meane making ſmall accompt of his intereſtes, would eyther growe to accord without him with themprour, or at leaſt would be negligent ſo to vexe and trauell him, as not to induce or compell him to reſtore his children. But the matter that moſt kept the Pope in ſuſpence, was, that the king of *England* being required to enter the confederation that was made by his perſwaſions & ſetting on, and expreſſing now no correſpondency of reaſons and promiſes which he had made before: made a demaund, more to protract and defer then for other occaſion, that the confederats would be boũd to ſatisfie him of the mony which the Emprour ought him, and that the eſtate and reuenues promiſed to him in the kingdome of *Naples*, might by aſſignation be payde out of the duchy of *Millan*. Moreouer the Pope feared leaſt the famuly of the *Colonnois* who with many cõmotions held him in continuall ſuſpicion, would not in the end riſe to inuade him with the forces of the realm of *Naples*: So that making a collection and conſideration of all theſe difficulties and daungers together, he made vehement inſtance to the cõfederats, that notwithſtanding euery one in particular ſhould ſolicite & aduaunce ſuch prouiſions both by ſea and lande, as they were bound vnto by the articles of the league, yet he perſwaded them in generall to make a common inuaſion vpon the kingdome of *Naples* with an army of a thouſand light horſmen, twelue thouſand footmen, & a conuenient number of men at armes: He tooke his reaſon of this deuiſe vpon the experience of things done tyll that day, & iudged that afterwards there would ſuccede no better iſſue, if they vexed not themprour with warre in other places then in the duchy of *Millan*: And for the better aduauncing of this expedition he diſpatched to the french king *Iohn Baptiſta Sanga* a Romaine and one of his ſecretories, both to pul him on with a better inclination to the warre, and to impart with him the eſtate of his wantes and pouertie of money, together with the ſmall meanes he had to goe on with ſo heauy a burden of exſpences, if he were not eaſed with ſome quantity of money from him: That he was determined to harken preſently to the warre of *Naples* notwithſtanding the articles of the confederation bare not to do any action vpon that kingdome ſo long as the warre ſhould endure in *Lombardy*: That the *Venetians* notwithſtanding to auoyde ſo great exſpences, had made difficulty in the beginning, yet being caried with his importunities, they had conſented to be concurrant in the action, and that without the french king, but with ſo much leſſe numbers of men as imported his part and contribution: That the french king for that cauſe ouer & beſides the 500. launces, to whõ he was minded to giue for generall and commaunder, the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, more for the fortune and felicity, then for the vallour and vertue of the man, as he ſayde: would alſo ſend an other proportion of 300. launces into *Lombardy*, to thend to adminiſter one part of them to the warres of *Naples*: That he would ſolicit the cõming on of the army by ſea, & that either to hold *Genes* ſhort & reſtrayned with it, or elſe to conuert it againſt the kingdome of *Naples*: Which army albeit the frẽch mẽ led on with as ſlow aduauncementes as they vſed in the other prouiſions, yet it went on ſtill in forwardnes: The kings nauy conteined 4. gallions & 16. light gallies, the *Venetians* conteined 13. gallies, and the Popes 11. Ouer all which Nauy reduced into one Admiralty, *Peter Nauarre* was appointed Capteine general at the kings inſtãce, notwithſtãding the Pope could hane wiſhed that dignity to haue bin transferred to *Andrea Dore*: Beſides all theſe inſtructions and commiſſions, the Pope gaue a ſecret charge to *Sanga*, to perſwade the french king to vndertake the enterpriſe of *Millan* for himſelf, to thend to intangle him with that occaſion, & to imbarke him into the warre with all his forces. Moreouer *Sanga* was enioyned to go out of *Fraunce* to the king

The Pope moueth the confederates to inuade the realme of Naples.

king of *England*, to demaund succours of money, seeing the king of that Realme desiring greatly in the beginning the warre against the Emprour, so farre forth as the league were negociated in *England* according to his desire & the Cardinals of *Yorke*, would enter the league as was beleued: But the nature of the time, and necessitie of the castel of *Myllan* not suffring a long treaty or conference, when he saw the league was made by others, he thought he might hold the ballance and stand as a looker on and a iudge. The Pope also solicited both at the perswasions of the *Venetians*, and at the request of the French king who had sent to that end, the Bishop of *Bayeux* to *Ferrara*, to haue composed the controuersies that were betwene him & that Duke: But he handled that action more in apparance then in effect, making vnto him many offers, and amongest others to giue him *Rauenna* in counterchaunge of *Modena* and *Reggia*: A couerture or culler which the Duke made no reckoning of, not onely for that by taking a new hart for the retyring of the army from before the walls of *Myllan*, he was more hardly then before drawne to like of the offers that were made, and chiefly that of *Rauenna*: but also for the great difference and inequalitie of the reuenues, And that he tooke it to be a meane to driue him with time into contencion with the *Venetians*.

These were the practises, preparacions, and operacions of the confederats, deferred, broken of, and chaunged, according to the endes and according to the councels of the Princes that managed them.

Prouisions of the Emprour against the confederats.

But th Emprour whose deliberacions depended wholly of him selfe, was neyther negligent nor irresolute so farre forth as his power and forces stretched: for, after the Frenche king, at the instance of the confederats, had denyed to the *Viceroy*, leaue to passe into *Italy* which he demaunded with great affection, The *Viceroy* refusing to take the kinges present which was supposed to be in value twenty thowsande crownes, departed and tooke his waye into *Spayne*, bearing with him a writing written with the kings hande, wherein he protested a readines to obserue the accord of *Madrill* so farre forth as he woulde conuert the restitucion of *Burgonguie* into an exchaunge and payment of two myllions of crownes: By whose relacion th Emprour, seeing nowe no further hope of obseruacion in the king, determined to sende by sea into *Italy*, the *Viceroy* with the launceknights that were in *Parpignan* beeing almost three thowsande, with the like number of Spanish footemen, conteyning in all a number of six thowsande: he gaue order also to sende a newe supplye of an hundred thowsande duckats to *Myllan*, And albeit he solicited the expedicion of the armye by sea, yet it coulde not be ready with speede according to his exspectacion, for that besides the tyme to mooster and assemble the Spanish souldiers, there was necessitie to paye the launceknightes an hundred thowsande duckatts due vppon their wages past: furthermore he addressed continuall directions into *Germanye* to sende to *Myllan* newe succours of footemen, but bothe for that he gaue no order for their payes, and also for the dishabilitie of his brother to leauye money, that expedicion proceeded slowely: And yet by the delayes and yll succesſe and yssue of the confederats, no sorte of temporising nor slowenes coulde bee hurtefull: for *Malatesta Baillon*, beeing come before *Cremona*, planted his artilleries by nyght of the seuenth of August before the gate of *La Mussa*, iudging that place to bee weake for that it was yll flanked and worsse rampared: And for that he thought at the same tyme to giue thassault on the castell side, he supposed it best to make his batterye in a place farre of, to thende to constrayne the defendants to deuide their strength into sundrye

places: Neuertheleſſe after his artilleries had executed, he founde the place ſtrong and forteſied with rampars, and the wall which he battered ſo highe of earth, that the diſcent into the towne woulde be too troubleſome: The ſame beeing the cauſe that he woulde not giue thaſſault, but with a councell quite contrary, he determined to beginne a newe battrie neare the caſtell in a place called *Santa Monaca* which aforetyme had beene battred by *Federyk Boſſolo*: And at the ſame tyme he cauſed to cutte two trenches vppon the caſtell greene, of which one of them drewe on the right hande towardes the riuer of *Pavo*, where the defendants of the caſtell had made two trenches: he hoped by the commoditie of his trenche, to take from them a baſtyllion neate to the which there was ſouldiers already arriued, And which baſtyllion was in their firſt trench neare the wall of the towne: if he wonne it, he layed his plotte to ſerue his turne by the benefitte of it, and to make it a Caualier, or Mount to batter alonge the walls which the French men at other tymes had battred: for which cauſe the Imperialls made an other baſtyllion behinde their hyndmoſt trenche: The other trench which *Malateſta* caſt, was on the left hande towardes the wall, and ſo neare to theirs that they ioyned within the caſting of ſtones: he determined to beginne his batterie aſſoone as the trenches were made according to his deuiſe, to the which thartilleries of the ennemies gaue no great impediment, for that within *Cremona* were but foure falconnets, which they applyed but ſeldome by reaſon of their neceſſitie of municions and powder: yet the ſouldiers that were footemen within, ceaſſed not to make ſallyes out and vexe thoſe that labored at the trenches, whome they oftentymes put to greate diſtreſſe notwithſtanding they had a greate garde: By reaſon of which impediments increaſing with other difficulties and daungers, *Malateſta* who was vncertaine what to doe, confounded with litle prayſe to him ſelfe by diuerſe iudgements and letters, all the Capteines of the armye, who finding the action of *Cremona* to multiply in difficulties, ſent to his campe a regiment of twelue hundred launceknights newely leauyed by the *Venetians* at a ioynt charge and exſpenſes with the Pope: And not many dayes after, to thende to reconcile the diſcorde and ielouſie growne betweene *Malateſta* and *Filius Manfron*, The Treaſorer *Pezero* who after a greate reconciliacion was nowe become more agreeable to the Duke of *Vrbin*, went alſo to his campe with a ſtrength of three thowſand footemen: But *Malateſta* continued his batteries, and the night before the thirteenth of Auguſt, he planted foure peeces of artilleries betweene *Saint Lukes* gate and the caſtell, to take a baſtyllion, where, after he had executed almoſt all the daye, he made an opening or breache into the trench, hoping to cary the baſtyllion the ſame night: But about foure howers within night there yſſued out of the towne a ſmall crewe of launceknights who gaue a charge vppon thoſe that garded the trenches conteyning both within and without more then a thowſande footemen, And after they had put them in diſorder they forced the garde to abandon the charge: Neuertheleſſe they were compelled the daye after to goe away, ſo that the trench that had beene made with ſo greate payne and induſtrie, remeyned abandoned, aſwell on the one parte as on the other: But amyd theſe actions it ſeemed fortune woulde playe a parte offering to be fauorable to thoſe without, if they coulde haue knowen howe to diſcerne or to take the occaſion: for, as in the night of the fouretenth daye, about fortye faddome of wall fell of it ſelfe, betweene *Saint Lukes* gate and the caſtell, wherein was deuowred and loſte one peece of their artilleries in the ruines: So, if they had taken the aduauntage of this accident and followed on with thaſſault aſſoone as the daye had

had appeared, The defendants whose feare was redoubled with the astonishment of a chaunce so sodaine and vnlooked for, would haue had no hope at all to resist or repulse them, for that the place which they shoulde haue occupied with defence, layed open and discouered to thartilleries of the castell: But as there is nothinge more suttle then occasion, which beeing taken and applyed draweth with it good yssue, but being neglected or foreslowed slydeth away as a vapour leauing men abused with their propper errour: So, whileſt *Malatesta* stoode longe before he could resolue, and then lost tyme ere he could raunge his souldiers to goe to thassault, the benefit of this occasion was taken away by the industrie of the defendants, who labored with extreme diligence within, they first sought to couer them selues with risings and hills cast vppe with the labor of their handes, against the artillerie of the castell, and afterwardes they ramparde them selues in the front of thennemies: So that when the assalt came to be presented beeing then well of the day, albeit the moste parte of the campe were conuerted to that side, yet for that they went all discouered and open they made their approches with their great harmes: And beeing approched, besides the other defences wherein they found perill, they were wonderfully vexed with stones which the defendants within cast downe vppon them: By which manner of execucion *Iulius Manfron* and Captaine *Maron*, were slayne vppon the place together with many other souldiers of condicion: At the same time there was an other assault giuen by the castell, but that was repulsed with a very small domage: it was appoynted also that at the batterie made at *Santa Monaca*, should be performed an other assalt with foure score men at armes, an hundred light horsemen, & a thowsand footemen: But by the impediment of the ditch which was full of water, and the disauauntage of the place beeing well fortefied, the souldiers retyred without doing any thing: After this arriued at the campe, the treasorer *Pezero* with three thowsande footemen *Italians*, and more then a thowsande *Svvyzzers* together with a new coplemēt of artilleries: By which supply the campe being now aboue eight thowsand footemen, the Capteines thought to make two batteries following on with thassalt to either of them with three thowsand footemē, and with the other two thowsand to assaile the part towards the castell: And *Pezero* bringing with him to the campe a great quantitie of pyoners, they labored with greate industrie all the trenches, of the which one beeing finished the xxiij. of August, they wonne after longe fight to couer by their vallour a flanke of thennemies: Afterwardes the night of the fiue and twentye daye, they made two batteries, the one (of the which *Malatesta* had charge) beyonde that place which *Federyk* had executed afforetyme: the other at *Mussegate* managed by *Camylla Vrsin*: But the succesſe both at the one and the other was very slender, for that the place where *Malatesta* braked his artilleries by reason it was maresh, gaue no firme groūd to the artilleries for that in sinking at the breache by the softnes of the place, they mounted at the mettall or mouth of the peece, & shot ouer: And touching the battry of *Camylla*, both it was low which hindred the execucion, & in the action of thassalt the souldiers found impediment in a ditch which was ful of water, together with so many final shot beating in flanke, that their vallour could not make them a way to passe further: So that albeit for all these difficulties they gaue thassalt & receiued in that place the greatest harmes, And albeit on *Malatesta* side the footemē went vp to the wal passing a ditch wherein the water was deeper then was looked for, yet by the vertue of the defendants applied to the aduaūtages of places, they were easily & readily repulsed: Moreouer on the castel side one part of the caualier being reuersed &

put down, the footemen mounted vpon it: But for that the discent withinwards was too high, the souldiers that were come to the assalt from all parts in no good order, were put backe, some ronning on in their rashnes till they were slayne, & some with a more fauorable infelicitie bare away the rewardes of their enterprise in woundes and maymes of their bodies, and with very litle hurt of their enemies. These disorders together with the priuacion of hope to take *Cremona*, ioyned to the want of gouernment and obedience of the campe, called the Duke of *Vrbin* to goe thether in person, who drewe out of the armie that laye before *Myllan*, almost all the Venetian footemen, And left there one part of the men at armes with all the regiments of the Church, together with the *Svvyzzers* who nowe might conteine a number of xiij thowsand: And now, that there remeyned in the army a lesse number of men, which being disfurnished of a generall or Commaunder of such authoritie, he despised the same daunger which he seemed alwayes before, to feare when there were greater forces: And lastly assuring that it was not the custome of men of warre, but chiefly of the Spanyards, to inuade other men of warre in their strength or campe: he went from the armye to *Cremona*, laying this plot, not to cary it with the onely force of batteries and assalts, for that the rampars of thennemies were too stronge, But by seeking with the industrie of so many pyonners to approache their trenches and bastyllions, and to make them selues Maisters of them more by the benefit of vndermyning, then through the vertue of armes: There were many of the Captaines that reprehended him in many thinges touching the gouernment of that enterprise against the state of *Myllan*, but chiefly they reproched the retraite & breaking vp from before the wals of *Myllan*: But most of all did they chalenge him of indiscression, for that from the beginning he had attempted to cary *Cremona* with very smal forces, trusting more in his vanitie and fancy then by the rule of experience or reason, to accomplish thaction with great facilitie: Wherein also the difficulties of thenterprise stil redoubling & discouering, he had embarked such a part of the army, as farre greater occasions falling out whileſt he consumed the time there, were hindred & lost by following that seruice: for, seeing now the full numbers of *Svvyzzers* were come to the campe, both so many as was necessary, & no fewer then was loked for, he might, by enuyroning *Myllan* with two armies according to the first resolucion, cut of that great reasort & traffike of vittels which cõtinually had passage thether by the way of *Pauia*, which the single army that laye at *Amber* could not restraine for the great circuit of place & waies to be made: But the matter of greateſt importãce, was, to lose the occasion that happly was offred to force *Myllan*: The rather for that the bands of souldiers that were within, were so weakned by sicknes & diseases, that the bodies most sownd & free being scarcely able to enterteine the ordinary watche & ward with other necessary factions of warre, the Imperialls them selues gaue this iudgement of their owne estate, that if they had bene inuaded in that aduersitie and weaknes, their daũger had bene greater thẽ their vallour could haue defended it: But amid these good offers to the confederats no lesse certein & great was the occasion giuen to take *Genes*: for that as the *Venetian* nauy was ioyned with the Popes at *Ciuita vecchia*, & afterwards staied in the port of *Lyuorne* to tary for the french, which with xvj gallies, iiij gallions, & iiij other vessels was falne into the riuer of *Ponent*, had gottẽ by the consent of thinhabitants, *Sauona* & all the riuer of *Ponent*: So that army by sea after they had taken many ships loden with gaine going to *Genes*, passed away to *Lyuorne* to knit & ioyne with the residue: Besides, it was also determined, that at the cõmon exspenses of the confederats, there should be armed in the port of *Marseilles* xij

great

great shippes, to thende that with the French gallies and by the direction of *Peter* of *Nauarre*, to meete with the nauie that was prepared in the port of *Cartage*, or at least to encownter them at sea: Where the three fleetes making sayle together, the nauie Eccleſiastike and Venetian stayed at *Porto fino*, and the French fleete returned to *Sauona*, And from those places skowring all the seas without resistance, they restrayned *Genes* so straight where was want of vittells, that if they had sent vppe a certeine strength of souldiers by lande to cut from them that onely refuge, there was no doubt that the towne of *Genes* would not haue come to composicion: The Capteines of the sayd nauies desired no other thing both by letters and Messengers expresse, demaunding at least that there might be set foure thowsand men on lande: But there could be no souldiers drawne from the campe that laye before *Cremona:* And the Duke of *Vrbin* with others holding it too great a daunger to diminish the armie that laye before *Myllan*, they enterteyned the demaundes of the sea Capteines with hope, that assoone as thenterprise of *Cremona* were ended, there should be sent to them a sufficient strength of souldiers according to their desire.

But thenterprise of *Cremona* aswell for the vertue of the defendants, as for that the great workings of pyoners draw a long time, proceeded euery day with greater delayes and temporising then was looked for: for, the Duke who would needes haue at the campe two thowsand pyoners, a great quantitie of municions, and no lesse store of all sortes of instruments, made a continuall working at the trenches of the castell and at the bastillion towards *Pavv*, both to winne that and to serue his turne of the Caualier, notwithstanding that thenemies doubting of his intencion, were retyred many daies before hauing made a strong rampart behind it: he drewe a worke also at the two heads of the trenches which went ouerthwart the castell greene, the better to beate the Caualiers which the enemies had made there: And betwene the two trenches of the campe, he cast an other trenche of six faddom broad, prouiding that during the labor of the pyoners they should be couered with earth and other matter for their defense both on front & in flanke: The reason of this worke was, to make a caualier at such time as they should be come to the ditch of thenemies trēch: Moreouer he caused to cast a ditche without the castell towards the towne wall, the better to haue way to the bastillion towards the wall that was ruinat: he made an other trenche at *Saint Lukes* gate drawing euen vp to the wall: And by the commoditie of these labors and workings, he ceassed not with thartilleries planted within the castell, to execute vppon the ramparts of thennemies, which for the alteracion of the earth much vsed and loossened, did easily dampe and moderate the shot of thartilleries: On the other side the defendants within, lost no tyme: for, distrusting to be longe able to keepe trenches and caualyers, they made a ditche towards the houses of the towne, and yet made many braue yssues and sallyes and with great courage charged vppon the workes of thennemies: Insomuch as the night beforē the seuenth day, they set vppon in three places those trenches which thennemies cast vppon the side of the castell: where finding sleeping in their securitie the bands of footemen that were set to garde them, they slue more then a hundred together with certeine Capteines, and followed the charge euen vppe to the rauelyn before the castell: Neuertheless notwithstanding their vallour, which in those extremities laye not idle, and notwithstanding their industry and perpetuall working at rampars and trenches, yet they were more and more reduced into straight tearmes, and their affayres declining by swift degrees to dominucion: for, the Duke hauing made way with his trenches euen to their ramparts which seperated the castel from the towne,

went on vexing them with certeine trowpes of ſhot & other ſouldiers couered with their targets, by whom they receiued great harmes, as alſo by the artilleries from the towers of the caſtell: By reaſon of theſe harmes th Imperialls, not to giue fauor to thennemies by any of their labors, burned their rampar which they made at the *Caualier* to thend it ſhould not ſerue for a parapet to thoſe that were without: And about the neenetenth daye two trenches of theirs within their ditches, being beaten open & flat, they retired within the other trenches, of which the Duke of *Vrbin* made ſmall accompt, both for that for the ſhortnes of time they could not be well forteſied, And alſo by their retyring more at large and abroad, there muſt be neceſſarily a greater gard to defend them. But notwithſtanding all theſe works were managed to a good end and yſſue, yet the procedings of the campe were but ſlow for the neceſſitie to reorder & renew the regiment of the *Venetian* footemen who had bene long time without paye, for which cauſe they were greatly diminiſhed in numbers, as alwayes in the affayres of the confederats one diſorder hapned vpon an other: And as th Imperialls partly to apply to their aduauntage the diſorders of the campe, & partly to follow the fauor of other occaſions, did make many ſallies by night to proue & prouoke the trenches, So all their vallour and labor was in vaine, for that their ennemies were nowe made wiſe by thexperience of the harmes they had receiued there before: Inſomuch as at laſt, the Duke of *Vrbin* hauing now got a ſufficient ſtrength of footemen, began the xxij day to make a violent battery vppon a tower which afforetymes had bene battred by *Federyk*, where after he had executed certeine ſhot of cannon, he found thennemies reduced to ſuch termes of weakenes, as they could not refuſe to compownd: In which opinion he ſent out a trompet to ſummon them to render the towne, with whome came forth a Capteine launceknight, and a Spaniſh Capteine together with *Guido Vaino*: The day following the capitulacion went betwene them and the Duke, that if they were not ſuccored by the ende of the moneth, they ſhould depart out of *Cremona*: That it ſhould be permitted to the launceknights to goe into *Germany* and the Spanyards to the Realme of *Naples*: That in foure moneths they ſhould not beare armes for the defence of the ſtate of *Myllan*: That they ſhould leaue all their artilleries and municions, And goe out with their enſeignes folded vp and without ſownd of dromme or trompet other then at ſuch time as they leauied and brake vp.

Cremona rendred to the confederats.

A litle after this time there was ſent to remeyne in the French Court as Legat, Cardinall *Saluiatio* who was departed out of *Spayne* with the leaue of th Emprour: And in this meane while the French king had aunſwered to the requeſts that were made to him by the Pope: Wherein he excuſed him ſelfe by his great want and neceſſitie of money, that his doings and actions were not correſpondent to his will and affection: But if he might haue a permiſſion to leauy throughout all his realme, a tenth of the reuenues of benefices, he would releeue him with twenty thowſand duckats monthly of that collection, and would be alſo concurrant with him in the warres of *Naples*: he refuſed to harken to the conqueſt of the Duchie of *Myllan* for him ſelfe, from the which his mother and *Monſr Lavvtrech* did chiefly drawe him, notwithſtanding he had declared from the beginning, a good inclinaciō that way: he gaue him hope that he would goe on with the warre beyond the Mounts, But he alleaged that it was neceſſary thintimacion proceeded, which being done, he offered to beginne the warre vppon *Flaunders* ſide and *Parpignan*: And yet it was diſcerned that he had no diſpoſicion to it, his intencion therein being nothing different from the will of the king of *England*, with whome thexpedicion ſent by the Pope, ſerued

to

to no purpose, for that the Cardinall of *Yorke*, whose humor was to enterteine euerie one, and be sued vnto of all men, would giue no resolucion: Only the king and the Cardinall made oftentimes this aunswere, The affaires of *Italie* apperteine nothing to vs.

At this time the confederats fearing least the *Grisons*, who, during the seege of the castell of *Millan*, had reconquered and rased *Chiauana*, woulde enter into the pay of the Duke of *Burbon*, or at least woulde suffer the launceknightes whome he exspected for succours, to passe thorowe their contrie: The Pope and *Venetians* bounde them selues to take into their pay, two thowsand footemen of the *Grisons*, and to pay to Captaine *Mus* fiue thowsande fiue hundred duckats, which they had promised to him more by force then by frendship: This Capteine *Mus* was fled from the campe fearing the Duke of *Millan* who was then come to tharmie, and afterwards pretending that there was money owing to him for the payes of the *Svvizzers*, he deteined prisoners two Embassadors of the *Venetians* who had bene sent into *Fraunce*: The obligacions of the Pope & *Venetians* stretched also to deliuer them of the new taxes impосed vpon such as traffiked in nauigacion vpon the lake of *Coma*. And touching the *Grisons*, they bound themselues to stop the passage of the launceknightes, and wrought so as *Tegane* their Capteine who had compounded with the Duke of *Burbon* to serue him with two thowsande footemen, aduaunced not. In the meane while the affaires of *Italie* proceeded coldly: for, the armie that was before *Millan*, wherein was greatly diminished the numbers of such *Svvizzers* as were not payed, lay with an idle campe without doing any other action then enterchaunge of light skirmishes according to custome: But an other humor raigned in the Spaniards that lay within *Carpy*, who forbare not to do the worst they could, & being secretly aduertised by their espialls, (taking withall the commodity to withdraw themselues vpon the lands of the Duke of *Ferrara*) they gaue many impediments to the Corriers and other persons going to tharmie: In which libertie running ouer all the contrie therabouts euen vpon the confines of the *Bolonnois* and *Mantuans*, they committed very many insolencies & harmes, but not to any others then the subiects of the Church. At last the Marquis of *Salussa* passed the mounts with fiue hundred french launces, by reason of whose comming, *Fabricio Maramo* who battered the towne of *Valence* and lay incamped before it, (*Iohn Biraguo* lying there in garrison) retyred him selfe to *Bassignan*: But the Marquis refused to passe further onlesse a regiment of foure thowsand footemen whom he had led out of *Fraunce* for that intencion, were payed by the confederats by equall porcion: which in the end by necessitie was consented vnto, the rather for the instance and importunitie of the king, who solicited it vehemently for the surety of his men at armes, and to raise into greater degrees the reputacion of the Marquis.

In this time *Synybald Fiesque* made him selfe Lorde of the towne of *Pontriemoli*, which *Sforzino* helde, but it was eftsoones recouered with the same facilitie, by the meane of the castell: within *Millan* was great want of money, since both there was none receiued from th Emperour, and thinhabitantes within were so impouerished by their intollerable defrayments, that skarcely could they furnish the thirtie thowsand duckats promised to the Duke of *Burbon*: who had receiued into his pay *Galeaz Birague* and *Lodovvike Belioyeuse* who till that day had alwayes followed the frenche parte: The reason was, for that the confederates could not accept them for the intollerable burdens of charges which they susteyned. About this time *Iohn Biraguo* got *Nony*.

During theſe ſtirres the ſtate of the Marquis of *Mantua* ſtoode almoſt indifferent and common to all ſides, wherein he excuſed him ſelfe for that he was in the pay of the Pope, and a freeholder of thEmperour: And to hold ſtill his eſtate of indifferencie, when the end of the tearme of his pay drew neare, he put him ſelfe of new into the pay of the Pope and the *Florentins* for foure yeres more, with this expreſſe condicion that neither in his perſon nor with his eſtate, he ſhould be boũd to any thing againſt thEmperour: And yet in the beginning of the warre he deſired to go in perſon to the armie, which being not agreeable to the Pope as hauing no confidence in his gouernment, he was aunſwered that in regard he was a freeholder of thEmperour, he would not bring him ſo farre in daunger.

This was the eſtate of affaires in *Lombardy* at that time.

In *Tuskane*, albeit the *Florentins* had neither armies nor armes vpon their landes and confines, yet were they not without their parte of the burdens of the warre, for the contribucions that were impoſed vpon them: for, the Pope who had no money by meanes ordinarie, and would not make any leauies or collections extraordinarie, layed vpon their ſhoulders with a great impietie almoſt the whole waight & charge of the exſpences of *Lombardie*: The *Siennois* alſo were not without their vexacion, on the ſea ſide, for that *Andrea Dore* commaunding *Talamone* and *Portherculo*, made them ſtand continuallie vpon their gard, notwithſtanding not long after, *Talamone* was reſtored to the *Siennois* by the infidelitie of a Capteine that was appointed to keepe it: Their aduerſitie alſo was increaſed by the vexacion of thexiles of *Sienna*, who hauing ſupportacion by the Pope, moleſted them in the partes of *Maremma*: Where *Iohn Pavvle* the ſonne of *Ranſo de Cero* who was enterteined by the Pope, made him ſelfe Lord of *Orbatella* by a ſurpriſe that was made by certeine horſemen of the gate of the towne, which he followed forthwith with his companies.

But at *Rome* the alteracion was great and drew after it effectes of right great conſequence, ſuch as tooke not their beginning of armes & open warre, but were bred in the boſome of conſpiracies and ambuſh: They brought no leſſe infamie & ſlaunder to the Pope, then confuſion and diſorder to the affaires of *Lombardie*, where, by reaſon of the conqueſt of *Cremona*, was hoped a good iſſue of thenterpriſe of *Genes*, and alſo to be hable to diſpoſe the campe in two partes before *Millan* according to the plots ſet downe at the firſt: for, like as ſince the chaſe giuen to thEccleſiaſtikes before *Sienna*, the Pope hauing no hope to do any great action vpon the familie of the *Colonnoy*, continued his inclinacion altogether to inuade the realme of *Naples* with greater forces: So, on the other ſide, the *Colonnois* and thEmperours Agentes, finding by the diſpoſicion of their owne affaires that they were hable to doe no notable matter againſt him, and deſiring to keepe him ſtill amuſed, & to take time from him vntill the *Viceroy* were come out of *Spaine* with the nauie: They ſent to *Rome* *Veſpaſian Colonne* in whoſe fidelity the Pope reappoſed much, by whoſe meanes they fell to capitulat together the two and twentie of Auguſt: That the *Colonnois* ſhould render *Auaguo* with other places which they had taken: That they ſhould withdraw their power to the kingdom of *Naples*, and enterteine no more bands of ſouldiors in the townes which they poſſeſſed in the dominion of the Church: That they might freely ſerue thEmprour againſt al men for the defenſe of the kingdom of *Naples*: and on the Popes ſide it was agreed, that he ſhould pardon all offences paſt, and reuoke and aboliſh the bull publiſhed againſt the Cardinall *Colonno*: That he ſhould not inuade their eſtates, nor ſuffer them to be endomaged by the *Vrſins*: By reaſon of this reconciliacion, the Pope, who verie vndiſcretly reappoſed too much in the fidelitie of

Capitulacion betwene the Colonnois and the Pope to deceiue him.

of *Vespasian*, dismissed almost all his horsemen and footemen which he had waged, and those bands that remeined, he dispersed them in seueral townes about *Rome*, and from thenceforth seemed to grow cold in all things that concerned the plot of inuading the kingdom of *Naples*: for, as by the complaints and protestacions which ordinarily came from *Millan* and *Genes* to th Emperours officers resident in the realme of *Naples*, it was discerned that those Cities woulde holde out no lenger onlesse the confederates were turned from the pursute of their enterprise with a mightie diuersion: So th Emperours Capteines and officers there hauing no meane to make openly a strong warre such as was hable to administer a speedie remedie, tooke an other course, and disposed immediatlie all their thoughts and spirites to oppresse the Pope with ambushes & deuises: Such is the operacion of minds malicious & ambicious, that the thing which the law of equitie and order denieth them to do, & their forces too weake to further the impiety of their hart, they will not faile to follow it to effect with conspiracie and infidelitie.

King of Hungrie ouerthrowen in battell by Solyman.

Whilest these practises were in preparacion, the almighty God bringing to passe that to the affliction which the Pope suffred for his affaires particular, should be adioyned other visitacions more publike and generall: aduertisementes came that *Solyman Ottoman* Prince of the Turkes had ouerthrowen in a battell raunged and accomplished, *Levvis* king of *Hungrie*, a victory which it was supposed the Turke won no lesse through the temerity of his enemies, then by his owne vallour & forces: for, the *Hungarians* notwithstanding their numbers were but small in comparison of so huge an armie of their enemies, & in their rashnes reapposing more for them selues in their victories past against the Turkes, then in the estate and condicion of things present: yet they perswaded their king who being young in age and yeares, was also more young in councell & iudgement, that not to obscure the auncient reputacion and glorie of warre gotten by his peoples, and lesse attending the succors that were to come to him from *Transiluania*, he would aduaunce his forces and go seeke the enemy, and not refuse to fight with them in open field, a maner of action wherein the Turkes are almost inuincible by reason of their infinite nũbers of horsemen: So that the euent and effect falling out all one with their rashnes & indiscression, his armie being compounded of all the nobility and valliant men of his realme, was ouerthrowen with a great slaughter of the generall multitude of souldiours, and the death of the kings person with many of the principall Barons and Prelats of the realme. This victorie bothe bloodie for the slaughter, and daungerous for the consequence, brought an vniuersall terrour and astonishment ouer all the regions and landes of Christendom, euerie one seeing in his owne iudgement that nothing coulde holde back the Turke from appropriating to himselfe the whole realme of *Hungria* which for so many yeares had bene the onely bulwarke and defense of Christendom: And as in the mindes of men alreadie troubled and afflicted, newe displeasures and accidentes make a deeper impression, then they do in such spirites as are free and voyde of passion: So this ouerthrow was to the Pope aboue all other Princes, most bitter and grieuous, insomuch as expressing in his actions, in his words, and in his countenaunce, great tokens of inward dolor and heauines, he complained in that griefe affore the Cardinalls sitting in consistorie of so great a domage and ignominie done to the common weale of Christendom: Which for his parte he had not failed both to foresee & prouide for, as well by exhorting and perswading the Princes of Christendom to peace, as also in comforting in their most necessities the kingdome of *Hungarie*, with a great contribucion of money: he sayd that from the beginning he

had foreseene and fortelled that that warre woulde be full of incommodities, and a warre verie daungerous for the defense of that kingdom: Only he alleaged that seeing there was no reckoning made of those reasonable condicions which he proponed for the tranquillitie of the sea Apostolike and *Italie*, he was driuen by necessitie to haue recourse to armes and forces, contrarie to his perpetuall intencion: Wherein he referred him selfe to be iustefied, both by the newtralitie which he had vsed before that necessitie, and also the condicions of the league which he had made respecting all the common benefite: All which he sayd aunswered sufficientlie for him, that he had not bene pushed on by any consideracion of his proper interestes, or particular respectes of those of his familie: But since it is Gods good pleasure happilie for some good ende, that the heade and principall parte of Christendome shoulde be hurte, speciallie in a time when all the other members of the same bodie were deuided into other thoughtes then suche as tended to the safetie of the whole: He thought that the holie will of God was, that they shoulde seeke to cure so greate a maladie by some other meane: And therefore seeing that care apperteyned more to him then to any other in respect of his office of Pastour, he was determined contrarie to all consideracions of thincommodities, of the daungers, and of his dignitie, and soliciting withall as soone as he coulde vnder some good condicions, a surceance of armes in *Italie*, to mount vpon his gallies and in person to go seeke the Princes of Christendom, and to solicite a holie and vniuersall peace with perswasions, with peticions, and with teares: He exhorted the Cardinalls to put them selues in preparacion for this expedicion, and with one franke readines to dispose their mindes and bodies to aide their common father in so holie an enterprise, which he besought God to blesse & fauor: And that if for the common sinnes of the world it could not be guided to his perfection, he besought the goodnesse of God, that at least in the negociacion he woulde rather depriue him of life then of hope to accomplishe it: for that (sayth he) no infelicitie, no aduersitie, no miserie can happen to me so great, as in so daungerous and mortall astonishments, to loase both hope and meane to put to my hande for the remedy and redresse of so generall an euill.

This protestacion of the Pope was heard with great attencion, and with no lesse compassion and deuocion was it holden for recommended and esteemed: But it had imprinted a farre greater operacion, if his wordes as touching the person had caried so muche fidelitie and credit, as in them selues they seemed to beare authoritie and dignitie: for, the most parte of the Cardinalls were of this opinion, that he was more touched with the consideracion of the difficulties wherein the present warre was reduced, then with any conscience of the daunger of that kingdom: A matter which they proued by this obseruacion, that he had taken armes against thEmperour in a time when, for the open preparacions of the Turkes, the daunger of the realme of *Hungarie* was manifest and vndoubted: But of this there coulde not be made a true experience: for, the faction of the *Colonnois* beginning to execute the treason they had pretended, sent *Cæsar Filettin* their confederate, with a strength of two thowsande footemen, to *Agnano*, where was a garrison for the Pope, of two hundred footemen payed: And in the manner of their doinges, the better to keepe couered and hidde their thoughtes and intencions, they made showe as though they woulde take the towne: But for that in true meaning their purpose drewe to an other effect, they occupied all the passages, and with an extreame diligence cutte of from comming to *Rome* all meane of aduer-

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tiſement of their enterpriſe: And in the meane while after they had aſſembled their forces whiche they had ſent to keepe about *Agniano*, and together with thoſe bandes that were with them ſelues, were reduced all into one ſtrength which happily might conteyne in all about eight hundred horſemen and three thowſand footmen, all trained and diſciplined, they marched in greate celeritie towardes *Rome* where was holden no ſuſpicion nor doubt of their comming: They arriued there the night before the twentie day of September, where in their firſt action, they tooke by ſurpriſe three gates of *Rome*, making their entrie by the gate of *Saint Iohn de Latran*: There met them in perſon not onely *Askanio Colonno* and *Don Hugo de Moncado* (for the Duke of *Seſſo* was dead before at *Marino*) but alſo *Veſpaſian* who had ſolicited thaccorde and giuen his faith as well for him as for all the reſidue: There was alſo in perſon Cardinall *Pompey Colonno*, a man ſo farre ouercaried with ambicion and furie, that he had not onely conſpired the death of the Pope in cruell manner, but alſo, by bloodie handes and meanes full of impietie and ſacriledge, he had aſpired to the ſeate pontificall, conſtraining with force and armes, the Cardinalls to make election of his perſon whome he knewe they woulde not call for his vertue or merits: About the breaking of the day, the Pope had informacion of their ariuall, being by that time all aſſembled about *Saint Coſmo* and *Saint Damiano*: And what by the ſuddeinnes of thaccident tending to a manifeſt ſurpriſe, and by the operacion of his owne frailtie, which by ſo muche was redoubled, by howe muche his perill was preſent and deſperate, he ſought in this aſtoniſhment and confuſion to appeaſe the tumult with his authoritie: for, neither had he readie any forces particular to defende the daunger that his deſtinie pulled on, neither did the people of *Rome* make any ſigne to ſtirre, partely for that it grieued not them to ſee him fall into inconuenience whome they loued not, and partelie according to the humor of populars, they made as though a vexacion publike and generall did nothing touche nor concerne them: By reaſon of which weakeneſſe of the Pope, and want of inclinacion in the people, thennemies with theſe oportunities aduaunced forward and with all their bandes, ſtayed at *Santo Apoſtolo*, from whence they ſent beyonde *Tyber* by the bridge *Siſta*, a ſtrength of fiue hundred footemen with certeine horſemen: Who, after a ſmall reſiſtaunce, repulſed from the portall of *Santo Spirito*, *Stephen Colonno* being in the Popes pay and appointed to that place with two hundred footemen: Then, taking the way of the olde ſubburbes, they drewe to *Saint Peters* and to the Biſhoppes pallaice where the Pope was: no leſſe doubtfull of his ſafetie then depriued of all aſſurance and vertue in ſo great a diſtreſſe: he called in vaine vpon the ſuccours of God and men, and yet hauing a glorious deſire to dye in the ſeate of his dignitie, he prepared him ſelfe with the habit and ornamentes of his calling to take his ſeate in the chaire pontificall, according to thexample of Pope *Boniface* the eight when he was ſurpriſed and reſtrained by the *Colonnois*. In his feare and aſtoniſhment he coulde not diſcerne the way of his ſafetie, and in that deſperate accompt of him ſelfe and his eſtate, he was without all conſideracion that ſuddeine actions puſhed on with that propertie of furie and rage, haue their ordinarie diſſolucion before they come to worke the worſt that the timerous man in his fraile conceites doth imagine: Onely he founde comfort and care in the Cardinalls that were about him, who with a reſolucion aboue the greatneſſe of their perill, coniured him to chaunge his timerous deuiſe to dye in his chaire, and willed him to goe out though not for his owne reſpect, at leaſt for the reputacion of the holie ſea leaſt the honor of God were wickedlie and wretchedly offended in the perſon of his Vi-

caire: By their perſwaſions he retired together with ſuch of them as he truſted moſt, into the caſtell about ten a clocke: if in his feare he had lingred there longer, he had ſeene with his eyes that ſpectacle of calamitie which in his timerous condicion he alwaies douted: for, by that time he was remoued, al the horſemen & footmen together with the whole army were aſſembled before the pallace, & in their fury not ſparing the place which at other times in their modeſtie they reuerēced, they entred & ſackt the pallace making violacion and pillage of all the holy ornaments of *S. Peter*: Their inſolency tooke from thē all regard to the Maieſtie of religion, & whoſe harts had reiected all deuocion and piety, their hands tooke liberty to prophane all things that their fury could find out, yea they made as ſmall ceremonie to ranſacke the holy things of *Rome*, as the Turkes did in the Churches of the realme of *Hungarie*: And being made weary with running thorow the ſpoile of things rich and precious they left in their fulnes to make further pillage of the holy relikes, & in their rage they retyred to the new ſubburbes of which they ſacked about the third part, and paſſed no further for feare of the artilleries of the caſtel: This was the laſt act & paſſage of their fury, which they ſeemed there to reſtraine & cut of, not that their rage was fullie ſatisfied, but becauſe their hands were weary with robbing: A tumult which they executed with ſo much the leſſe impediments by how much more they forbare in their liberty to do any domage to the people of *Rome*: And after they had continued three howers in this licenſious execucion, *Don Hugo* vnder the Popes faith & receiuing as oſtages for his ſurety the Cardinals *Cibo* & *Rodolffo* the Popes coſines, went vp to the caſtell to ſpeake with the Pope, to whom vſing the tearmes & phraſes that apperteined to a victor, he ſet downe to him condicions of truce: whereupon aunſwere being deferred till the day following, the cōpoſicion was concluded in this ſort: That there ſhould be betwene the Pope aſwell in his owne name as in the name of the confederats, & betwene the Emprour a truce for iiij. moneths, with liberty to the cōfederats to enter within ij. moneths: That in the ſame truce ſhould be cōprehended not only the ſtate Eccleſiaſtike, & the realme of *Naples*: but alſo the Duchy of *Millan*, the *Florentins*, the *Genovvaies*, the *Siennois* and the Duke of *Ferrara* & all the ſubiects of the Church mediat, & immediat: That the Pope ſhould be boūd to retire immediatly on this ſide the riuer of *Pavv*, his men of warre that lay before *Millan*, and to call home frō his army by ſea, *Andrea Dore* with his gallies: That he ſhould be bound to pardon al the *Collonnois* & any other whoſoeuer was party to this cōmotion: That he ſhould be bound to deliuer for oſtages of obſeruancy, *Philip Strozzi* & one of the ſonnes of *Iames Saluiatio*, and to ſend them to *Naples* within two monethes vpon paine to loaſe xxx. thowſand duckats: That thimperialls & the *Colonnois* ſhould depart out of *Rome* and all the eſtate Eccleſiaſtike and retyre their forces to the kingdom of *Naples*.

Truce betwene the Pope and th Emperour.

This truce was willinglie accepted both by the one & other partie: it was acceptable to the Pope for that he had not in the caſtel ſufficient prouiſion of vittels: And *Don Hugo* (though cōtrarie to thinſtāce of the *Colonnois*) thought it now time to take vp both for that he had done enough for th Emperour, and alſo he ſaw moſt of thoſe ſouldiors that had entred *Rome* with him, diſperſed heare & there, being more loden with pray & bootie, then bearing aptnes to any further ſeruice: But this truce brake all the deuiſes & plots of *Lombardie*, & tooke away all the frute of the victorie of *Cremona*: for, notwithſtanding almoſt at the ſame time, the Marquis of *Saluſſo* was come to the armie with the frenche launces, yet the Popes regimentes beginning to faile who for the moſt parte by reaſon of the truce retyred to *Plaiſanca*, the ſeuenth of October: yet the deuiſe to ſend ſouldiors to *Genes* was no leſſe diſſolued and diſorde-

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red, then the resolution to enuiron *Millan* with two armies: Wherein the matter that helped also to this alteration and trouble, was the Duke of *Vrbin*, who after he had made a composition with those in *Cremona*, went to visite his wife at *Mantua*, without tarying for the consignation, notwithstanding he was credibly aduertised of the truce made at *Rome:* And hauing accorded to the companies that were within *Cremona*, a prolongation of time to departe, there was so long tarying about *Cremona*, before they dislodged, that he came not to the army with those companies that were before *Cremona* before the middest of October, A matter that broughte great preiudice to all the affayres: both for that there was solicitation made to send men to *Genes*, which *Peter Nauarre* and the *Venetian* treasorer of the army by sea demaunded with greater instance then euer, for that (all the *Venetian* regimentes being reassembled) there were in the army so many forces as might suffice for that effect, without that it was nedeful for that matter to remoue the campe: And also for that the Marquis of *Saluſſa* had brought with him fiue hundred launces and foure thousand footmen, besides a dayly exspectation of two thousand *Grisons* who were waged according to thaccord made with them: And lastly the Pope, albeit he made open demonstrations to obserue the truce, yet his intention being otherwise, he had left in tharmy foure thousande footmen with *Iohn de Medicis*, vnder pretence that the French king should paye them: An excuse not without apparant coollers, for that *Iohn de Medicis* was alwayes in the kings paye, and in his name reteined continually a company of men at armes. At last thimperialls that were within *Cremona* went out of that Citie, the possession wherof was consigned ouer to *Frauncis Sforce:* The Launceknightes with their capteine *Conradin* tooke their waye to *Trente:* But the horsemen and footemen of the Spaniardes hauing passed ouer *Pavv* to returne to the Realme of *Naples*, and the Popes Lieftenant making difficultie to giue them sufficient passeportes and safeconduites, for that it was contrarie to the Pope to suffer them to goe to the Realme of *Naples:* they suddenly turned their waye, and wente vp by the Mountayne of *Parma* and *Plaisanca:* and after wyth greate diligence they repassed the ryuer of *Pavv* at *Chiarella*, from whence they went in safetie to *Lomelino*, and so to *Millan:* And the Popes Lieftenant *Guicciardin* for thobseruancie of the truce, did not onely goe from before the walles of *Millan* with the Popes regimentes, but also *Andrea Dore* remoued himselfe from *Genes* with his gallies: Out of which towne not many dayes before, were issued sixe thousand footemen aswell bodies payed and waged, as men voluntarie and followers, with direction to set vppon the sixe hundred footemen who were vppon the lande with *Phillip Fiesquo*: who with the fauour of the toppe of the Mountaynes neare to *Portofino*, had so fortified him selfe with rampars and bastillions, that he constrayned them to retyre with their great losse: And yet not many dayes after, *Andrea Dore* returned to *Portofino* with sixe gallies, to continue together with the residue, the siege of *Genes* by sea.

Cremona giue by the confederates to Fr. Sforce.

At the same tyme that these matters succeeded in *Italye* wyth diuerse euentes, the Embassadours of the Pope, the Frenche kinge, and the *Venetians*, signified to thEmprour the fourthe daye of September, the League that was made, together wythe the libertye that was lefte to hym to enter accordinge to the conditions sette downe in the Capitulations: At whiche an Embassadour of *Englande* beeing presente, he deliuered to thEmprour from his king a letter, modestly perswading him to enter into the League. The Emperour heard with great affabilitie the reasons and relations of thembassadors, but he aunswered

The league signified to the emprour.

them, that it agreed not with his dignitie to enter into a confederation made principally agaynſt his eſtate and his honor: Onely he had bene alwayes moſte deuoute and diſpoſed to haue an vniuerſall peace, according to which inclination ſtill continuing, he offred to accompliſh it preſently, if they had ſufficient warrant & commiſſions for the ſame: Neuertheles it was beleeued that his intention was farre otherwiſe, and that he did but inſinuat that offer for his greater iuſtification, and to giue occaſion to the king of *England* to deferre to enter into the league, and alſo to make colde with that hope, the preparations of the confederates, and ſo vnder the treatie of peace, to leade them into ſome iealouſie & diſtruſt: And yet notwithſtanding this practiſe, he ſolicited on the other ſide the prouiſions for the army by ſea, which was ſuppoſed to be fortie ſhippes and ſixe thouſande men payde: And the rather to make that army aduaunce beeing aſſembled at the notable porte of *Carthage*, the *Viceroy* departed from the Court the xxiiij. daye of September: By which expedition and celeritie it ſeemed that themprour was more ready and carefull of his affayres then the French king, who notwithſtanding he was preſſed with ſo great intereſts and conſiderations, yet he forbare not to follow the humor of his negligence and paſſed foorth the moſt part of his time in the pleaſures of hunting, dauſing, and making court to Ladies: And then were his captiue children caryed vp to *Valdolit*, when it was manifeſtly diſcerned that there was no more hope that thaccord would be obſerued. The cõming of this army by ſea cõpelled the Pope to take armes, who with the iealouſie of thoſe apparances, coulde not but doubte of the fidelitie of the *Viceroy* and the Spaniards: In which daunger he did not onely call to *Rome Vitelly* with his regimentes and the bandes of his Nephewes, but alſo he called in for his ſafety an hundred men at armes of the Marquis of *Mantua*, and an hundred lighte horſemen of *Peter Maria Roſſo*: and there was ſent to him from the armie two thouſand *Svvizzers* at his charges, and three thouſande footemen Italians: Neuertheleſſe he continued ſtill and aſſured from one tyme to an other, that he would go into *Spayne* to conferre with themprour, from the which moſt of the Cardinalls diſſwaded him, the rather for that he followed an action vncertayne, aduiſing him firſt to ſende thither his Legates.

Deliberation of the duke of Vrbin.

But now to returne to the army whiche the confederates kept incamped before *Millan*: After the duke of *Vrbin* was returned thither, who ſaw there was no hope to cary the towne eyther by force or by famine, and being with great importunity ſolicited by the capteins of the ſea army to ſend out ſouldiors to vex by land the people of *Genes*: he determined for the better aduauncement of that expedition, to drawe the army farre from the walls of *Millan*, & yet he made ſuch diſpoſition & direction of things, that all reaſort of vittells that was to come to that citie was cut off & ſtopped: for which occaſion and to haue the better oportunity to that action, he began to fortifie *Monce*, to leaue there with more ſurety ſome crewe of ſouldiours, both to empeach the traffike of vittells from the Mount *Brianſo* and other places confining, and alſo by the commoditie of that fortification to tranſport the army into ſuche a place as might reſtraine the markets of vittels comming continually to *Millan* from *Biagreſſo* & *Pauia*: And afterwards that place being reduced to good ſtrength & fortification, the direction extended that the Marquis of *Saluſſo* ſhould marche to *Genes* with his footemen accompanied for his better ſtrength with an other regiment of *Svvizzers*, A proportiõ which the ſea armies did much deſire, for that the town of *Genes* laboured in ſuch extreme wants of vittells that it could ſcarcely hold out any longer: But as theſe deliberations & directions were ſuch as they could not be put to

execution

execution but with a farre greater tract and longnes of tyme, then eyther was agreable to the eſtate of affayres, or the neceſſities of *Genes* could endure: So for that the only meane to cary that citie, reſted in no other property of action then in the ſtopping of the reſort of vittels which paſſed thither by land, thoſe counſels tooke no reſolution, nor were not referred to effect, notwithſtanding there were in the army 4000. *Svvizzers*, 2000. *Griſons*, the regiment of 4000. footmen of the Marquis of *Saluſſe*, and 4000. others vnder *Iohn de Medicis* payed by the Pope, together with the bandes of footmen of the *Venetians*, which according to thobligation of the league, and teſtimonie & reapport of themſelues, were aſſured to conteine a ſtrength of ten thouſand men: but in truth vpon the iuſt mooſtring & view of the bands, they conteined a farre leſſe number: At laſt, being the laſt of October, the army diſlodged frō the place where it had ſo long incamped, and drew to *Pioltello* fiue miles frō the firſt lodging, but in diſcamping they had a great skirmiſh with the ſouldiors of *Millan*, in which *Burbon* was in perſon: Thintention of the Duke of *Vrbin* was to ſtay at *Pioltello* vntill the fortifications were ended at *Monce*, where he deuiſed to leaue in garriſon two thouſand footmen with certayne helpes of horſmen, and ſo to go to *Marignan* where he was determined to lodge the army: and from thence hauing firſt taken and fortified that place & alſo *Biagreſſa* as he ſuppoſed, he thought to ſend bands of men to *Genes*: Expeditions which drew with thē ſo long an execution that there was reaſon to accuſe him, notwithſtāding that he alleaged for one part of his excuſe the yll prouiſions of the *Venetians*, who not paying their footemen in time conuenient, neither had they their nūbers complet which were promiſed, & many of thoſe which they had diminiſhed alwayes for the vncertenty of their payes, the Duke was conſtrayned when the pay dayes came, to furniſh their places with others, in ſuche ſort as he ſeemed to haue euery day new companies and a new armie. But this deferring or protraction which hitherunto ſeemed voluntarie, began to haue a cauſe and cooller of neceſſitie: for after many negociations and practiſes holden in *Germany* to ſende a new ſtrength of footmen into *Italy*, the ſame ſeruing to no effect aſwell for the diſhabilitie of tharchduke, as for the pouertie of themprour who ſente no money thither: *George Frougſpergh* for the affection he bare to the affayres of the Emprour, ioyned to a deſire to aduaunce the glory of his nation, and who with great merite had at two ſeuerall tymes commaunded in *Italy* two great armies for the Emprour agaynſt the Frenchmen; determined to ſupply with his goods and faculties priuate, the charge which princes for their weaknes were not able to vndertake: he ſtirred vp with his authority many bands of footmen, whom he allured with the ſweete inſinuation of pray and booty, concurring withall the good oportunitie and occaſion that offred to make them riche with the ſpoyles of *Italy*: And after he had contracted with them that in receiuing for euery man a crowne in preſt, they would follow him to the ſuccors of themprour, And obteined of tharchduke certen aydes of horſmen and artilleries, he prepared to marche, making the generall mooſter and leauye of all his men betweene *Bolzano* and *Maran*. The rumor of this preparation for the ſodenneſſe not exſpected, and for the authoritie of the man muche redowted, pearcing eaſily into the bowells of *Italy*, was the cauſe that the Duke of *Vrbin* wente not on with hys reſolution to moleſt *Genes*, whiche was nowe reduced almoſte to the laſte extremitye: And yet *Andrea Dore* for that he woulde haue thexpedition aduaunced, abated ſome parte of his firſt demaunds, and required nowe but fifteene hundred footemen, making his reckoning to furniſhe the reſidue by his owne meanes: But the Duke refuſing alſo that demaunde,

alleaged for his excuſe, that it was neceſſarye to ſende from the army vppon the countrey of *Vincenſa*, a ſtrength of 1500. footmen of the *Venetians*, for a feare which that Senate had leaſt the army of the launceknightes would take that way: An opinion which the Duke confuted, perſwading him ſelf that they would rather take the way of *Lecqua*, and for that reaſon he ſtirred not from *Pioltella* for that he would be more neare the ryuer of *Adda*, And he publiſhed that he would march to mete them and fight with them beyond *Adda* at their comming out of the vale of *Sarcina*.

By theſe variations as the affaires of *Lombardy* began to draw to new & farre greater difficulties, ſo alſo there burſt out in the towne of *Rome* a freſh fyre of trouble and new vexation: for the Pope, who for the accident of the *Colonnois* was pulled downe in courage, and in an inclination to peace, was bent to goe by ſea to *Barcelona* to contract ſome accorde with themprour: aſſoone as his enemies were gone out of *Rome*, had ſent *Paule d'Arezze* his chamberlayne to the french king, and from him to paſſe to the Emprour with his priuitie, to negociate the peace: his commiſſions extended alſo to ſignifie to the king his neceſſities & his daungers, and to demaund an hundred thouſand crownes for his better defence: In which matters he ſeemed ſo diſcordant and diſagreable to himſelfe, that in demaunding money of the king, and vrging him to a greater readines in the warre, he would not only not conſent to the tenthes without condition of a moytie to himſelf, which the king refuſed vnder this reaſon that it was cõtrary to the tradition & vſage of *Fraunce*: but alſo in his contradiction he could not be reſolued to create Cardinal the Chauncellor *Prat*, who both for the authority & ſwaigh he bare in the kings councells, and for that all expeditiõs of money paſſed through his handes, might haue bene a neceſſarie inſtrument to helpe forward all his purpoſes: Suche was his confuſion, that his counſells were no leſſe dilatorie and ſlowe, then the execution vncertayne and irreſolute: which paſſion as it tooke beginning of his aſtoniſhment for the tumult of the *Colonnois*, ſo it went on encreaſing by newe terrours whoſe operations ledde him into manyfeſt contradiction in matters concerning his owne ſafetie. But the French king forgat not to be ſorrowfull with *Paule d'Arezzo* and the other Nuncios, for the accident of *Rome*, and in that compaſſion he offred to the Pope all things for his defence, and wiſhing he would reapoſe no more confidence in themprour, he aduiſed him to perſeuer no longer in the truce: vppon which condition and not otherwiſe, he promiſed ſtill to ſatisfie the twentie thouſande duckets which he was bound vnto for euery moneth. To this the Pope was alſo aduiſed by the king of *Englande*, who diſſwaded him from his voyage to *Barcelona*, and to comfort his preſent diſtreſſe, he ſent him xxv. thouſand duckets. The French king diſcounſelled the Pope from his purpoſe to go viſite the Princes of Chriſtendome, as being a matter which for the importance required a deeper conſultation: And at the firſt he refuſed to conſent that *Paule d'Arezze* ſhould go to themprour, eyther for ſuſpicion that the Pope would begin to enterteine with him ſome practiſe ſeperat, or elſe that he helde it a matter more honorable to worke the peace by the meane of the kinge of *Englande*, then to ſeeme vnder thoſe wayes to begge it of themprour: Neuertheleſſe by a newe inſtance made by the Pope, he gaue his conſent to lette hym goe, eyther for that he deſyred the peace in deede, or elſe becauſe he beganne not well to brooke to haue it wrought by the king of *Englande*: who bare ſuche a hande and gouernment in theſe actions, that the French king coulde not but doubt, leaſt for his intereſtes particular, he would drawe him to conditions harde and inconuenient: Wherein he tooke the reaſon of his doubt vppon the diſpoſition of the king of *Englande*, or rather

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the Cardinall of *Yorke* vnder his name, who caried with ambition and a glorious desire to be iudge of all, set downe conditions very straunge and farre of, and hauing also endes different from the purposes of others, he feared by reason of those endes least he woulde suffer him to be abused by themprour, and woulde not be grieued that the Duchie of *Millan* should fall vpon the person of the Duke of *Burbon* by the benefite of the peace so farreforth as he maryed themprours sister, to thende it remayned in his power to giue his daughter in mariage to the Frenche king. So that what by these perswasions tendred to the Pope by the one and other king, and what through his feare not to loase thamity of the confederates, and so by the priuation of their aydes, to remaine in pray to themprour and his officers: and what by thimportunities and vehement inducements of his owne counsellors: and what for the hatred and disdayne conceyued agaynst the *Colonnois*, together with the burning desire to recouer by way of reuenge the honor he had lost: he was induced to conuert against the townes & lands of the *Colonnois*, all those forces which he had called into *Rome* onely for the surety of his person. And in this variation and ballansing of reasons and causes, he iudged there was no law of equitie nor order to compell him to obserue thaccord which he had not made by will and free consent, but vnder the abuse of their fraudes and forced by their armes contrary to the law of fayth: he sent out immediatly *Vitelly* with his companies to vex the lands of the *Colonnois*, making his account to burne and raze all their townes, for that for the auncient affection of thinhabitantes, it could not be a matter very preiudicial to them to take the townes only without doing other violence: And in the humor of his anger he published a Bull against the Cardinall and others of that famuly, by vertue wherof he proceded afterwards to depriue the Cardinall of the purple hat, who seeking before to defend himselfe with the bull of symonie, had made publike appellations at *Naples*, and had appealed to the generall councell to come: onely the Pope deferred to pronounce sentence against the residue of the house of the *Colonnois*, who were not negligent to wage both horsmen & footmen in the realme of *Naples*: But the Popes bands being entred into their towns, they burned *Marina*, & *Montfortin* whose Castel held good as yet for the *Colonnois*: And in this rage of victory & aduantage, they rased *Gallicana* and *Tagarola*, the *Colonnois* being careles of al other townes, then to defend their places of strength, & chiefly the towne of *Paliano* which is a pece strong by situation & of very hard accesse for great artilleries: besides, hath no accesse but by three wayes wherof one can not succor an other: and hauing about it walls of good fortification & thicknes, the inhabitants were determined with great resolution to defend it: Neuertheles it was beleued that if he had marched with diligence to assayle it notwithstanding many of thinhabitants of those towns that had bin taken were retyred thyther, he had easily caried it, for that there was not a souldior within it: but whilest he stood temporising & deferring to go thither, folowing the inclination & working of his nature which was full of irresolution & feare when things were to be put in execution: There entred into the towne by night a strength of 500. footemen aswell launceknights as Italians, being sent from the realme of *Naples*: a relefe which as it made the taking of the towne so hard & desperate, that *Vitelli* who at the same time kept his companies about *Grotta Ferrata*, not daring to attempt further enterprise vpon *Paliano*, & much lesse to execute any action against the peece called the Popes rock: So after he had sent to batter with his artilleries the rock of *Montfortin* garded by the *Colonnois*, he determined to gather together all his forces at *Valmonton*, more to looke to the defence of the contrey if any stirre or emotion were made on *Naples*

ſide, then with hope to be able to do any thing of importance: for the which he was blamed much of the Pope, who at a tyme when his deuiſe was to inuade the kingdome *Naples*, and afterwards when he called into *Rome* the regimentes for his defence, wiſhed to be ſent thither *Vitelli* & *Iohn de Medicis*, two capteines who as they were conioyned together by amitie and alliance, ſo by a naturall correſpondency of complexion, the ſlownes and coldnes of the one ſeemed ſufficient both to ballance and temper and alſo to be ballanced and tempered of the valour and forwardnes of the other: But deſtenie drawing to a ſodayne death in *Lombardy Iohn de Medicis*, and the Pope by the counſell of his lieftenant ſeruing his turne in the meane while of *Vitelly* in leſſer things, had deferred to call *Iohn de Medicis* vntil either there were a greater neceſſity of him, or elſe he taried for an offer & occaſiõ of ſome more worthy enterpriſe: Wherein his reaſon to forbeare ſo long to call *Iohn de Medicis*, was, that he would not depriue the armie that was in *Lombardy* of a perſonage of ſo many merites and good partes, who by his reſolution and forwardnes gaue no litle terror to his enemies, and by his vertue and prouidence dyd muche aſſure his friends: And one inducement helping to his ſtaye and abyding, was, the rumour which by relation of eſpials redoubled dayly, of the diſcending of the launceknights for themprour, whoſe comming ioyned to thaduertiſements that ranne of the Spaniſhe Nauy to be vpon the poynt to depart out of the port of *Carthage*, conſtrayned the Pope (being withall vrged by many of the confederates and by his owne counſellors) to deuiſe, contrary to his meaning alwayes before, to make ſome compoſition with the Duke of *Ferrara*: Not ſo muche to ſtande aſſured of his conſpiracies and emotions, as to drawe from him ſome great quantitie of money, and to induce him to goe to the armie as Capteine generall of all the League: Wherein after he had many tymes delt with *Matthevv Caſella* the Dukes Embaſſador reſident wyth him, who aſſured him that in the Duke was no want of inclination that waye: he ſent to his lieftenaunt *Guicciardin*, who was then at *Parma*, to goe to *Ferrara*, furniſhing him with a Commiſſion very large in apparance, but in deede full of reſtraints and limitations, for that he would haue him conſent to render to the Duke of *Ferrara* the townes of *Modena* and *Reggia*: and he to paye in recompence and counterchaunge, in a very ſhort time, two hundred thouſande duckets: To binde the Duke to declare and proteſt openly and to goe to the armie as Capteine generall of the League: That his eldeſt ſonne ſhould take in mariage *Catherine* the daughter of *Lavvrence de Medicis*: That there ſhould be labor made to giue one of the Dukes daughters in mariage to *Hippolito de Medicis* ſonne of *Iulian*, with a conuenient dowry: Many other conditions were annexed to this commiſſion, whiche for that by their owne varietie and for the ſhortnes of the time, were almoſt impoſſible to be decided, yet the Pope notwithſtanding he condiſcended not to them but by a laſte neceſſitie, yet he charged him not to paſſe thaccorde nor to growe to abſolute concluſion tyll he had from him newe directions and other inſtructions: But not long after he enlarged his commiſſion, aſwell for regarde of the conditions, as for authoritie and power to conclude: The reaſon of this amplification was, that he had receyued credible aduertiſement, howe the *Viceroy* of *Naples* was aryued with xxxij. ſhippes, in the gulffe of *S. Florent* in *Corſika*, and had brought with him three hundred horſe, two thouſande launceknightes, and three or foure thouſande Spaniards footemen. But nowe the Popes will and working was to litle purpoſe, for that a gentleman of the Duke of *Ferraraes* beeing with the *Viceroy*, who with great diligence was diſpatched from the place abouesayde, did not onely ſignifie to the duke

Catherine de Medicis.

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the comming of the army by sea, but also he caryed vnto him from themprour, the inuestiture of *Modena* and *Reggia*, with wordes of promise of the next mariage of Lady *Margerit d'Austriche* bastarde daughter to themprour, with *Hercules* eldest sonne to the Duke: By reason of which aduertisementes, the Duke, who before exspected with great desire the comming of the lieftenant, began nowe vnder the accident of this occasion to chaunge counsell: and discerning both by the approche of the launceknightes and discending of the army by sea, some good fortune to beginne to followe themprours affayres, he sayled not to embrace thopportunitie to followe the streame, and in that variation of minde sent a Counsellor of his called *Iames Aluator* to signifie to the Popes lieftenant, who being gone from *Parma* was then at *Centa*, the expedition he had receyued out of *Spayne*: By the which, albeit he was not bound to declare himselfe neither agaynst the Pope, nor against the league, yet for that he had receyued so great a benefite by themprour, it was not reasonable he should enterteine any further practise agaynst him: In which regarde, the negociation for the which he went to *Ferrara* being dissolued, he thought good to giue him signification of it, to thende not to giue the Pope by his silence any iuste cause of discontentment against him: Neuertheless he would not forbid him to come to *Ferrara*, but left it referred to his good discression. The Lieftenant discerned manyfestly by this relation that it would be in vayne for him to go on to *Ferrara*, In which respect ioyning withall thinterest of the Popes reputation to follow a voyage wherin was so small hope of fruite, and beeing also called backe by the necessitie of the affayres of *Lombardy*, he gaue place to the operation of the time, and returned immediatly to *Modena*, after he had (notwithstanding) preferred in other forme new solicitations of accord, the rather for that the state of the Church on that side grew dayly reduced into farre greater daungers: for that *George Fronspergh* with his army of launceknightes conteyning thirteene or fourteene thousande, taking their waye by the vale of *Sabio*, & so passing by the rocke of *Anfo* towards *Salo*, were now come to *Chastillion* vpon the confines of *Mantua*. The Duke of *Vrbin* not many dayes before to be the more ready to encounter the Launceknightes, had ledde the army of the league to *Vavvry* vpon the ryuer of *Adda* betwene *Trezza* and *Cassan*, and there had erected a bridge and fortified his campe: And leauing at *Vavvry* the Marquis of *Salussa* with the French bandes, the *Svvizzers*, the *Grisons*, and his owne footemen, he departed him selfe from *Vavvry* the xix. of Nouember, leading with him *Iohn de Medicis*, six hundred men at armes, many cornets of light horsemen, and eyght or nyne thousande footemen: His intention was not to set vpon them directly in the playne field, but to vex them with incommodities and cut off their releefes and vittels, alleaging that the onely way to vanquishe men of that humor, was to driue them to fall into some disorder, which being well obserued and applied, would do them greater domage then a manyfest inuasion: In whiche minde the one and twenty day he aryued at *Souzin*, from whence he caused to aduaunce forward *Mercurio* with all the light horsemen and a bande of men at armes, and they to intangle thenemie with skirmish whyleste the whole army might haue time to ouertake them: The reason of that aduauncing of the light horsemen and hastie marching of the army after, was, for that he feared he should come very late being lodged the same day at *Cauriano*: by which occasion excusing himselfe of his long tarying at *Vavvry*, he layde the fault vpon the negligence and couetousnes of the treasorer *Pisani*, through whose fault the campe was constrayned to remayne there a daye or two more, tarying for the oxen that should drawe thartilleries: of which fault he allea-

Duke of Vrbin goeth agaynst the launceknights of George Fronsp.

ged afterwards did proceede a very great disorder, extending almost to the ruine of the whole enterprise. Vntill that time there was great doubt what way the launce-knightes would take, for that at first it was beleeued they would drawe towards *Adda* by *Bressia* and *Bergama*, with purpose to be mette by the bandes imperialls, and so to goe with them to *Millan*: And afterwards it was supposed that they would passe the ryuer of *Pavv* at *Casalmaior*, and from thence would take their orderly march to *Millan*: But being come the xxij. day to *Ryuolto* within eyght myles of *Mantua* betwene the ryuers of *Minceo* and *Oglio*, the Duke of *Vrbin* lodging the same daye at *Prato, Albuino*, it was knowen (for that they passed not *Minceo* at *Goito*) that they would goe on to passe *Pavv* rather at *Bourgfort* or *Viadana* then at *Ostia* or in the places more lower: But passing at *Ostia*, it was a manifest signe that they would take the way of *Modena* and *Bolognia*, in both which places there was made leauyes of footemen and other prouisions: Afterwards the Launceknightes tooke the way of *Bourgfort* the xxiiij. day, whither, because they had no artilleries, the Duke of *Ferrara* sent them foure Falconets by the ryuer of *Pavv*, which though of it selfe was but a very slender succour, yet it was very profitable to the seruice by the benefite of fortune: for, as the Duke of *Vrbin* in following them was entred within the straite of *Mantua*, within the which they were as yet: So in their approching to *Bourgfort*, *Iohn de Medicis* made after them with his light horsemen to charge them vpon the tayle, though with no reason or hope to do any great matter: and as he accoasted them very neare, not knowing that they had any artilleries, his destenie led him on in that secure resolution to the daunger of his life, for that with the second shotte of one of those Falconets, his legge was broken a little aboue the knee, from whence being caryed wounded to *Mantua*, he ended his life there within fewe dayes after to the great preiudice of thenterprise, since thenemies neuer stoode in feare of any mans armes or vallour, then of his: for notwithstanding he had but xxij. yeares of age, and by that disposition of youthe, was full of heate and forwardnes, yet his experience and vertue subdued to moderation and temperaunce the rage of nature and youth, and dayly raunged to good order and discression, those violent humors which through the intemperancie of his youth tooke libertie to stirre in him: And by the tokens of industrie and wisedome appearing more and more in him, he caried an assured exspectation to become in tyme a capteine moste sufficient and accomplished in all things concerning the science of warre. After this the Launce-knightes without any impediment drew along the ryuer of *Pavv* to *Ostia*, the Duke of *Vrbin* being at *Bourgfort*: And hauing passed ouer *Pavv* at *Ostia* the xxviij. day, they incamped at *Rouero*, where the Duke of *Ferrara* sent them a certayne releefe of money, and furnished them with some field peeces. But the inhabitantes of *Bolognia* and all *Tuskane* began to be very fearefull, for that the Duke of *Vrbin*, notwithstanding he had assured before that if thenemies passed the ryuer of *Pavv*, he would do the like, was gone to *Mantua*, saying he would tary in that place for a commission from the Senate of *Venice*, to direct him whether he should passe *Pavv* or not: But the launceknightes after they had passed the ryuer of *Sechia*, turned to the waye of *Lombardy* to ioyne with the companies that were within *Millan*.

Death of Iohn de Medicis.

At which tyme the *Viceroy*, who was departed from *Corsika* with xxv. vessells (for two of his shippes were perished in a storme before he came to *S. Florent*, and fiue others were seperate from the Nauy abyding their fortune) encountred aboue *Sestria* in the Leuant, the Nauy of the league, whiche conteyned sixe gallies of the French, fiue of the Popes, and fiue of the *Venetians*: and beeing grappled together aboue

Encounter of the Nauye of themprour with the fleete of the confederates.

aboue *Codemont*, they fought from two of the clocke tyll night: In which conflict it is written by *Andrea Dore* that he sunke one of their shippes wherein were more then three hundred men, and did manye other great domages to the whole fleete with his artilleries: He wrote also that for the stormy season the gallies were constrayned to retyre vnder the hyll of *Portofino*, exspecting the same night the other gallies that were at *Portouenere*: But whether they came or not, he wrote that vpon the appearing of the day they would go seeke thenemie: Neuertheles albeit they followed the fleete to *Lyuorno*, yet they coulde neuer ouertake it, for the waye they had wonne affore them, by which occasion beleeuing that the fleete had runne vp eyther into *Corso* or into *Sardignia*, they were so much the lesse ready in diligence to followe it. Afterwards the *Viceroy* followed his way, but so shaken with stormes and & tempests, that his shipps were dispersed, wherof one of them cõmaunded by *Don Ferrand de Gonsaguo*, was driuen into *Sicile*, which afterwards came to *Caietto*, where were set on lande certayne launceknightes: But touching him selfe he aryued with the residue of the nauy at the Port of *Saint Stephen*, from whence for that he was vncertayne in what condition or tearmes stoode the affayres, he sent to the Pope at *Rome* the Commander *Pigualoso*, with commissions expressing the good intentions of themprour: And after the rage of the sea was abated, he sayled with his Nauie to *Caietto*.

The prince of Orenge with the Launceknights.

In this meane while the launceknightes after they had passed the ryuer of *Secchia* and were drawne towardes *Razzolo* and *Gonsaguo*, lodged the thirde day of December at *Guastallo*, and the fourth day at Newcastell and *Povvy* which is ten miles from *Parma*: There the prince of *Orenge* came to them passing from *Mantua* with two companions in the habit of a simple harquebuzier: The fift day after they had passed the ryuer of *Lenze* aboue the bridge and the high way, they lodged at *Monchiaroncolo*, the Duke of *Vrbin* remayning yet at *Mantua* with his wife and was not touched with the present daunger of thaffayres: The seuenth day after they had passed the ryuer beyonde *Parma*, they bestowed them selues in the villages of *Felina*. At that tyme the raynes fell great and thicke whereby the ryuers swelled high and broade, and Capteine *George* by the relation of his letters written to the Duke of *Burbon* and surprised by espiall, showed himselfe very irresolute what course to take. The xi. day they passed the ryuer of *Taro*, and the daye following they lodged at the borowe *Saint Donin*, where they exercised their malice against holy relikes and images of Saints: The xiij. day they incamped at *Firenzolo*, from whence as was discerned by surprising of letters, they solicited the bandes of *Millan* to come and ioyne with them, who albeit were agreing with them in they same desire, yet the were reteyned by want of money: for the penurie of the Spaniardes carying them into mindes insolent and disobedient, made them bolde to saye that they would not departe out of *Millan*, vnlesse they were satisfied of their olde payes, and in that disorder they began to sacke and spoyle: But at laste to stoppe the course of so daungerour a mutinie, the industrie of the Capteines reappeased the angrie mindes of the souldiours, who were contented to receyue onely fiue payes, which to furnishe and accomplish they were driuen to despoyle the Churches of their plate, and to imprison many Citizens: Wherein the better to conteine the whole in safety, such of the souldiours as were payde the Capteines sent to *Pauia*, though with very greate difficultie, for that they were loth to leaue the place where they had liued with so great libertie: And because the action of these things would require some time, the Capteines in the meane while sent beyonde *Pavv* certayne bands of horsemen and

footemen Italians to ioyne with the launceknightes: And albeit the Popes Lieftenant had made instance, that the duke of *Vrbin* for the better suretie of the state of the Church, would passe the ryuer of *Pavv* on that side with the *Venetian* regimentes: yet the Duke had not onely deferred to passe, alleaging sometimes that he exspected the will and resolution of the *Venetians*, and sometimes temporising vppon other causes and reasons, but also he gaue signification to the Senate, that if he should leade the army ouer the ryuer of *Pavv*, there would be daunger least thimperialls would inuade their estates: for which allegation holding more vppon feare then good reason of warre, he receyued straite charge from them not to passe the ryuer: And he had also in that regarde reteined many dayes the bands of footemen that were vnder the commaundement of *Iohn de Medicis*, whom the Lieftenant had vehementlye solicited to passe *Pavv* for the defence of the affayres of the Church. And where as the Marquis of *Saluſſa* had passed the ryuer of *Adda*, of whō the Lieftenant had required succours aswell to assure the things of the Churche, as for that by the great diminution of the *Svvizzers* and *Griſons*, he sawe himselfe not strong ynough at *Vavvry*: Nowe the *Venetians* who before had consented that the Marquis should passe *Pavv* to the succours of the Pope with ten thousande footemen both *Svvizzers* and of his owne people, who were payed with the forty thousande duckets allotted to the Frenche king, besought the Duke of *Vrbin* that they might not be ledde ouer the ryuer, beeing thereunto moued and induced by the perswasions of the sayde Duke: By reason whereof the Duke sending him worde that he would conferre with him at *Sovvzin* deferred his comming so long, that the Marquis went his way: Wherein suche was eyther his negligence of the affayres, or his tymerous condition, that he did not onely all he could to make him to staye, to thende to beholde with better eye what the launceknightes would do, but also he made manifest perswasions to him not to passe at all, An occasion that somewhat stayed him in thexpedition, as also that the payes of the *Svvizzers* were not ready, who were payde after the rate of sixe thousande and were in trueth but foure thousande: And albeit for that impediment he deferred to passe vntill the xxvij. of December, yet he sent abrode into diuerse places of the contrey, the french horsemen with certayne bands of footmen, to stoppe the passage of vittells to the launceknightes, who had nowe remayned many dayes at *Firenzola*: for that seruice also was sent *Guido Vuine* to the borowe of *Saint Domin* with an hundred light horsmen: and *Paule Luſaſquo* came out of *Plaiſanca* with a good trowpe of horsemen, and drew neare to *Firenzola*, from which place one part of the launceknightes went to lodge at the borowe of *Arquo* for the more commoditie of vittells: For feare of the sayde launceknightes *Plaiſanca* had bene refurnished before, but not with so sufficient forces as were thought conuenient for the defence of the place, for that the Popes lieftenaunt who had alwayes feared since the cōming of the launceknights, least the difficulties to aduaunce their expeditions in *Lombardy*, would not force thimperialls to passe into *Tuskane*, wished that they would desire to go incampe before *Plaiſanca*: for which reason vnknowen to all men yea euen to the Pope himself, he so deferred to furnishe *Plaiſanca* that they might despayre to be hable to take it: and yet he manned it and fortified it in suche sorte as they could not easily cary it, leauing this hope, that if they went thither he could not lacke meane to reskew it: But by the long abode which the launceknights made in the places thereabout, and the vniuersall exclamations of all men touching the daunger, least that citie should be taken, he was driuen to suffer *Guido Rangon* to goe thither with a great companie

of

of ſouldiours, like as alſo according to the direction of the *Venetians*, who had promiſed to ſende thither for garriſon a thouſande footemen to ſuccour the Popes neceſſitie, *Nabbon de Naldo* one of their capteines, was diſpatched thither with a regiment of a thouſande footemen: but becauſe they were yll payde, they were immediatly diminiſhed to foure hundred. At laſte the Marquis of *Saluſſa* paſſed the ryuer, who in true mooſter and computation had not in his army aboue foure thouſande *Svvizzers* and *Griſons*, and three thouſand footmen of his owne: And being come to *Puleſina*, notwithſtanding he was deſired not to depart from thence the better to vex the launceknightes who were at *Firenzola*, whither *Luſaſquo* made incurſions many times euen vp to their lodgings, yet for his better ſuretie he went vp to *Torricella* and *Siſſa*: But amidde theſe marchings and remouings of ſouldiours and regiments, the launceknightes within two dayes after brake vp from *Firenzola*, and went to *Carpinetta* and the places thereaboutes: Neyther was it knowen what courſe the Duke of *Burbon* would take, whether he would plant his campe before *Plaiſanca* being come out of *Millan*, or whether he would paſſe further in the expedition of *Tuskane*: Afterwards the launceknightes paſſed the ryuer of *Nuro* the laſte daye of the yere, to thend to paſſe afterwards the ryuer of *Trebbia*, and to tary for the Duke of *Burbon* in that place, which was leaſt ſubiect to thincurſions of thenemie.

Thus the affayres of *Lombardy* proceeded in a ſlowe courſe, not ſo muche for the ſeaſon of the yeare which was ſharpe and full of incommodities, as for the difficulties which the Duke of *Burbon* had to pay his ſouldiours wherein reſted not the leaſt impedimentes to the good fortune and felicitie of the warre. The wretched people of *Millan* were wonderfully trauelled for prouiſion of money, In which neceſſitie or rather tyrannie, *Ierome Moron* beeing condemned to death, compounded the night before he ſhould ſuffer, to paye twenty thouſande duckets, for the whiche it ſeemed they had paſſed him to ſentence of death: But after the releeſe of his purſe had auoyded the daunger of his life, & vnder the ſame good meane his perſon was deliuered out of priſon, ſuche was the courſe of his deſteny working inſtrumentally by the dexteritie of his ſpirite and witte, that of a priſoner to the Duke of *Burbon*, he became his councellor, and within ſhort time he went on by the operation of hys witte, tyll he became almoſte his onely gouernor and director. *Ierom Moron out of priſon.*

Neuertheleſſe amid all theſe variations and vexations, the treatiſes of truce or peace were great betwene the Pope and the *Viceroy*, though in good meaning the plottes and purpoſes of the *Viceroy* tended rather to make warre, wherein he was ſet on both by thincitation of the *Colonnois*, who had breathed into him a new life ſince he came to *Caietto*, and alſo becauſe he vnderſtoode that the Pope no leſſe abated in courage then naked in money, founde nothing ſo ſweete as the deſire of peace: Wherein both publiſhing to all the world his pouerty and his feare, and in his confuſion refuſing to create Cardinalls for money according to the counſell that was giuen him, the demonſtrations he made of his owne weaknes, gaue courage and hope to who ſo euer would offende him: for as the Pope not entring into the warre with that conſtancie of minde that apperteined, had ſent to themprour a letter the xxvj. of Iune, conteyning matter bitter and full of complayntes, that he droue him by neceſſitie to intende to the warre: So alſo fearing afterwardes leaſt by the ſharpe phraſes of that letter he might further incenſe themprour whom he ſo much feared, he ſent after an other expedition compounded of an humor more temperate and reformed, charging his Nuncio to reteyne the firſt, which neuertheles was deliuered for that it came firſt to his handes: the other was preſented afterwardes, but

themprour vnder one expedition, aunſwered them both ſeuerally according to the argument and nature of matter they conteyned. Moreouer the Pope had readely harkned to the generall of grayfreers, who going into *Spayne* at ſuche time as the warre began, was charged by him to deliuer to themprour embaſſages milde and full of amitie: And beeing eftſones returned to *Rome* by commiſſion of themprour, he brought many reapportes and informations touching his good intention, and howe he would be content to come into *Italy* with a trayne of fiue thouſande men, and from thence after he had taken the Crowne of thempire, he would paſſe into *Germany* to ſet downe ſome forme to the matters of *Luther*, without ſpeaking any thing of the Councell: That he was alſo well inclined to accorde with the *Venetians* vnder reaſonable conditions: That he would referre the cauſe of *Frauncis Sforce* to the arbitration of two Iudges aſſigned by the Pope and him, and in caſe he were condemned, he would beſtow that eſtate vpon the Duke of *Burbon*: That he would reuoke his army out of *Italy*, ſo farreforth as the Pope & *Venetians* would pay three hundred thouſande crownes to ſatisfie the wages of the army, which notwithſtanding he would labour to make contented with a ſumme more moderate: That he would reſtore to the French king his children, receyuing in counterchaunge two millions of golde at two or more tearmes: He ſhowed alſo that it would be eaſie to accorde with the king of *Englande*, bothe for that the ſumme that was in queſtion was not great, and alſo the king had made offer of it. And the better to debate and worke theſe matters, the generall of grayfreers offred a truce for viij. or x. moneths, proteſting that he had warrantes and commiſſions from themprour verye large and abſolute, wherein all power of negociation and concluſion was giuen to him, to the *Viceroy*, and to *Don Hugo*: In regarde of which authoritie, and good inclination of themprour, the Pope, after he had giuen audience to *Pignaloſo*, and had receyued aduertiſement that the *Viceroy* was gone out of the porte of *S. Stephen*, ſent the Generall to *Caietta* to treate vpon theſe matters with him: Whereunto he was the rather induced, for that bothe the *Venetians* woulde not refuſe the truce if the French king would conſent, who for his part was not farre eſtraunged from it, and his mother had ſent to *Rome Lavvrence Tuskane* declaring an inclination to peace, wherein ſhoulde be a generall comprehenſion of all men. And alſo for that he thought no practiſe to be ſure without the will and concurrencie of the Duke of *Burbon*, he ſent to him in that behalfe one of his owne Amners that was at *Rome*, whom the Duke returned eftſones to the Pope to ſolicite the ſame matter: And yet neither to loaſe thoportunitie of the time, nor to abandon the prouiſions for the warre, he ſent Cardinall *Auguſtin Triuulco* as Legate to the army which was then in the field, And continuing alſo his preparations to inuade the Realme of *Naples*, *Peter Nauarre* ariued the third of December at *Ciuitavecchia* with a Nauy of xxviij. gallies of the Popes, the French, and the *Venetians*: At which time alſo *Ranſo de Cere* being ſent for the french king for thexpedition intended vpon *Naples*, was ariued at *Sauonna* with a fleete of ſayles quartered: On the other ſide *Askanio Colonno* with a ſtrength of two thouſande footemen and three hundred horſemen, came to *Valbon* fifteene miles from *Tiboli*, where are the landes of the Abbot of *Farfa* and *Iohn Iordan*: with theſe forces the twelfth of December he tooke *Cepperano*, finding no reſiſtance for that it was not garded. *Vitelly* with the Popes companies reduced himſelf betwene *Tiboly*, *Paleſtime*, and *Velletre*: Afterwardes the *Colonnois* tooke *Pontecorue* which was not garded, and in vayne gaue aſſault to *Scarpa* which is a litle and weake place depending vpon the Abbey of *Farfa*: *Cæſar Filettin* approached by night to

Alagnia

Alagnia with fiftene hundred footemen, of which fiue hundred making their entrie secretly, by the fauour of a house ioyning to the walles, and by the practise of certen of the townesmen that receiued them, were repulsed and driuen out agayne by *Lyon de Fano* commaunder of the footemen that were there. In this meane while the generall of grayfreers returned from the *Viceroy* to the Pope, to whom he related the *Viceroyes* inclination to consent to the truce for certayne monethes, to thende that in the meane while the peace might take course: Only he stoode vpon demaundes of money, and for suretie he required the Castells of *Ostia* and *Ciuitavecchia*. But of the contrary to him, tharchbishop of *Capua* aryuing at *Caietta* after he was departed, and who happly had bene sent thither with an yll counsel of the Pope, wrote to him that the *Viceroy* reiecting all motions to truce, was contented to make peace with the Pope onely, or with the Pope and *Venetians* ioyntly, so farreforth as they would make payment of money to thend to mainteine the army for assurance of the peace, and afterwards to debate in the matter of the truce with the others: An alteration moūing eyther by the variation or chaunge of the *Viceroy*, or happly by the perswasions of tharchbishop as many suspected: At which time *Paule d'Arezze* being come to themprours Court with authoritie from the Pope, the *Venetians*, and *Frauncis Sforce*, whither also went by the motiō of the king of *England* for the negociation of peace, the Auditor of the Chamber, the rather for that before were come thither full commissions from the french king: He found themprour wholy chaunged both in minde & will, taking the reason of his alteration vpon an aduertisement he had receiued of the army of the launceknightes, and of his Nauy in *Italy*: In so much as enforcing the fauor of that good aduauntage, he fled from all the conditions that were set downe before, and vrged vehemently that the French king should obserue absolutely thaccord of *Madrill*, & to haue the cause of *Frauncis Sforce* heard by law before Iudges assigned by himselfe. Thus did both the will and intention of themprour vary according to the successe of affayres, like as also his commissions which he sent to his Agentes in *Italy*, bare alwayes by reason of the distance of the place, eyther an expresse or silent condition to gouerne themselues according to the variation of times and occasions. Therfore the *Viceroy* after he had many dayes abused the Pope with vayne practises, and would not so muche as consent to a surceance of armes for a few daies till the negociation might soart to some issue: brake vp from *Naples* the xx. of December to goe into thestates of the Church, In which wilfulnesse he offred many new and very straunge conditions of accorde.

Capitulations betwene thē-prour & duke of Ferrara.

But to returne to the laste daye of the yeare, wherein the Launceknightes as we haue sayde passed the ryuer of *Nure*: The same day also the Duke of *Ferrara*, by the meane of his Embassador, capitulated with the *Viceroy* and *Don Hugo* who had commission from themprour: Neuertheles the capitulation was made with a very small liking of that Embassador, for that he was almoste constrayned to consent by the threates and rude words of the *Viceroy*: Tharticles of the capitulation were these: That the duke of *Ferrara* should be bounde aswell in his person as in his estates, to serue themprour agaynst all his enemies: That he should be capteine generall for themprour in *Italy*, with a company of an hundred men at armes, and two hundred light horsemen, onely he should assemble and leauy them at his owne charges, and receyue agayne allowance in his accountes: That he should presently receyue the towne of *Carpy* and the Castell of *Nouy* which had apperteined to *Albert Pio*, for the dowry of themprours bastard daughter promised to his sonne, onely the reuenues should be aunswered in account of the souldiors, a compensation to be made vntill

the consummation of the mariage: And that *Vespatian Colonno* and the Marquis of *Guast* should disclayme and renounce the rightes which they pretended to them: That he should pay the summe of two hundred thousand duckets, when he had recouered *Modena*: but out of that should be deducted that which he had giuen to the *Viceroy* since the battell of *Pauia*: That if he did not recouer *Modena*, all the summes of money which he had before disbursed, should be eftsones repayed to him: That themprour should be bound to his protection, & not to make peace without comprehending him, and not without obteining for him of the Pope, absolution of the paynes and censures which he had incurred euer since he was declared confederate to themprour: And lastly that he should vse all his meanes and authoritie to the Pope to absolue him of all those penalties and transgressions which he had runne into before. Thus in the ende of the yere a thousande fiue hundred and sixe & twentie all things prepared and tended to a manyfest and open warre.

The ende of the seuenteenth Booke.

THE ARGVMENT OF THE EIGHTENTH BOOKE.

THe Duke of Burbon issueth out of Millan: The Viceroy and Colonnois make vvarre agaynst the Pope in the state of the Churche: The Marquis of Saluſſa entreth vvithin Bologna: The Pope maketh vvarre in the kingdome of Naples: The Duke of Burbon leadeth his armie to Rome, taketh the tovvne and sacketh it, and is slayne in the action: The Pope beeing abandoned of all hope, accordeth vvith thimperialls: A mutinie in Florence: The king of Englande is declared agaynst themprour: The confederates do many enterprises.

THE EIGHTEENTH BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

1427. NOW ensueth the yeare of our Lorde a thousande fiue hundred and seuen and twenty: A yeare prepared to many harde euentes and accidentes, suche as for their crueltie were full of feare and daunger, and for their straungenes, had no example or experience with the worldes and ages before: For in the predictions of this yeare was expressed an vniuersall face of troubles and confusion, of mutation of estates, of captiuitie of princes, of desolation of Cities, of dearth of vittelles, and of a generall visitation of the plague, yea through all the regions and climates of *Italy*, there was no apparance nor contemplation of other thing then of blood, death, famine, and fleeing, A condition lamentable euen to forreiners and straungers that dyd but heare of it, but moste

moſte intollerable to thoſe miſerable wretches vpon whoſe neckes the lawe of deſtenie had drawne ſo grieuous a yoke. To theſe calamities there was no other thing that ſtayed the action of beginning and execution, but the difficulties whiche the Duke of *Burbon* founde to make the regimentes of Spaniſhe footemen to departe out of *Millan*: for where he had determined that *Anthony de Leua* ſhoulde abide there for the defence of the whole Duchie, and reteyne with him all thoſe bands of Launceknightes which were there before, for whoſe enterteinmentes and payes were conſumed bothe all the moneyes exacted at tymes vppon the *Millannois*, and alſo ſuche other ſummes as were leauyed by the billes of exchaunge which the Duke of *Burbon* brought from *Spayne:* And where he had alſo appoynted to remayne with the ſayd *Leua* for the ſeruice of the Duchie, a ſtrength of twelue hundred footemen Spaniardes, together with ſome bandes of Italian footemen vnder the leading of *Lodovvike Bellienſe* and other commaunders: So likewiſe by their example all the other bandes and regimentes of ſouldiors, for that they had in pray the houſes, the wyues, and daughters of thinhabitantes of *Millan*, were not diſcontented to liue ſtill in that eſtate of licentious libertie: But for that both for the neceſſitie of the preſent ſeruice, and regarde of their proper honor, and laſtely for the awe and authoritie of the Duke of *Burbon*, they coulde not directly refuſe the appoyntment, they demaunded at leaſt to be ſatisfied before they departed of their payes due to them before that daye: Neuertheleſſe what by the force of reaſons and perſwaſions, and what by the example of ſome particulars inducing the reſidue by their good inclination, they promiſed at laſte to followe the Duke ſo farrefoorth as he would paye them onely fiue payes, A condition verye harde to accompliſhe and furniſhe, for that there was no poſſibilitie to make anye more leauyes of money of thinhabitantes of *Millan*, neither by way of rigor or threatninges, nor by ſacking their houſes, nor by impriſoning their perſons: Beſides, in that eſtate of extreame violence and oppreſſion, ſuche as were abſente and had abandoned the towne, were adiorned and taxed at rates to nouriſhe the armie, and thoſe that vppon ſommonce refuſed to appeare, their goods by ſentence were giuen to the ſouldiours.

The duke of Burbon goeth out of Millan and leaueth there Antho. de Leua.

At laſt both by the induſtrie of the Duke and the extremitie of the time, all theſe difficulties were ouercome, and the Imperialls, called on both by the neceſſitie of the ſeruice, & hazard of the whole warre, paſſed ouer the riuer of *Pavv* the laſt day ſaue one of Ianuary: The day after one parte of the launceknights who before had paſſed ouer the ryuer of *Trebia*, repaſſed it agayne and wente to lodge at *Pontenouo*, and the reſidue of the army ſtayde beyond *Plaiſanca*. On the other ſide, the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, who had all his regiments & bands of ſouldiors diſperſed in the contrey, was at *Parma:* And the Duke of *Vrbin* being now come to *Caſalmaior*, and to whoſe opinion and election the *Venetians* had referred to paſſe or not paſſe the ryuer of *Pavv*, began to paſſe his companies, aſſuring the army that if thimperials tooke the way of *Tuskane* according to thaduertiſements he had receiued from *Millan:* That both he would paſſe in perſon with 600. men at armes, 9000. footemen, and 500. light horſmen, and through his celeritie would be before them at *Bolognia:* and alſo the Marquis of *Saluſſa* ſhoulde do the like with his regimentes and the bandes of the Churche. The armie imperiall ſtayed about twenty dayes the one halfe on this ſide, and the other halfe beyonde *Plaiſanca*, A matter happning partly through the difficulty of money, the Launceknightes not hauing receyued till that day one penye of the Duke of *Burbon:* and partely by a deſyre he had to plant his campe

before *Plaiſanca*, though happly more for the difficulties he fo unde to paſſe further then for any other matter: Wherein the better to aduaunce his intention for the beſieging of *Plaiſanca*, he ſolicited the Duke of *Ferrara* to furniſh him with powder and artilleries, and to come and ioyne his perſon with the army, offring to ſende out to meete him fiue hundred men at armes and capteine *George* with ſixe thouſande footemen. To this demaunde the Duke of *Ferrara* made aunſwere, that he could not with any ſafety ſende powder through the countrey of thenemie, for that it could not be without manyfeſt daunger of interception: And that he coulde not without apparant hazarde of his perſon, ioyne him ſelfe with him, for that all the companies of the league laye in the wayes of his paſſage: But bee it there were ſafetie and facilitie in both thoſe wayes, yet he wiſhed the Duke of *Burbon* to conſider that he coulde not do a thing more commodious for thenemie, nor more agreable to their deſires, then to ſtande temporiſing and loaſe time about the action of thoſe townes one after an other: That if he tooke not *Plaiſanca*, wherein the doubt was greater then the hope, or if he dyd take it, the action whereof woulde deuowre a great deale of tyme, he was to looke howe farre it would concerne hys reputation, and with what meanes he were hable to purſue the warre hauing ſo great wantes of money and other prouiſions: Laſtely he tolde him that the waye to aduaunce the benefite of themprour and to eſtabliſhe the victorie, was to drawe and addreſſe him ſelfe to the head, and caſting behinde him all other enterpriſes, to march with celeritie to *Bologna*, and there to determine eyther to force that towne (in which enterpriſe he could not want ſuccours) or at leaſt to paſſe on eyther to *Florence* or to *Rome*.

The duke of Ferrara perſwadeth the duke of Burbon.

But during the counſell and expedition of theſe matters together with the deuiſes the Duke of *Burbon* vſed to get money both to make vp the full pay of the Spaniſh ſouldiors, and to giue ſome releefe to the Launceknightes, amongeſt whom at their departing from *Plaiſanca* he diſtributed two crownes to euerye man: The warre went on, and was ſtrongly kindled in the eſtate of the Churche: for *Banſo de Cere* at his returne from *Fraunce* was newlye gone to the campe Eccleſiaſtike, whiche campe laye very neare to the *Viceroy* who was then vppon the confines of *Cepperano*, where certayne bandes of Italian footemen gaue an ouerthrowe to three hundred men of the Spaniſh footemen. But the counſels and opinions of men were diuerſe touching the maner howe to defende theſtate eccleſiaſtike: for as *Vitelly* before the comming of *Ranſo*, had coũſelled the Pope to abandon the prouince of *Campagnia*, and to beſtow two thouſand footmen within *Tiuoly*, and two thouſand within *Pilliſtrina*, and the reſidue of the army to remayne at *Villetra* to ſtop the *Viceroy* for going to *Rome*: So *Ranſo* ariuing euen vpon the poynt of this reſolution, reproued the counſell to remayne and be incloſed within *Villetra*, both for the great and large circuite of the towne, the many impediments and incommodities to fortifie it, and laſtly for the vnaptnes and many inconueniences it bare to ſtoppe the paſſage of thenemies: But his opinion was to haue the armie holden within *Ferentin*, where by reaſon they ſhoulde not be tyed to the garding of ſo many places, it ſhould be more ſtrong and full, beſides alſo that the place gaue good oportunitie to hinder thenemies for paſſing further. This counſell was approued and holden for good, and according to the reaſons and directions of it, they beſtowed within *Fruſolone* a principall towne of *Campagnia* and within fiue myles of *Ferentin*, a garriſon of eyghteene hundred footemen of the regimentes of *Iohn de Medicis*, who for the moſte parte were called by the name of the blacke bandes: And thither

Continuation of the warre begon in the eſtate eccleſiaſtike.

thither were also sent *Alexander Vitelly*, *Iohn Baptista Sauella*, and *Peter Biraguo*, commaunders ouer light horsemen.

But in this meane while the famuly of the *Colonnois* had secretly conspired with *Napoleon Vrsin* Abbot of *Farfa*, and had induced him to take armes in the towne of *Rome* as souldiour to themprour: But the Pope hauing aduertisement of the whole practise, whiche he dyd dissemble with the same suttlety which he founde it out withall, found meane to send the Abbot, who had receiued money of him before, to mete *Monsr Vaudemont* the duke of *Lorraines* brother, whom the french king sent to him to fauor the enterprise of *Naples*: And by the Popes direction the Abbot was apprehended neare to *Pracciano*, and sent prisoner to the castell *S. Angelo*. The Pope was al this while in no smal thought to make prouision of money, wherin imploring the ayde of other princes, he receiued of new from the king of *England* a supply of thirty thousand duckets which the lord *Russell* his Chamberlaine brought to him: And with him came *Monsr de Rabandanges* with ten thousande crownes sent to him by the french king vpon the benefit of the tenthes which the Pope had accorded to him by necessitie & compulsion, vnder this promise notwithstãding that besides the payments of the forty thousand crownes which he gaue to the league, and twenty thousand which he contributed to the Pope for euery moneth, he should presently minister to him thirty thousand duckets, & within a moneth thirty thousand more: The king of *Englande* gaue commission also to the Lorde *Russell* to signifie to the *Viceroy* and the Duke of *Burbon*, a surseance of armes to thend to giue sufferance and tyme to treate a peace, the practise and negociation whereof according to themprours will, was holden in *Englande*: And if the *Viceroy* would not condiscend to it, then to denounce agaynst him warre. It seemed by this readynes and many other apparances, that the king of *Englande* vnder a desire to marry his daughter with the Frenche king, was well inclined to the confederates and fauoured their cause, And in that good inclination he promised that assoone as the mariage were establishedto enter into the league and beginne the warre in *Flaunders*: It seemed also he was particularly disposed to do pleasure to the Pope: But there could be no great exspectation of ready remedies from a prince who both measured not well the present conditions of *Italy*, nor stoode firme and resolute in his purposes, beeing styll labored and retyred by the hope which themprour gaue him to commit to him the working and arbitration of the peace, notwithstanding theffectes were in nothing correspondant to the semblances and showes he made: for when the Auditor of the Chamber was with him for that matter, albeit themprour did what he could to perswade him in many sortes that such was his intention: yet for that he exspected some euentes from *Italy* since the discending of the launceknightes, and the aryuall of his Nauy at sea wherof he had receiued some aduertisement, he forbare to giue him an aunswere assured and certayne, taking his excuse vppon the warrantes and commissions of the confederates, as though they were not sufficient.

But thaccorde whiche the Pope solicited continually with the *Viceroy*, hurt him not a little with the Confederates, both for that they stoode alwayes in feare least he woulde resolue and compound with him, And also the French king and the *Venetians* made this iudgement, that all the exspences and defraymentes whiche they should make to support him, would be almost vnprofitable: This iudgement and suspicion tooke encreasing by certayne degrees of vehement feares whiche were discerned in him together with the lamentable protestations he made dayly that he was no more hable to susteine the warre: Wherein agaynst hys ordinarye

meane and remedy in that caſe, he oppoſed wilfully his naturall obſtinacy, & would not make Cardinalls for money, nor releeue himſelfe in ſo great neceſſities & amid ſo many daungers of the Church, with thoſe meanes which other Popes had wont to vſe, yea euen in thatchieuing of their vniuſt and ambicious enterpriſes: In which regarde, the French king and the *Venetians*, to be the better prepared and ready in all accidents, were eſtſones particularly bound to make no accord with themprour, the one without the other: And the French king, for that cauſe, and for the great hope which the king of *Englande* gaue to rayſe together with him (in caſe the mariage went forwarde) great emotions in the ſpring following, became more negligent and leſſe carefull of the daungers of *Italy*.

In this time the *Viceroy* who ſolicited an inuaſion vpon the Churche ſtates, diſpatched a regiment of two thouſande Spaniſh footemen, to aſſault a ſmall Caſtell of *Stephen Colonno*, where the vallour of the defendantes made that enterpriſe in vayne: And becauſe the *Viceroy* came on and aduaunced, theccleſiaſtikes referred to an other time to execute the reſolution taken to batter the Popes rocke, the garriſons of which place had ſurpriſed the Caſtell *Gandolffo* but weakly manned, and at that tyme holden by the Cardinall *de Monte*: At laſt the *Viceroy*, after he had aſſembled into one ſtrength twelue thouſande footemen, all bodyes commaunded and trayned ſauing the Spaniards and Launceknights that were come with him by ſea, encamped with his whole armie the xxix. of Ianuary before *Fruſolone*, a towne weake and without walles, ſauing that the howſes of ſome particulars ſerue as a wall, and within the which the capteines of the Church had beſtowed garriſon, becauſe they would leaue him no footing nor entrie into *Campagnia*: to the weaknes of this place was ioyned a great neceſſitie and want of vittells: and yet the ſituation of the towne ſtanding vpon a hill, giueth alwayes to the inhabitantes good meane and oportunitie to ſaue them ſelues of one ſide, for that it beareth a certaine benefite of reskew and backing: A matter which gaue a great reſolution to the garriſon within to defende it, beſides that they were of the beſt choyſe of Italians whiche at that time tooke paye: Moreouer the height of the mountayne was no litle impediment to thenemies to do any action vpon their artilleries, of which they had planted three demy Cannons and foure Coluerines: Onely the greateſt care of thenemies was to ſtoppe as muche as they could the entry of vittells into the towne. On the other ſide the Pope, who albeit was muche impoueriſhed for money, and was more apt to ſuffer indignitie to deſire others to releeue him, then to furniſhe himſelfe by meanes extraordinary, encreaſed his campe as muche as he could with bandes of footemen payed and trayned: And in that incertentie of minde and dealing, he had newly taken into his paye *Horacio Baillon*, without keeping memorie or obſeruation of the iniuries which he had done before to his father, and afterwardes to him, whom he had of long holden priſoner within the Caſtell of *S. Angelo* as a troubler of the quiet of *Perouſa*: With theſe ſupplies of ſouldiours his armie went on alwayes drawing neare to *Ferentin* to make there his generall mooſters, and to giue hope of ſuccours to thoſe that were beſieged. The batterye of *Fruſolona* was reduced to perfection the xxiiij. day, but becauſe it was not ſuche as to giue hope to cary the place, there was no aſſault performed: Onely capteine *Alarcon* trauelling about the walles was hurt with the blowe of a harquebuſe, and likewiſe *Maria Vrſin* was wounded: One of the principall grounds and hopes of the *Viceroy* was, that he was not ignorant that the ſouldiors within ſuffred great ſcarcitie of vittells, as alſo the armie that mooſtred at *Ferentin* was in the ſame extremitie: for the

ſouldiors

ſouldiours of the *Colonnois* whiche laye within *Palicina*, *Montfortin*, and the Popes Rocke, the onely places which they helde, robbed and ſpoyled all that they found vpon the wayes, And *Ranſo* going to the army, hauing for his eskorte and ſafety the bandes of footemen of *Cuio*, they cutte them in peeces and made pillage of what they found. Neuertheleſſe as euery accident of warre is tyed to his ſeuerall euent, and where be made many aduentures there be ſundry iſſues & fortunes: So it happned that three hundred footmen iſſuing out of *Fruſolone* ſeconded & backed by one part of the horſemen which were ledde by *Alexander Vitelli*, *Iohn Baptiſta Sauello*, and *Peter Biraguo*, approched within halfe a myle of *Larnato*, where were lodged fiue enſeignes of Spaniſhe footemen: of which they drewe two enſeignes into an ambuſh and ouerthrew them, and in the conflict was ſlayne capteine *Perault* with fourſcore footemen, many were made priſoners, and two enſeignes wonne and borne away. All this while the *Viceroy* was buſie in caſting of mynes at *Fruſolone*, which for the moſt part were reuerſed by countermynes made by the defendants, who ſtāding fully aſſured in their owne vallour, and fearing litle the forces of the enemies, refuſed the ayde of foure hundred footemen whom the Capteines of the army would haue ſent thither for their ſuccours. And yet amidde all theſe actions and accidentes of warre, the ſolicitations of accorde kept on their courſe with the ſame vehemencie they did before: for at this time the Generall and tharchbiſhop of *Capua* were returned to *Rome*, & with them was come *Cæſar Fieremoſquo* a Neapolitane, whom themprour had diſpatched to the Pope after the *Viceroy* was departed from *Spayne*: To him was giuen full cōmiſſion to aſſure the Pope by eſpeciall proteſtation, both how much he was diſcontented with thaction of *Don Hugo* and the *Colonnois* vpon *Rome*, together with the accidents that followed, & alſo to make impreſſion of themprors deſire and inclination to compound with him friendly, al the controuerſies and differences that were betweene them: Their expedition bare alſo that they ſhould debate vpon the peace in his name, A matter which he ſeemed alſo inclined to accōpliſhe with the other confederates, ſaying according to the relation of his Nuncio, that if the Pope executed his enterpriſe to go to *Bologna*, he would giue him ful and free power to pronounce it as he thought beſt. Theſe deputies propounded for the *Viceroy* a ſurceance of armes for two or three yeres with the Pope & *Venetians*, euery one reteining ſtil the poſſeſſions they enioyed at the preſent, and the Pope to pay an hundred & fifty thouſand duckets, & the *Venetians* fifty thouſand: A taxation albeit not a litle grieuous to the Pope for the difficulties to leauy it, yet ſuch was his inclinatiō to be deliuered of the trauels of the warre, that the rather to induce the *Venetians*, he offred to impoſe vpon himſelf the fifty thouſand duckets rated vpon them: wherin the better to allure their conſents, & to exſpect their anſwere, he made truce for eight dayes with the *Viceroy* the laſt of Ianuary, In which it was agreed that the regiments of the church ſhould not paſſe *Ferentin*, nor the bands of the *Viceroy Fruſolone*, And that as there ſhould be no action executed againſt the towne, ſo likewiſe the towne was forbidden all maner of fortifications & prouiſions of vittels but from one day to an other: Amid which interpoſing of the truce, *Fieremoſquo* thinking he had well ſounded the intention of the Pope, and could alſo diſcouer the meaning of themprour without doing wrong to his dignity, he preſented him a long letter written with the Emprours hand, full of his good intention, offers, & deuotion towards the Pope: But after he was departed from the Popes preſence, & prepared to go ſignifie to the *Viceroy* & the Legate the ſurceance agreed vpon, & to giue addreſſe for the execution of it, the ſame day he found the army departed from *Ferentin* & mar-

Cæſar Fieremoſquo ſent by themprour to the Pope.

ching towards *Frusolono*: he communicated with the Legate all that had passed betwene the Pope & him, who not willing to breake the great hopes which he and his souldiors had of the victory, enterteined his doings with prayse & commendation, and leading him in the abuse of fayre words, he sent secret direction to his capteines not to forbeare to march on. The army could not come in time to *Frusolono*, if they wonne not a passage or way in forme of a bridge lying at the foote of the first hill of *Frusolono*, & garded by foure enseignes of launceknights: But assone as the vauward came which was commaunded by *Stephen Colonno*, & that they came to hand strokes with them, they disordred & put thē to flight, after they had made slaughter of 200. and taken 400. prisoners together with their enseignes: And thus the first hill being wonne, the others by that example retyred into places more strong, leauing a free and safe entry into *Frusolono* to the eccleſiastikes, who omitting nothing which eyther the fauor of their fortune or the oportunity of the time gaue them being nowe very neare night, pitched their tentes and lodgings euen at their beardes: By the benefit of which action *Ranso* and *Vitelly* with whom the Pope was discontented for this enterprise, had great hope to giue them the defeate eyther if they stayde there, or in case they brake vp and retyred, A matter which was beleeued would assuredly haue succeeded if they had incamped vpon the hill which was taken, or had bene diligent or carefull to obserue the retyring of thenemies: for the *Viceroy* not the day following but the thirde day, making no signe nor token that he would dislodge, went away with the army two or three howres before day, setting on fyre certayne munitions that remayned, and left behinde him many bullets & great shot: And albeit the Eccleſiastikes when they knewe he was gone, sent out after him their lighte horsmen, who fel vpon his baggage and tooke a few prisoners of small importance, yet they were not there in sufficient time to do him any notable hurt: And yet he left behinde him one parte of his vittells, and retyred him selfe to *Cesena* and from thence to *Cepperano*. By reason of this retrayte the Pope tooke suche courage concurring also thincitation of thembassadors of the confederates, whom he could not otherwise satisfie, that he resolued to execute thenterprise of *Naples*: for *Rabādanges* who had brought the ten thousand duckets collected of the tenthes, and ten thousand more for the portion of *Ranso*, had commission not to disburse them without the consent of *Albert Pio*, *Ranso*, and *Monsr de Lange*, and that in case they were assured that the Pope would not accord. And touching the *Venetians* (to whom was gone the lorde *Russell* to induce them to accept the truce offred by the *Viceroy* and approued by the Pope, but by the accident of his legge breaking by the waye he sent an other to them) They made aunswere that they would not accept the truce before they were well informed of the Frenche kinges will, in which deniall they stoode so muche the more resolute, by howe muche they vnderstoode that *Genes* was reduced to great extremities and wants of vittels: So that it was determined to inuade the kingdome of *Naples* aswel by sea as by land: and that *Monsr de Vaudemont* should be Admirall of the army by sea, for whose better strength there was addresse giuen to leauy 2000. footmen: But *Ranso* by whose direction was distributed & exspended the money of the french king, determined contrary to the Popes will (who was of opinion to conuert into one place al the forces of that expeditiō) to dispose 6000. men to enter *Abruzza*: he hoped that by the working of the sonnes of the Count *Montoiro* who had bin sent thither with 2000. footmē, they should make an easy action vpon *Aquila*, which accordingly hapned through the feare of *Askanio Colonno*, who assone as he heard of their approch, fled from the daunger which his

The confederates resolue to inuade Naples.

tymerous

tymerous condition would not suffer him to abide. The beginnings and first actions of this enterprise were full of hope and felicitie: for albeit the *Viceroy* who had bestowed garrisons within the places neare him, was busy to readdresse and refurnishe his army asmuch as he could: yet both for that one part of his regimentes was disbanded, and an other parte by necessitie bestowed in garrisons, it was thought he would stande daungerously imbarked, and with great difficultie be hable to make resistance onely to the sea army: It was beleeued also by the same reason that *Ranso* in *Abruzza*, and the Nauies of the Churche and *Venetians* conteining xxij. gallies, should finde no head made agaynst them, both for that they were resupplied with a strength of three thousande men, and also for the ioyning of *Oratio* with two thousande footemen, together with the person of *Monsr de Vaudemont*, who vnder the auncient rightes and claymes of king *Rene*, pretended to the succession of that kingdome, and at that time managed the place of Lieftenaunt generall vnder the Pope: But these matters proceeded very slowely to execution, both for the temporising of the army ecclesiastike not as yet departed from *Frusolono*, where they taryed for the great artilleries that were to come from *Rome*, and also for the expedition of *Abruzza*, and the aryuall of the sea army: These impedimentes and losse of tyme were also increased by the mutinie of the footemen within *Frusolono*, who demaunded double paye, as a matter wonne and due for the victorie. Neuertheles the eightenth day of February the souldiours of the *Viceroy* abandoned *Cesana* and other places confining, & withdrew them selues to *Cepperana*: by thoportunitie of whose retrayte, the army ecclesiastike beginning already to feele the want of vittels, passed *Saint Germain*, and the *Viceroy* fearing to put things to hazard, retyred to *Caietta*, and *Don Hugo* to *Naples*: All whiche notwithstanding the Pope pressed still with his wantes and necessities of money, and fearing no lesse the aduauncing of the Duke of *Burbon*, agaynst whose armye he sawe the Confederates disposed to make no greate resistaunce, continued styll his inclination to compounde with themprour, and in that humor had eftsones procured the Lorde *Russell* to goe vp to the *Viceroy* in the name of his king: Vppon whiche it followed that *Fieremosquo* returned to *Rome* the xxj. of February, from whence also the daye following he departed, hauing published his commissions, and left the Popes minde full of confusion and irresolution: In regarde of whiche perill and the Popes alteration, the *Venetians* least he should rashely intangle him selfe with thaccorde, made offer to him in the beginning of Marche, to sende him in ready money within fifteene daies fifteene thousande duckets, and fifteene thousande more within other fifteene dayes, so farreforth as he would graunt them a *Iubiley* for all their gouernment. But amid these delayes and temporisings the Popes Nauy and the *Venetians*, which had with great losse taryed to exspect the french fleete, and beeing by rage of weather driuen into the Ile of *Ponso* the xxiij. of February, fell with the Molo of *Caietta* and sacked it: And the fourth day of Marche hauing set on lande the footemen at *Pozzolo*, returned eftsones to the sea for that they found it in good condition of defence: And so passing further, they discended agayne neare to *Naples* by the ryuer of the borowe of *Stabbia*, where was *Diomed Caraffa* with fiue hundred footemen: They caryed this borowe by assault the thirde daye on that side of the Mountayne, by whose example the Castell rendred the day after: The tenth day they forced the Greeke towre and *Surrenta*: And in that violence of victorie and fortune, many places on that side yeelded afterwardes vppon composition: This fleete also had taken before certayne shippes laden with grayne for the prouision of *Naples* whiche

Monsr Vaudemont the Popes liefetenant.

Exploytes of the Nauy of the confederates.

had great neede of them, and for want of them ſuffred no ſmall vexation, the rather for that thenemie found no impediment vpon the ſea, neyther was there ſuche order taken as was neceſſarie: In which diſorder and want of good direction, the flete drewe ſo neare the Mole the ſeconde daye in Lent, that the Caſtell and the gallies ſhotte at it: yea the footemen came on ſo faſte by lande, that with great difficultie the Neapolitanes could retyre them ſelues by the Market gate and ſhutte it: After this they tooke *Salerne*: when *Vaudemont* made after certayne ſhippes, and leauing foure gallies at *Salerne* where *Oracio* was, the prince of *Salerne* at the ſame time entred within the towne by the way of the Caſtell with many ſouldiours, but he was ouerthrowne by *Oracio*, in which encounter were ſlayne more then two hundred footemen and many made priſoners. In *Abruzza* after the *Viceroy* had deliuered out of priſon the olde Count of *Montoire* to thende he might recouer *Aquila*, the ſayde Count was no ſooner ſet at liberty by the *Viceroy*, then he was made priſoner by his owne ſonnes. And *Ranſo* who tooke the ſixt of March *Scicibiana* and *Talleconſa*, went vp towards *Sora*: Neuertheles, notwithſtanding the fauor of ſo fayre occaſions, and the benefite of ſo many felicities concurring, the ſouldiors began the firſt daye of March to abandon the army on land by trowpes, and that eyther for want of vittels, or through negligence in the officers, or at leaſt for the yll prouiſions of the Pope.

The negociations and counſels of the peace continued and kept on their courſe, and in that action were come to *Rome* the ſeconde of Marche *Fieremoſquo* and *Serenon* ſecretorie to the *Viceroy*: There they founde aryued the daye before, *Monſr de Lange*, inſtructed with wordes and promiſes ſufficient for the credite of his expedition, but he brought no money notwithſtanding they had aduertiſement out of *Fraunce* that he was departed both with twenty thouſand duckets for the payes of the footemen appoynted to ſerue in the great ſhippes whiche were exſpected at *Ciuitavecchia*, and alſo that he brought twenty thouſand more for the Pope, to helpe to aduaunce thenterpriſe of the realme of *Naples* for one of the ſonnes of the french king, to whom ſhould be giuen in mariage *Katherine de Medicis* daughter to *Lavvrence* and neece to the Pope: for the french king reappoſing muche for him ſelfe in the negociation of *England*, and being perſwaded that the *Viceroy* for the diſorder of *Fruſolono*, coulde execute nothing, and alſo that the army imperiall both for their ſlownes to moue and march, and for their wants & neceſſities of money, would not go at al into *Tuskane*: would heare no further of the motion of the truce, no though it ſhould be generall and extended to comprehende all, and that he ſhould be acquited from all payments of money: Wherin albeit his principall intention was, not to giue time to themprour to reorder and readdreſſe his forces, yet in regarde of his owne nakednes & pouerty of money, he ſent to the Pope no other thing of the xx. thouſand duckets which he had promiſed monthly, nor of the money collected of the tenth, then ten thouſand duckets: Neither had he ſent as yet the wages of thoſe bands of footmen appoynted to the mayne army at ſea running in the common accompts & exſpences of the *Venetians* and him: And laſtly for that he had deſire that there ſhould be no action or enterpriſe till ſome concluſion were made with the king of *Englande*, he thought it but reaſonable that the Pope ſhould temporiſe and exſpect till that time. So that the enterpriſe of *Naples* begun with ſo great felicitie and hope, went euery day diminiſhing and of leſſe exſpectation, for as the army by ſea which was neither made greater by veſſels and ſhipping, nor ſtronger with ſupplies of ſouldiors, was not to execute any great action, the rather for that they were to drawe out of their mayne forces, garriſons of men to defende ſuch places as they tooke:

Katherine de Medicis.

tooke: So the army by land, which for the yll disposition of the tyme, was not as yet possessed of the vittels that were sent from *Rome* by sea, did not onely not aduaunce, but also diminishing dayly by new degrees of disorder and penury of vittells, it retyred at laste to *Piperna*: Besides, those regiments of footemen which *Ranso* ledde and gouerned, were so diminished for want of money, that *Ranso* seeing he could not inclose the *Viceroy* according to the plotte he had layde, returned backe to *Rome*: yea lastly the straite negociation and labor of the accorde which the Pope interteined, augmented greatly those disorders: for as it abated the preparations of the confederates which of them selues came but slowely on, So on the other side it pushed on the Popes inclination to the accorde, wherein he was induced to reappose a greater hope in thintention of themprour, for thintelligence he had by one of his letters surprised, by which he charged the *Viceroy* to enterteine and embrace thaccorde with the Pope, if thestate and condition of his affayres induced him not to take other counsell: But the matter that moste stirred and moued him, was, that he sawe the Duke of *Burbon* marche and aduaunce continually with the armie Imperiall: neyther did he discerne the resolutions of the Duke of *Vrbin* to be so constant, nor the prouisions of the *Venetians* so full and forwarde, as he could be assured of the matters of *Tuskane*, the feare of which brought no small affliction to him: for as thimperialls laye some of them on this side, and some of them beyonde *Plaisanca*, the Duke of *Vrbin* had chaunged his firste opinion, which was to get before them into *Bolognia* with the *Venetian* armie: and had resolued in his counsell, that assoone as he should be aduertised that thenemies would remoue, the armie ecclesiastike leauing good garrison within *Parma* and *Modena*, should goe to *Bolognia*: And for him selfe, he woulde marche with the *Venetian* armie in the tayle of thenemies, though twentye or thirtye miles from them, for the more surety of his people. According to which order, when afterwards thenemies would take the way to *Romagnia* or *Tuskane*, the whole campe should aduaunce continually, the armie ecclesiastik marching alwayes before with the Marquis of *Saluce* leading the french launces, the *Svvizzers* footemen, and his owne, and leauing alwayes garrisons in such places as thenemies should passe by after them, and they afterwards to be reassembled and reuoked from hand to hand according as the enemie should aduaunce and passe; This counsell the Duke iustified and folowed with many reasons, such as the other capteins could neither comprehende nor approue: First he alleaged that there was no surety to assemble and ioyne all together in the fielde to stop the passage of thimperialls: for that it would be a matter eyther daungerous or vnprofitable: Touching the daunger, he referred it to rest in the feight or battell, for that if thimperialls were not superiour in numbers and multitudes, at least they were aboue them in force and vallour: an aduauntage which would make the victory easie to them: And he proued it vnprofitable by this, that if thimperialls would not feight, at least it would be alwayes in their power to leaue behinde them the armie of the confederates, and so keeping alwayes before them, they shoulde be apte to accomplishe great exploytes: Lastely he alleaged, that as in thexperience and reason of things, he helde this counsell better then all others, So also he was constrayned by necessitie to embrace and followe it: for that thimperiall armie beeing as was beleeued halfe shaken, he could not put his people into suche speedy readynes as to be assured to marche in tyme and to gette before: Besides, seeing the *Venetians* had wholly reapposed them selues vppon him touching that deliberation, he was to consider not to leaue their estate in daunger, which if thennemies discerned

to be vnfurniſhed, they might, taking newe counſell vppon newe occaſions, turne their courſe to paſſe ouer *Pavv*, and ſo intrude vpon their landes to their harmes. This reaſon might ſuffice to content the Senate of *Venice*, for that naturally they haue for obiect to proceede aduiſedly and ſurely in all their affayres: But it did not ſatisfie the Pope, for that vnder that counſell he ſawe opened a waye to thimperiall armie to take their courſe euen vp to *Rome* or to *Tuskane*, or to make their paſſage into what place they liſte, ſeeing there was no poſſibilitie of reſiſtance by the armie that was to goe before, bothe for that they were to diſtribute in places as they paſſed garriſons of ſouldiours, and alſo their mayne ſtrength was to ſuffer diminution by other meanes: Neyther was it a matter certayne, that in the *Venetians* tarying once behinde, woulde bee as greate readineſſe to followe with effectes, as the Duke was liberall to promiſe in wordes, conſidering his cuſtome and manner of proceeding in all the courſe of the warre before: Laſtely he iudged that if the armies were reduced into one ſtrength, wherein the numbers of ſouldiours farre exceeded the Imperialls, they mighte with more facilitie ſtoppe thennemie for paſſing further, cutte off the traffike of their vittells, obſerue all occaſions that offred, and neuer be ſo farre remoued from them, that in good ſeaſon and oportunitie they might not ſuccour the townes of the *Venetians* if thennemie offred to make anye violent action vpon them. But this reſolution diſpleaſed him ſo muche the more, by howe muche he vnderſtoode the Duke of *Vrbin* beeing come to *Parma* the thirde of Ianuarie, was retyred the fourth daye to *Caſalmaior*, by the accident of a ſmall maladie that happned vppon him, and fiue dayes after he went from thence to *Caſſola* vnder cooller to cure his ſickneſſe: To whiche place he ſent for his wife, beeing ſomewhat eaſed of his feauer, but tormented as he ſayde with the panges of the gowte. Suche as were fauourers and good interpreters of this manner of dealing very ſuſpicious to the Pope, referred the cauſe of all to his negociations and practiſes of peace: but hys Lieftenaunt *Guicciardin* comprehending partely by tokens of likelyhood and probabilitie, and partely by information of the Dukes owne wordes and ſpeeches, that hys deſyre to recouer *Montfeltro* and *Saint Leo* poſſeſſed by the *Florentins*, was the matter that induced hym to that deliberation: And iudging that if in that he were not contented, he woulde leaue bothe the Pope and *Florentines* abandoned in their greateſt neceſſities: and laſtlye ſuppoſing that he iudged not theſe places to bee a rewarde worthy ynough for expoſing him ſelfe to ſo greate a daunger: and knowinge withall that they had the ſame deſyre at *Florence*: In all theſe reſpectes he gaue to the Duke an aſſured hope of the reſtitution of thoſe places, as though he had commiſſion ſo to do from the Pope: Which neuertheleſſe was not approued by the Pope, who in that caſe ſuffred him ſelfe to be caryed more by olde and newe hatreds, then by equitie or reaſon.

In all this meane whyle thimperialls, who had made diſtribution of a very ſmall ſumme of money amongeſt the Launceknightes, kepte them ſelues incamped vppon the confines of *Plaiſanca*, where was the Counte *Guido Rangon* wyth ſixe thouſande footemen: At whiche place *Pavvle Luzaſquo* wyth certayne other light horſemen of theccleſiaſtikes making ſometymes incurſions to diſcouer the countrey: and beeing in that action one daye accompanied with certayne bandes of footemen and ſome men at armes, they encountred a trowpe of enemies of the ſame facultie and profeſſion, whom they ouerthrewe and tooke foure skore horſe and an hundred footemen, ouer and beſides Capteines *Scalenguo*, *Succar*, and

Gruguy

Gruguy Burgonions who remeyned prisoners: After this *Monsr Burbon* sent out tenne ensignes of Spanyardes to reuittell *Pisqueton*, and ioyntlie with that action, the Count *Caiazzo* with the light horsemen and with his regimentes of footemen, came to lodge in the borowe of *Saint Donyn* which the Ecclesiastikes had abandoned: The sayd Count the day after according to an intelligence which was enterteyned with him before, and also pretending for want of his pay, to be acquited and made free from his othe which he had giuen to th Imperialls, passed to the campe Ecclesiastike, where he was enterteined by the Lieuttenaunt (though more to content others then of his owne inclinacion) and with him were taken into wages twelue hundred footemen, and an hundred and thirtie light horsemen which he had with him: This condicion was tyed to the contract, that if th Emperour tooke from him by way of warre or other violence his Earldome of *Caiazzo*, the Pope within eight monethes should indue him with so muche in yearelie value as th Erledom was worth, and to remeyne possessed of it vntill he had recouered his owne.

Count Caiazzo goeth from th imperialls to the pay of th Ecclesiastikes.

The Duke of *Ferrara* refusing alwayes to come to tharmie, pushed on by perswasions the Duke of *Burbons* desire, to take his course rather to *Bolognia* and *Florence*, then to stay and intangle his armie with the action of those townes: And as an armie of souldiours compounded vppon sundrie natures, nations, and languages, draweth after it for the most parte so many sortes of accidentes and aduersities, as it conteyneth seuerall complexions and humors: So, his regimentes of Spanishe footemen, either for want of money in deede, or making that their colour, drewe into mutinie the seuenteenth day demaunding their pay: And albeit in that rage of insolency, they slue the sergeaunt Maior whom the Duke had sent to appease them, yet vsing mildnesse and gouernment where his sergeaunt Maior sought to manage them by authoritie and rigor, he raunged them by discression whome his officer could not reduce by seueritie, and so with mindes well reconciled the twentie day he passed ouer *Trebia* with his whole armie, and incamped about three myles from *Plaisanca* hauing with him fiue hundred men at armes, and many light horsemen *Italians* who were not payed: Touching the old bandes of Launceknights one parte of them were appointed to remeyne at *Myllan*, and the others were addressed to *Sauona* to aide those of *Genes* who were reduced to great necessitie: Sure the resolucion of the Duke of *Burbon* and the armie, which he led, was straunge and wonderfull, for that being without money and pay which onely leadeth the souldiour to fight, and hauing no municions, without the which standeth maimed all enterprises of warre, and standing destitute of the seruice of pionners, a matter most important in the action of townes and peeces, and lastlie being followed with no addresse nor order for vittells which alwayes is accompted one of the strongest vaines or sinewes of an armie, They sought to aduaunce and passe further amidde so many priuacions and wantes, thorowe so many townes and peeces of thenemies, and against foes of farre greater numbers then they: But more recommendable was the constancie of the Launceknightes, who being drawne out of *Germanie* with one onlie duckat a peece, and suffering a long time with a wonderfull temperance in *Italie*, and neuer were releeued since they first sette their foote to marche with more then two or three duckats at the most, offered to march on with the same resolucion and cherefullnes of minde with the which they betooke them selues first to the seruice: And in that good example to all souldiours of other nations, they passed on, contrarie to the ordinarie custome of men of warre, and especiallie against the humor of their owne climate and region depending vpon no other pay or assignacion then

vpon the hope of the victory notwithstanding it was manifestlie discerned that they coulde not continue without money, both for the neareneſſe of thennemies whoſe importunitie preſſed them, and for the neceſſities of vittells which more and more grewe into extreame penurie: Onely amidde theſe ſufferinges and afflictions they were muche ſtayed and ſupported by the authoritie and operacion of Capteyne *George*, who the better to conteyne them, ſette before their eyes the ſacke of *Rome*, and the bootie of moſt patte of *Italie*, a matter which he thought moſt agreable to mindes repleniſhed with impreſſions of ambicion, glorie, and profit: And in that good confotmacion of minde, the armie marched the two and twentie day to the borowe of *Saint Donyn:* Out of the which the day following iſſued the Marquis of *Saluſſa* and the Eccleſiaſtike regimentes leauing certeine bandes of *Venetian* footemen for the garde of *Parma*, and ſo they followed the way of *Bolognia* with eleuen or twelue thowſande footemen: But it was ordeined that the Count *Guido* ſhoulde come from *Plaiſanca* to *Modena*, and the footemen of the blacke bandes to *Bolognia*, leauing a ſufficient garriſon within *Plaiſanca:* In this ſorte in foure remoues they marched by the countrey of *Reggia* betwene *Anzolo* and the bridge of *Rene*: At that time the Duke of *Burbon* was vppon the confines of *Reggia:* And the Duke of *Vrbin* who being perſwaded at *Caſalmaior* by *Guicciardin* to augment his number of *Swvizzers*, had refuſed it as a matter vnproffitable: ſtoode nowe vpon vehement inſtaunce to ſende to *Rome* and *Venice* to make a newe leauie of foure thowſand *Swvizzers* & two thowſand Launceknights: In which variacion and chaunge of his minde, he excuſed the contradiction that was made then, both for that the ſeaſon did not then require to take the fielde, and alſo he beleued by many reaſonable coniectures that thennemies woulde haue diſſolued and broken, whom nowe he promiſed to accoaſt with that ſtrength and newe ſupplie: But that was a councell ill diſgeſted of them all, & not holden indifferent of any, both for that there was no poſſibilitie to releeue the daungers that were preſent with remedies ſo ſlow and farre of, and alſo that for the difficulties of money, and the diſagreement of the confederats, the effect of that councell could not be put in execucion.

In this time the Duke of *Millan*, with the vallour of three thowſande footemen whom he had aſſembled, did not only defend *Loda*, *Cremona*, and all that contrie beyond *Adda*, and made incurſions vpon the territories of *Millan*, but alſo ioyning order to celeritie, he ſurpriſed with the ſame felicitie the towne of *Monce:* Neuertheleſſe his ſouldiours left it eftſoones abandoned hauing aduertiſement that *Antho. de Leua* (who after he had giuen conduit to the Duke of *Burbon* was returned to *Millan*) marched thither with two thowſand of the old Launceknights & fiftene hundred of a new leauy, a thowſand Spaniſh footemen, and fiue thowſande *Italians*, commaunded by diuerſe Capteines.

The Duke of Ferrara coũcelleth the Duke of Burbon to goe to Rome.

But after the Duke of *Burbon* had paſſed the riuer of *Secchia*, he tooke his way on the left hande and arriued the fift day of Marche as *Bonport:* There he left his people, and went him ſelfe to *Finalo* to communicate with the Duke of *Ferrara*, who perſwaded him with many argumentes and reaſons to drawe towardes *Florence* or *Rome*, and to reduce thither all his thoughtes: Yea it was thought that the ſcoape of his councell tended chiefelie to take his courſe to *Rome*, and in regarde of that to lette paſſe all other enterpriſes: In this deliberacion there occurred many accidentes and difficulties which troubled the minde of the Duke of *Burbon*, but chiefelie he feared, leaſt the armie being come to *Rome*, they woulde paſſe on to the realme of *Naples*, and that either for neceſſitie whiche is mightie

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in the mindes of ſouldiours, or for deſire to be refreſhed which their long wearines, and ſufferance did iuſtly chalenge, or for ſome other difficultie that might happen whereof he did not dout, neither had his dout bene fallible or vaine, if at his comming to *Rome* he had not found the Pope diſarmed: The ſame day did the regiments of the *Venetians* paſſe the riuer of *Pavv* without the perſon of the Duke of *Vrbin*, who notwithſtanding he was almoſt recouered and hoale, yet he remayned at *Gazzolo* though with intencion to put him ſelfe on the way forthwith: The ſeuenth day the Duke of *Burbon* lodged at *Saint Iohn* vpon the confines of *Bolognia*, from which place he ſent a trompet to *Bolognia*, whether were retyred the armie Eccleſiaſtike: The ſummonce of the trompet was to demaund vittells, and to aſſure them that the Duke of *Burbon* would go to the ſuccors of the realme of *Naples*: And the ſame day the bandes of Spanyardes that were within *Carpy* after they had deliuered vp the towne to the Duke of *Ferarra*, ioyned them ſelues with the Duke of *Burbon*: The armie of the *Venetians* lay incamped along the riuer of *Secchia*, not reſolued to paſſe further onleſſe they firſt vnderſtoode that the Duke of *Burbon* were diſcamped from *S. Iohn*, into whoſe army had paſſage & reſort a traffike of vittels from aboue the territories of *Ferrara*: But for that the vittellors demaunded money of the ſouldiours, who had almoſt none to pay, they diſperſed them ſelues to lodge at large & abroad, to eate and deuour the contrie, and in that wretched inſolencie they ranne into all places robbing both man and beaſt the better to furniſh them of meanes to pay for their vittells: The ſame bringing ſuche a diſorder ouer the whole armie, that it was holden for certeine that if in that confuſion they had met with any ſtrong encounter, or if thEccleſiaſtikes who were within *Bolognia* and the confines there aboutes, would haue incamped neare them, their owne diſorder would haue drawne vppon them no ſmall difficulties and daungers: Both for that ſo long as they continued ſo diſperſed at large and at randome, their perills coulde not but be more apparaunt then their ſafetie, and reducing them ſelues into a ſtrait and one campe, they ſtoode depriued of all meane and prouidence for vittells: The bandes alſo that were within *Bolognia* were not without their diſorders, as wel through the condicion of the Marquis who was more apt to breake a launce in a fayer ſhow at tilt then to manage the office of a Capteine in the fielde: as alſo for that the *Svvizzers* and his companies of footemen were not payed in times dewe by the *Venetians*, the ſame beinge the cauſe that made them loaſe a fayer occaſion: In the meane while the Duke of *Burbon* to thende to paſſe further, was at the poynt to drawe from *Ferrara* a prouiſion of vittells for many dayes, together with a proporcion of powder, pyoners and oxen to drawe foure cannons: Wherein notwithſtanding he made many demonſtracions that ſuch was his intencion, yet it was holden for certeine that he was determined to paſſe into *Tuskane* by the way paued or cawſeyed: The like was confirmed by *Ierom Moron*, who many dayes before had holden a ſecrete intelligence with the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, though in the iudgemēt of many, but frandulently & diſſemblinglie: But ſuch is the operacion of a diſorder begon, that if it be not as well cured at the roote as reconciled at the top, it goeth on working to daũgerous effects euen as a fire couered and raked vp with aſhes is not fullie quenched but ſmoothered and preſerued to a greater burning: for, as the army was appointed to depart & breake vp the foureteenth day of March, & to that end had ſent backe againe to *Bodyn* the foure cannons: So the day before, the bands of Launceknightes hauing bene long led in abuſe by many promiſes made to pay them, ioyned their exclamacions to the complaints of the Spaniſh footmen, & began with inſolent voices to call for their payes,

wherein giuing scoape to their discontentmentes to passe from one passion of rage to an other, they mutined & drew into manifest tumult, and that to the great daunger of the life of the Duke of *Burbon*, if he had not with present diligence escaped from his lodging, which in their fury they inuaded & sacked killing one of his gentlemen who stoode to defend the goods of his maister: By reason of this accident the Marquis of *Guast* went foorthwith to *Ferrara*, from whence he returned with some litle summe of money, with the which the army was reappeased: The seuenteenth day there fell from the regions aboue such abundance of snowe and raine, that for certeine dayes it tooke away all libertie of marching, as well for the impediment of the wayes made worse by the ill weather, as for the swelling of the riuers which the snowes and landfluddes had made equal with the toppes of their bankes or shoares: By which intemperaunce of the wether instrumentallie working in the destinie assigned, Capteine *George* fell sicke of an appoplexie which so vexed him to the great perill of his life, that at least thennemies hoped that he would become vnprofitable to followe the campe, and vnder that occasion the Launceknightes would no more beare their incommodities, and want of money: But the effect was otherwise then thapparance declared: By this time the *Venetian* armie was at *S. Fauustin* neare to *Rubiero*, to whom the eighteenth of Marche came the person of the Duke of *Vrbin*, who according to his custome promised to the Senate of *Venice* almost a certeintie of the victorie, not so much through the vallour and puissance of the confederates, as for the difficulties and straites whereunto were reduced thennemies.

The Pope loaseth corage and why.

But now the affaires of the Pope being reduced on all parts to these hard tearmes, he ranne a careless course accompanied with faintnesse of courage, both for that he was pinched with the want & necessitie of money wherein his care was so much the greater by howe muche did redouble his extremities, and also for thenterprise of *Naples* which tooke not succesſe according to his first deuises, and lastlie for that his companies were retyred to *Piperna*, being no longer hable to endure the want of vittells: But the matter that most tooke away his resolucion and spirite, was the temporising of the Frenche in whom was found no correspondencie betwene their promises and their effects, a custome which they had duely obserued euen from the first day of the warre till the last end of the same: for, besides that the king was long in sending the fortie thowsande duckats for the first moneth of the warre, and to dispatche the fiue hundred launces for the sea armie: And besides that he woulde not according as he was bounde, make warre beyonde the mountes which was one of the principall fundacions and meanes sette downe to aspire to the victorie: Yet also he failed to obserue his promises with the Pope from day to day, that besides the ordinarie contribucion, he would minister to him monethly twentie thowsand duckats to make warre in the realme of *Naples*: Also the truce being made by reason of the conspiring of *Don Hugo* and the *Colonnois*, he councelled him not to keepe the articles of the truce, and confirmed vnto him the same promise not onlie to ayde him in the warres against *Naples*, but also in all actions for his proper defense: And lastly he promised to send to him *Ranso de Cere* whom he fauored much, for that he had expressed great vallour in the defense of *Marselles*: All which things, albeit they had bene promised from the moneth of October, yet it was so long ere they were executed, that it was the fourth day of Ianuarie before *Ranse* came to *Rome*, and yet he brought no money, and also it was ten dayes after before the twenty thowsand duckats were sent: Of which summe foure thowsand were reteined by *Ranse* as well for his expenses and defrayments, as for his pension, and ten thowsand

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were conuerted to furniſh thenterpriſe of *Abruzze*, ſo that to the Popes hands who vnder that promiſe had broken the truce almoſt three moneths before, there neuer came of that ſumme more then ſix thowſand: Moreouer the king had promiſed the Pope in regard of his conſenting to a tenth, to pay vnto him xxv. thouſand crownes within eight dayes, and xxxv. thowſand more within two monethes: But he neuer receiued aboue nine thowſand which were brought him by *Monſr Rabandanges*: The king alſo extended his promiſe further, for that after *Pavvle Aretze* had taken his leaue of him the twelfth of Februarie, he promiſed him a coplemēt of twenty thowſand duckats to thend to giue to the Pope a better ſtomake to make warre: But the ſayd twentie thowſande duckats which were ſent after *Monſr de Lange*, neuer paſſed further then *Sauona*: The king was bound by the capitulacions of the confederacion to ſend twelue gallies of which ſorte of veſſells he ſayd he had ſent ſixteene, but the moſt parte of them ſo ill prepared and ſo ſlenderlie furniſhed of men to ſet on land that they ſtirred not from *Sauona*: Where, if at the firſt when ouerture was made of the warre againſt the kingdome of *Naples*, they had immediatly ioyned with the gallies of the Pope and *Venetians*, they would not but haue executed right great exployts: And touching the armie by ſea verie mightie in great veſſells, notwithſtanding the king had made many promiſes to ſende them out againſt *Naples*, yet they neuer went farre from *Prouence*, or *Sauona*: Furthermore, after he had condiſcended to geue two payes to the ſouldiours of the Marquis of *Saluſſe*, he agreed with the *Venetians* who had a leſſe number of ſouldiours then he to whome they were bounde, that their pay ſhoulde be taken vpon the contribucion of the fortie thowſand duckats: He ſaw the comfortes and ſuccours of the king of *England* were verie farre of and vncerteine: The *Venetians* made but ſlowe paymentes to their companies, and for that cauſe the bandes of the Marquis of *Saluſſe* and the *Svvizzers* who were within *Bolognia*, ſerued almoſt for nothing: The variacions and vncerteinties of the Duke of *Vrbin*, aſtoniſhed him not a litle, ſince thereby he diſcerned that no impediment would be giuen to thImperials to paſſe into *Tuskane*: By which meane, waying together with the ill diſpoſicion of the people of *Florence*, thintelligence which the Citie of *Sienna* had with thImperialls, he ſaw that not onelie the ſtate of *Florence* woulde fall into manifeſt daunger, but alſo the circuit and iuriſdiction of the Churche: All which reaſons albeit they moued him greatlie and wrought no ſmall impreſſions in him, yet after many driftes and doubtes, notwithſtanding he diſcerned well enough howe infamous and daungerous it would be to ſeparate him ſelfe from the confederates and to referre him to the diſcreſſion of thennemies: yet, both for that he was not ſufficientlie ſuccored by the reſidue, and much leſſe would applie ſuche aide of him ſelfe as he might, and alſo being ouerruled by paſſions of preſent feare and not hable to reſiſt with reſolucion and courage, the difficulties and daungers occurring, he determined to accord with *Fieramoſquo* and *Serenon* whom the *Viceroy* had ſent to *Rome* for that matter: The articles of thaccorde were theſe: That there ſhould be a ſurceance of armes for eight monethes, the Pope paying to thImperiall army three ſcore thowſand duckats: That whatſoeuer had bene taken vpon the Church, vpon the realme of *Naples*, and vpon the familie of the *Colonnois*, ſhould be rendered: That *Pompey Colonno* ſhould be reſtored to the dignitie of Cardinall with abſolucion of all paynes and Cenſures: This was a condicion moſte greeuous to the Pope, and wherunto he condiſcended with a verie ill will: That the Frenche king and *Venetians* might enter this accord within a certeine time: That in caſe they did enter, the Launceknightes ſhoulde goe out of *Italie*, and if they did

The Pope accordeth with thImperialls.

not enter, then they ſhoulde departe from the Church eſtate, and likewiſe from the territories of *Florence*: That the Pope ſhould pay in fortie thowſand duckats within two and twentie dayes accompting from the preſent day, and to ſatisfie the reſidue within one moneth after: That the *Viceroy* ſhoulde come to *Rome*, which the Pope ſuppoſed to be the beſt meane to aſſure him that the Duke of *Burbon* ſhould obſerue thaccorde, a hope wherein he was eftſoones confirmed by the relacion of a letter ſurpriſed by *Guicciardin*, by which the Duke of *Burbon* aduertiſed the *Viceroy* of the difficulties of the armie, for remedie whereof he councelled him to growe to accorde with the Pope ſo farre foorth as it might be done with thEmperours honor: Immediatlie vpon the concluding of thaccorde, either partie retyred their bandes of ſouldiours, reuoked their armie by ſea, and the places that were taken were rendered, the Pope vſing good faith, and meaning in thexecucion of the contentes of the capitulacion, notwithſtanding at that time he had the better in all the realme of *Naples*: ſauing that in the parte of *Agnila*, the ſonnes of the Count *Montoiro* douting to remeine there in ſafetie, deliuered vp their father, who foorthwith with the fauor of the faction Imperiall chaſed them out of that prouince together with all thoſe that were againſt him: After this the *Viceroy* came to *Rome*, by reaſon of whoſe preſence there, the Pope iudging he ſtoode euerie way in good ſuretie for thobſeruacion of thaccorde, diſmiſſed with a verie ill councell, all thoſe bandes of ſouldiours that were in his pay in the quarters of *Rome*: Reteining only two hundred light horſemen, and two thowſand footemen of the blacke bandes: he was induced to this diſmiſſion of his regimentes by an opinion he had that the Duke of *Burbon* was inclined to thaccord, both for the difficulties that increaſed vpon him dayly, and alſo for the teſtimonie he had alwayes giuen of his deſire and diſpoſicion to peace.

But the affaires tooke an other courſe about the confines of *Bolognia*, for, aſſoone as the truce was eſtabliſhed, the Pope diſpatched *Cæſar Fieremoſquo* to the Duke of *Burbon* to approue and confirme thaccord, & to ſee him depart from of the Church lands ſo ſoone as he ſhould receiue money: But contrarie to their exſpectacion and the teſtimonies he had giuen before, the Duke of *Burbon* ſhewed a hard diſpoſicion to the peace, and in his ſouldiours appeared a farre more forward inclinacion, who ſemed to ſtand reſolut to follow the warre, either for that they ſtoode fixed vpon the hope of a great profit, or becauſe the moneys promiſed by the Pope, were not ſufficient to ſatisfie two paies: A matter which induced many to beleue, that if the Pope had aduaunced to the ſumme of an hundred thowſande duckats, the ſouldiours had eaſely accepted the truce: But whatſoeuer was the ground or campe of their obſtinacie, it is certaine that after the comming of *Fieremoſquo*, they ceaſſed not to rake and harrie the partes of *Bolognia* as before, and expreſſe vpon the people all demonſtracions and actes of ennemies: Neuertheleſſe the Duke of *Burbon* who cauſed to caſt platformes, and *Fieremoſquo* gaue continuall hope to the Popes Lieutenaunt that notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties & inſolencies the army ſhould accept the truce: together with which promiſe, *Burbon* aſſured him that he was conſtrained to caſt platformes and expreſſe other apparaunces of enterpriſe, only to enterteine the armie in hope to paſſe further, vntill he had reduced them to his deſire which was to keepe amitie with the Pope: Notwithſtanding at the ſame time were brought to the campe many prouiſions of meale, pyenors, cartes, powder and other like neceſſaries ſent by the Duke of *Ferrara*, who afterwards iuſtefied him ſelfe that neither the money he had ſent them, nor all other releues of what nature ſo euer, paſſed not the value of three ſcore thowſand duckats: But on the other ſide the Duke of *Vrbin*,

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vnder a ſemblance of feare that if the army did accept the truce, it would returne towards *Poliſena de Rovvigno*, retyred the *Venetian* regiments beyonde *Pavv* and incamped at *Caſalmaior*: In this eſtate of ſuſpenſe and temporiſing continued the affayres of the warre for eyght dayes: But at laſt the Duke of *Burbon*, eyther for that ſuch had bene alwayes his intencion, or bicauſe the army was falne into an inſolencie aboue his power to reſtrayne, wrote letters to the Lieuetenant *Guicciardin*, that ſince he was not able to raunge the ſouldiers to his will, neceſſitie conſtrayned him to paſſe further: And putting it accordingly in execucion, he remoued the daye following being the laſt of Marche, and went to incampe at the bridge of *Rene*, where the furie of the footemen of the campe, had killed a gentleman ſent by the *Viceroy* to ſolicit the Duke of *Burbon* to imbrace the truce, had he not both with good celeritie and fortune auoyded the daunger of his life by fleeing away: But in that humor of rage and mutinie they expreſſed farre more inſolent demonſtracions againſt the Marquis of *Guaſt*, who being gon from tharmye to draw to the Realme of *Naples* by reaſon of his indiſpoſicion, or not to be concurrant with others to impugne th Emprours will, or induced happly by ſome other cauſe, was publiſhed and proclaymed rebell by the ſouldiers of tharmy.

The comming of the Duke of *Burbon* to the bridge of *Rene*, aſſured the Marquis of *Saluſſo* and the Popes Lieuetenant, that the army would drawe directly towardes *Romagnia*. By reaſon whereof, after they had left one parte of *th Italian* footemen for the gard of *Bolognia*, and with great difficultie brought thether the *Svvyzzers* for whoſe payes the Popes Lieuetenant was driuen to lend tenne thowſand duckats to *Iohn Vetturio*, they went the ſame night with the reſidue of the army to *Furly*, whereinto they entred the third day of Aprill, leauing within *Imola* a ſufficient garriſon to defend it: Somewhat beneath the ſame citie, the Duke of *Burbon* paſſed the fift day and incamped more lower vnder the high way. But thaduertiſement being come to *Rome* that the Duke of *Burbon* had not accepted the truce, the *Viceroy* made many ſemblances to be diſcontented, wherein perſwading him ſelfe that according to the former aduertiſements he had receiued, it was needeful to aduaūce a greater ſumme of money, he diſpatched a gentleman of his to make an offer of twenty thowſand duckats more, which he would leauy of the reuenues of *Naples*: But vnderſtanding that the gentleman had hardly eſcaped with the hazard of his life, he departed from *Rome* in perſon the third of Aprill, to meete and conferre with the Duke of *Burbon*, promiſing the Pope to compell him to imbrace the truce by ſeperating from him the men at armes & moſt part of the Spaniſh footemē, if by other meanes he could not induce him: But arriuing the ſixt daye at *Florence*, he ſtayed there as in a place moſt conuenient, to debate with the Deputies whome the Duke of *Burbon* ſent to him: By whome he was fully aſſured that there was no poſſibilitie to ſtay or conteine the army, but by aduauncing a greater defrayment of money, and that to be leauied vppon the *Florentyns*, vppon whome the Pope had layed all the charge of that prouiſion.

Theſe variacions increaſed greatly the difficulties & daungers of the Pope, which for many dayes before were augmented euen into degrees of extremities: for, both amyd ſuch an vncerteinty of councells and dealings of the Duke of *Burbon*, and by the ſucceſſe and yſſue drawne from the labor of the *Viceroy*, he ſtoode neede of the ſuccours of the confederats, the actions of whom went on dayly diminiſhing and abating, notwithſtanding the perſwaſions and inſtance of the Lieuetenant *Guicciardin*: The reaſon grewe vppon the Popes owne dealing, for that in all his ſpeeches &

demonſtracions, he gaue knowledge of his deſire to the accord together with the great hope he had of the ſucceſſe of the ſame by the working of the *Viceroy*: And on the other ſide, the Lieuetenant, who comprehended by many ſignes that the Popes hope was vaine, and by the ſame reaſon ſaw that if the prouiſions of the confederats grewe cold, the matters of *Florence* and *Rome* ſtoode in apparant daunger, fell to perſwade with many ſtronge reaſons and ſimilitudes the Marquis of *Saluſſo* & the *Venetians*, that the accorde would not ſort to effect: Wherein he forgat not to encorage them, that, if not for the regardes of others, at leaſt for their owne intereſts, they would not abandon the affayres of the Pope and *Tuskane*: And in that action, the better to inſinuate credit and authoritie, he did not diſſemble that the Pope did vehemently deſire and demaund truce, and did vndiſcreetly labor and exſpecte the ſame, not looking into the manifeſt abuſes and doublenes of the Imperialls: he forgat not alſo to induce them, that though by ayding him they obteyned no other thing then to make eaſie for him the condicions of the accord: yet in that action they ſhould driue a drift of great good and profit to them ſelues, for that the Pope by their helpe, would accord for him and for the *Florentyns* vnder condicions which ſhould litle hurt the league: Where, if they left him abandoned, the neceſſitie of his affayres would compell him to pay to the Imperialls, a great ſumme of money preſently, with continuacion of ſome huge contribucion monthly for thinterteyning of thoſe armes and ſouldiers with the which the warre was to be brought againſt them afterwards: In which regardes, onles they would wilfully preiudice and harme them ſelues, they ought to ſtirre & come on with all their forces, to defend *Tuskane* whenſoeuer the Duke of *Burbon* would aduaunce to inuade it: The matter of this deliberacion reduced the Marquis of *Saluſſo* into no ſmal doubts & perplexities, but much more it heaped aſtoniſhment vppon the *Venetians*: for, the puſillanimitie of the Pope being not vnknowen to them both, they held for certeine, that though they ſhould ſeeke to ſuccor him of newe, yet he would not ſticke to embraſe thaccord (without reſpect to the confederats) as often as he had meane to obteyne it: Inſomuch as it ſeemed that they were preſſed in a matter very new and ſtraunge, to miniſter ayde to him to thend he might more eaſily accord with their common enemies: They conſidered that to leaue him abandoned, would be more preiudiciall to their common affayres: And yet they ſaw that they could not leaue their men in manifeſt daunger betweene the Appenyn and the ennemies, and in a contrye become already againſt them, if, whileſt they were in *Tuskane*, the Pope did eyther confirme thaccord, or made a new: Moreouer the Senate of *Venice* feared leaſt the Pope made inſtance to haue their men paſſe into *Tuskane*, to thende to conſtrayne them to conſent to a ſurceance of armes, by meane of the daunger wherein they ſhould be to loſe their mẽ. The Lieuetenant had eaſily retyred the Marquis of *Saluſſo* from thoſe doubts & perplexities, notwithſtanding he was encoraged to the contrary by many of his councell, to thende not to commit his ſouldiers to daunger: So that euen as he had not bene ready to come to *Furly*, ſo he refuſed not to paſſe into *Tuskane* if neede ſo required: But the *Venetians* who ſought to hold the Pope and *Florentyns* vnder hope, and on the other ſide, were apt to ſtand ready prepared from day to daye, to take ſuch courſe as the occurrances of things did require: gaue out directions to the Duke of *Vrbyn* to yſſue out of *Caſalmaior* the fourth day of Aprill, and to ſend the horſemen on that ſide beyond by the way that leadeth to *Pavv*, and the footemen alonge the riuer: And the Duke of *Vrbin* hauing regard to his owne perticular, was fearefull by the courſe that the Imperialls tooke into *Romagnia*, in which humor he diſpatched a

regiment

regiment of two thowſande footemen *Venetians*, for the gard of his owne eſtates, notwithſtanding many were of opinion and perticularly the Pope, that he had paſſed a ſecret promiſſe to the Duke of *Burbon*, not to ſtoppe his paſſage into *Tuskane*,

But in this meane while the Duke of *Burbon* caſting to recouer vittells from all partes of which he had great want, ſent one part of tharmie affore *Cotignola*, a towne which after it had endured certeine ſummonce of the cannon, rendred vnder compoſicion, notwithſtanding it was very ſtronge by fortificacion and walls: for, they of the towne fearing the hauocke and inſolencies of ſouldiers had refuſed thoſe bands that were ſent to defende them: After the action of *Cotignola*, the Duke of *Burbon* ſent to *Lugo* foure cannons: And aſwell to make prouiſion of vittells, as for thimpediment of waters, he aboad three or foure dayes vppon the riuer of *Lamono*: And ſo he paſſed the riuer of *Montono* the xiij daye of Aprill and lodged at *Villafrancho* fiue miles from *Furly*: The ſame daye did the Marquis of *Saluſſo* ſtrippe and robbe fiue hundred footemen Spaniſh disbanded, who were gon out towards *Monto Poggio* to make pillage for vittels according to the example of the whole army being conſtrained by the great penury and neceſſitie of releeſe: The xiiij daye the Duke of *Burbon* incamped aboue the way that leadeth towards *Meldolo*, A way to paſſe into *Tuskane* by *Galearo* and *Valdibagnio*: he was ſolicited to take that way by them of *Sienna* who offred to him great quantities of vittells and pyonners: And in the way (inſolencies following diſorders) the launceknights who burned all as they paſſed, aſſaulted the towne of *Meldolo* which rendred vppon compoſicion, but was conſumed with fire notwithſtanding: That day the Duke of *Burbon* was aduertiſed that the *Viceroy* by the conſent of the Lord *La Motte* ſent by him for that effect, had capitulated the day before at *Florence* in this ſorte: That without going from other matters, but confirming of newe the capitulacion made at *Rome*, The Duke of *Burbon* ſhould beginne within fiue dayes next, to retyre him ſelfe with the armye: That at the firſt place whereunto he ſhould be retyred, there ſhould be paied to him three skore thowſand duckats, to which the *Viceroy* did adde twentye thowſande: That he ſhoulde receiue three skore thowſand more by the ende of the next moneth of Maye, of which the *Viceroy* by a ſcedule ſubſigned with his owne hand, bownd thEmprour to reſtore and repay fifty thowſand: Onely theſe laſt three skore thowſand duckats ſhould not be payed onles *Phillip Stroſſy* were deliuered and *Iames Saluiatio* abſolued of the penaltie of thirty thowſand duckats, as the *Viceroy* had promiſed to the Pope though not in the capitulacions of the truce, yet vnder ſimple and ſecret words: But neyther the knowledge of this reteyned the Duke of *Burbon* for paſſing further, nor the aduertiſement he had that the *Viceroy* was departed from *Florence* to come to the armye to him and to eſtabliſh with him all things that ſhould be neceſſary: for, the *Viceroy* did earneſtly deſire thaccord, aſwell for many other generall cauſes, as eſpecially (which I haue heard by credible relacion) for that he ſought to conuert the armie preſently againſt the *Venetians*: And albeit the *Viceroy* had promiſed at *Rome* to deiude from the Duke of *Burbon*, his caualarye or horſemen together with the moſte parte of the Spaniſh footemen, yet he refuſed to make ſuch ſeparacion ſo long as he was vppon the treatie within *Florence*, alleaging that it belonged not to him to be the cauſe of the ruine of thEmprours army: The xvj day the Duke of *Burbon* marched to lodge at *Saint Sophia*, A towne of the valley of *Galearo* ſubiect to the *Florentyns*: And ſtriuing with diligence and with deceite to preuent the ennemies to thende no impediment ſhoulde be giuen to him in paſſing the Alpes, A place where, for want of vittells, euery contrary accident had bene ſufficient to diſorder him: the xvij day he re-

ceiued at *Saint Peter* at the baines, letters from the *Viceroy* and the Popes Lieuetenant signifying to him the comming of the *Viceroy*, to whome he made aunſwer as alſo to the Lieuetenant, that where the aduertiſement came to him in a lodging ſo vnapt as he could not without incommoditie attende him there, he would exſpect him the day following at *Saint Mary* of the baynes below the Alpes: In the ſeuerall letter which he wrote a part to the *Viceroy*, he recommended perticularly the ready deſire he had to come to accord, wherein he deſired him to impart with the Pope his good inclinacion and deuocion, notwithſtanding his intencion was otherwiſe. At the day aſſigned the *Viceroy* went to meete the Duke of *Burbon*, together with the Lieuetenant *Guicciardin* who being not without ſuſpicion of his marching & comming on with his power, and to thend he ſhould not enter with his army into *Tuskane* before the ſuccours prepared to defende it, perſwaded the Marquis of *Saluſſo* with many reaſons to aduaunce and goe before. And after he had with great efficacy of words and ſpirit diſputed the matter againſt *Iohn Vetturio* the *Venetian* Treaſorer alwayes aſſiſtant with the Marquis, and againſt others, who for feare leaſt their regiments of ſouldiers were committed to daunger, made their demaunds that before they paſſed into *Tuskane*, there ſhould be deliuered vnto them aſſurance for two hũdred thowſande duckats or at leaſt ſome ſtronge places in pawne, he brought him with all his companies to goe to *Breſiquello*: from thence he wrote to the Pope, that he found the Marquis ſo well diſpoſed and ready to march, that he made no doubt to procure him to paſſe with his army into *Tuskane*, aſſuring him ſelfe that the *Venetian* regiments would doe the like: But he ſignified that by howe much the matters of *Florence* ſtood aſſured by their paſſage, by ſo much were endaungered the affaires of *Rome*, becauſe the Duke of *Burbon* hauing no other hope remaining, would be cõſtrayned to conuert his forces to that enterpriſe: And that his armye hauing thaduauntage to be ſo neare *Rome*, it would be hard, with the ſuccors that ſhould be ſent, to match his diligence and celeritie, ſeeing he might well paſſe thappenyn in two remoues of incamping: That for feare of this, the *Florentyns* ſought affore hand to fortefie them ſelues with the forces of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Vrbin*, to whom they had giuen hope and afterwardes aſſured it with promiſe, to enter the league, in caſe their bands of men of warre did paſſe into *Tuskane*: Whereunto they added obligacions for payment of a certaine number of footemen, And not to accord with th Emprour though the Pope would: That they had alſo offred to the Duke of *Vrbin*, (who being paſſed *Pavv* at *Ficqueroles* was arriued the xiij of Aprill at *Finalo*, and afterwards at *Corticello*) to render vp to him the caſtels of *Saint Leo* & *Maiuolo*, which offer was ſollicited with him by *Pallas Rucellai* whom they ſent to him to follow that negociacion: Inſomuch as it was leſſe hard for them to haue a ready ſuccour, yea though there was aduertiſement that the *Viceroy* did not onely not find in the place appoynted the Duke of *Burbon* who the ſame day diſſembling thappoyntmẽt ſought to paſſe the Alpes: but alſo had bene in great daunger to be ſlayne by the payſants of thoſe quarters riſing in armes for thoppreſſions and harmes they receiued by the army: for, the Marquis was ready to paſſe the Alpes, notwithſtanding the Duke of *Vrbin* ſoliciting him to come and ſpeake with him in the borow of *Saint Peter*, ſought by all meane to forſlowe and hinder him: But the xxij of Aprill he incamped at the borow of *Saint Lavvrence* in *Mugello*: The ſame being the cauſe that by his example, the Duke of *Vrbin*, who with no honor nor good order could goe farre from him, paſſed in like ſort, and incamped at *Barberina* the xxv. day of Aprill: Wherein he tooke one principall reaſon vpon the obiection that might be made againſt him,

that

that in case any ill accident or harmes fell vppon them, they should not lay it vppon him, both seeing the readines of the French men, and knowing that the *Venetians* had referred them selues to his will, though with this relacion and commission, that if immediatly after he were ariued in *Tuskane*, the *Florentyns* went not thorow with the confederacion, he should presently repasse and retyre his army.

At last the Duke of *Burbon* being the same day passed the Alpes, lodged at *Saint Stephens*, which towne defended brauely thassalt of his souldiers: And the more to blind the Pope with excuses and reasons artificiall, and to haue a greater occasion to offend him, he sent one of his gentlemen to keepe him stil confirmed in his good deuocion and desire to haue accord with him: Onely he alleaged that as in regard of the obstinacie of his armye which he could not resist, he was driuen to accompany his souldiers to auoyde a greater harme: so he besought him to beleeue well of his fidelitie, with this councell not to leaue of the solicitacions of accorde and not to sticke for any summe of money: But it was a matter superfluous to vse those diligences with the Pope, who beleeuing too much the thing which he desired, and desiring too much to ease him selfe of exspenses, assoone as he was aduertised of the conclusion made at *Florence* in the presence & priuitie of the procurer of the Duke of *Burbon*, did vndiscreetly dismisse almost all his footemen of the blacke bands: And in that securitie *Monsr Vavvdemont* was gon by sea to *Marseilles*, as if the peace had bene as firme as the Pope was secure: But all the armies beeing thus drawne into the bodye of *Tuskane*, and the confederats hauing vnderstanding that the Duke of *Burbon* was gonne in one daye which was the three and twenty daye from *Saint Stephens* to incampe at *Chiassa* neare to *Aretzo* conteyning a distance of eyghteene myles: The Capteines who were assembled at *Barberina*, drewe into councell what was to bee done: Amongest whome many of them together with the agents of the Pope and *Florentyns*, made instance that the armies knitte in one strength shoulde marche and bee bestowed in some place beyond *Florence*, to take from the Duke of *Burbon* all meanes to approache that citie: which instance being somewhat qualified, it was resolued to suffer the regiments to repose in the lodgings where they were, And that the Captaines the daye following shoulde goe to *Ancisa* thirteene miles from *Florence*, to thende afterwardes to call thether all their companies if they founde that place to bee assured, which *Federyk Bossolo* the Author of that councell did promisse: But as they were the daye after vppon the waye and very neare *Florence*, there happened an accident which might haue brought forth very daungerous effects, if it had not beene remedied, the same hindring greatly the execucion of that councell and many other good complots which might haue deriued of it: This was the discourse of the accident: At *Florence* the mindes of men were much stirred, of whome as the most part of the populars were discontented with the present gouernment, so the youth of the towne concurring in that insolencie, made a prowde instance to the Magistrates to giue them libertie of publike armes to defende them as they sayde agaynst the oppressions of the souldiours: But before the Magistrates could establishe any resolucion, the discontentment which before was but in opinion, burst out into a manifest and open tumult in the publike place, where the most part of the Commons and almost all the concurse of the youth, proclayming armes, beganne in their furie to ronne to the pallace: One matter that inflamed and pushed on this tumult was the indiscression and tymerousnes of *Siluio* Cardinall of *Cortono*, who being determined to yssue out of the towne to goe meete the Duke of *Vrbyn* to doe him honor, forbare not to abandon the towne, notwith-

Tumult in Florence.

ſtanding he was not ignorant before his going that the tumult was in action: So that the towne being poſſeſſed with a rumor of his fleing away, euery one was the more ready to ronne to the pallace, which being in the power of the youth that were conſpirators, and the Court and greene all full of the Commons armed, The high Magiſtrate was conſtrayned to proclayme rebells by a ſolemne decree, *Hipolito* and *Alexander* the Popes Nephewes, with intencion to introduce againe the popular gouernment: But in the meane while as the Magiſtrat held the people appeaſed with this proclamacion, the Duke and the Marquis entred *Florence* with many Captaines and were accompanied with the Cardinall of *Cortono* and *Hipolito de Medicis*: They managing at firſt certaine bands of fifteene hundred footemen who had bene kept armed in the citie many dayes for feare of the Duke of *Burbon*, reduced them all into one reſolut and firme ſtrength, and drew in warlike order towards the greene or mayne place, which the Commons immediatly abandoned, and in their feare left to their power, the thing which they had no vallour to defend: Neuertheleſſe what by the violence of ſtones caſt from within the pallace, and fury of the ſmall ſhot that played vpon them, there was no ſauetye for them to abide there, but ſomewhat to auoyd the importunitie of the daunger, and not altogether to be farre from the place they had gotten, they retyred them ſelues into the ſtreetes and quarters thereabouts: The Duke of *Vrbin* was of opinion (A reaſon which albeit ſeemed to beare but ſmall conſequence, yet it was the principall cauſe that *Florence* that day was deliuered of ſo great a daunger) that the bands that were within *Florence* were not ſufficient to winne the pallace: And doubting according to the experience of a ſouldier that if it were recouered by night, leaſt the Commons would eftſoones haue recourſe to armes, he determined with the priuitie of Cardinalls *Cibo*, *Cortono*, and *Radolffo* together with the conſent of the Marquis of *Saluſſo* and the *Venetian* Legats being all aſſembled in the ſtreete of *Garba* ioyning to the pallace greene, to ſend for one part of the *Venetian* bands incamped vpon the plaine of *Florence* neare the citie: By meane of this deuiſe there was towards, a daungerous encownter, for that neyther the pallace could be ſubdued without the ſlaughter of moſt of the nobilitie that were within, and alſo the drommes ſtriking vp to armes, there was daunger leaſt the ſouldiours in that libertie would not put to ſacke the reſidue of the citye: yea that daye had beene very vnhappye for the *Florentyns*, if the ready witte and councell of the Lieuetenant *Guicciardin*, had not cutte in ſunder the knotte that of it ſelfe was very harde to bee vndone: he ſeeing to come towardes them, *Federyk Boſſolo*, and comprehending in his imagination the cauſe of his comming, left the others with whome he was deuiſing, and ranne to meete him to thende to bee the firſt to ſpeake to him: In the beginning of the mutinie *Federyk* went vp to the pallace hoping to reappeaſe the riot aſwell through his authoritie as for the familiaritye he had with the moſte parte of the youthe: But muche leſſe that he profited by that labour, ſeeing of the contrary he receyued from ſome of them wordes iniurious and reprochefull ſuche as the humor of men drawne into rebellion coulde afforde, yea beeing kept reteyned certeyne howers he founde greate difficultie to bee ſette at libertye: But beeing got from them more full of diſdayne then of compaſſion, and bringing away a true diſcouerie and informacion howe eaſie it were to take the place bothe for the litle forces they had, and for the leſſe order they kept, he perſwaded the reſidue to aſſault it preſently: But the Lieuetenant cutting of that deuiſe, ſtept in and with very ſhort ſpeeches tolde him what greefe the Pope woulde conceyue by thoſe diſorders together with the domage

that

that consequently woulde followe vppon all the affayres of the Confederates: In which regardes as it were better to labour rather to appease and settle then to kindle and incense the heartes of men, So also it was a matter not a little preiudiciall to make knowen to the Duke of *Vrbin* and others so great a facilitie to carye it: In so muche as raunging him to his opinion he procured him so to temper with the residue, and to reconcile the mutinie without the helpe of armes, that they all approued his deuise, and made choyse of them two to goe vp to the Pallace to deale with the Conspirators, and assure them in generall and particular that what so euer they had committed agaynst the lawes of the state that daye, shoulde not in any sorte be imputed agaynst them: And beeing gone vp to the Pallace vnder safeconduit of those that were within, they induced them at laste after many difficulties, to condiscende to abandon the Pallace which they coulde no longer keepe. Thus was the tumulte appeased more by industrie then by armes, And the Citie that earst was full of insolencie and furie, was thus by counsell deliuered from daunger, and all thinges returned to the same estate wherein they were before the mutinie. But oftentimes as ingratitude and reproche are farre more ready then the remuneration and prayse of good workes, So albeit for the present the operation and witte of the lieftenant *Guicciardin* was highly esteemed and commended, yet not long after the Cardinall of *Cortono* burst out into murmure and complayntes agaynst him, that holding more deare the safety of the Citizens, and particularly *Levvis Guicciardin* his brother being at that time chiefe Magistrate, then carefull ouer the greatnes of the house of *Medicis*, his artificial dealing had bin the cause why the state had not bin that day established for euer in the house of *Medicis*, with the armes & blood of the Citisens: And on the other side, the commons and populars followed him with accusations and complayntes, for that bringing backe from the Pallace reaportes that the daungers were farre greater then they were, he had betrayed the vallour of the Nobility by inducing them for the benefite of the famulie of the *Medicis*, to render without any necessitie: So hard it is to do the thing that beareth a cleare sight in the eyes of all men, for that no good action what dignitie so euer it hath, if it bring not with it the fauour of the time wherin it is done, and the opinion & iudgement of those into whose hearts it seeketh to insinuate and winne place, it is but a candle that burneth dimme, and whose shadowe seemeth more then the lighte. Albeit you see the tumulte of *Florence* appeased the same daye without murder and blood, yet from that originall ground did ensue successiuely many great disorders: yea it may be inferred that had it not bin for that accident, the ruine that happned immediatly after, had bin accompanied with his euasion: for bothe the Duke of *Vrbin* and Marquis of *Saluſſe* abyding still at *Florence* for the occasion of the mutinie, went not on according to the first resolution, to view the lodging of *Anciſa*: And also the day after the appeasement, *Lovvis Piſan*, and *Marke Foſcaro* Embassadour for the *Venetians* with the *Florentins*, taking occasion vppon the inconstancie of the Citie, protested that they would not suffer the armie to passe *Florence*, vnlesse there were made a concluſion of the confederation which had bin negociated: In which they demaunded contribution for ten thousande footemen, seeking through the oportunity of the time to serue their turnes of the necessities of the *Florentins*: But in the end the cõcluſion was accomplished the xxviij. day, referring the matter of the cõtribution to the sentence of the Pope, who was beleued to be alredy reunited with the confederates: Besides, the time being accomplished for the payes of the *Svvizzers*, & *Loys Piſan* hauing no mony to furnish them for the yll ordenãce

and addreſſe which the *Venetians* had giuen, there paſt certen dayes before he could make prouiſion of money: In ſo muche as through theſe variations and other impedimentes ſubſiſting, the good counſell to drawe with the armies to *Anciſa*, was made vayne. But in this eſtate and condition of affayres, the Pope looking with better eye into the wyles wherewith the Duke of *Burbon* had abuſed the *Viceroy*, and alſo ſeeing him to aduaunce forwarde into the heart of *Tuskane*, turned by neceſſitie all his cogitations to the warre, And in that humor diſcerning on all ſides nothing but viſions of daunger and feare, after the xxv. daye, he made a newe confederation with the Frenche king and the *Venetians*, by the whiche as they were bounde to miniſter to him a greate ſumme of money, ſo he would not reſtrayne him ſelfe nor the *Florentines* to anye further obligation then their faculties were hable to beare, alleaging that vppon them both had bene layde already heauy burdens of exſpences and trauelles: But albeit theſe conditions very grieuous of them ſelues, were approued by th Embaſſadours of the confederates, to ſeperate entirely the Pope from the accordes made with the *Viceroy*: yet they had not their perfection and confirmation by their maiſters and heades principall, in whom eyther their authoritie or their will did muche to diſſolue the conditions of the action: for the *Venetians* charged *Dominike Venerio* with a great errour, for that without commiſſion of the Senate he had concluded a confederation of great exſpences and little frute, ſince they gathered by the Popes inconſtancie, that in all occaſions he would eftſoones turne to his firſte deſire to accorde with the *Viceroy*: And touching the French king, both drayned of money, and driuen more to weary themprour with the longnes of the warre, then with the victorie, he iudged it would ſuffice nowe to enterteyne the warre with a ſmall exſpence: And which more is, albeit in the beginning whē he vnderſtood the Pope had made truce with the *Viceroy*, both the matter and manner of the truce were grieuous to him: yet looking better afterwardes into theſtate of affayres, he wiſhed that the Pope would diſpoſe the *Venetians* (without whom he could make no conuention) to embrace the truce. But at this tyme the Pope was not a little diſcontented to ſee the body of the warre transferred into *Tuskane*, and yet leſſe grieued then if it had imbraced the towne of *Rome*: and in that regarde he leauyed bands of ſouldiours, & made prouiſions for money, but not with that property of diligence which the eſtate of his daungers required: He had alſo a purpoſe to ſende *Ranſo de Cere* agaynſt them of *Sienna*, and alſo to inuade them by ſea, to thende that the duke of *Burbon* being intangled in *Tuskane*, might be ſtopped for taking his way to *Rome*: Of which expedition neuertheles he had euery day ſo much the leſſe feare and doubt, by how much more he hoped, that both for the difficulties of the duke of *Burbon* to leade his army to *Rome* without vittels and money, and for the cōmoditie of theſtate of *Sienna* where at the leaſt his ſouldiors would be refreſhed, he would be driuen to ſtay himſelfe vpon thenterpriſe againſt the *Florentins*. But the Duke of *Burbon*, eyther for that hys firſte counſell was otherwyſe, whiche he had ſecretly determined at *Finalo* by the authoritie of the duke of *Ferrara* and aduiſe of *Ierome Moron*: or diſtruſting to driue to any good iſſue the enterpriſe of *Florence*, for that the mayn forces of the league were aſſembled neare there for the defence of the citie: and laſtly being no longer able to enterteine the army without money, which he had till that day caried through ſo many difficulties with promiſes & hopes: and now ſeing time had reduced him to this ſtraite, either to periſh amid the murmures of his ſouldiors, which could not but be miſerable to a mā of his hart, or els to hazard the fortune of battell in ſo great a weaknes and diſorder, wherein if there

The Pope compelled to harken to the warre.

there were anye certentye it was in the losse of the victory: he determined to march with all diligence to surprise the towne of *Rome*, where the rewardes of the victorie would be equall with the daunger of thaduenture, and to themprour it would bring no lesse renowme and honor, then to the souldiours a full satisfaction of their long and weary trauells: He was pushed on to this enterprise by a hope which he felt to carye the towne, seeing the Pope with an euill counsell had firste decassed the *Svvizzers*, and afterwardes dismissed the blacke bandes, and begon so slowely to refurnishe him selfe at suche tyme as the accord was desperate, that it was thought he could not in good time assemble forces sufficient to defende his daungers: And so the Duke of *Burbon* with whom nothing was more familiar then the enterprise of *Rome*, departed the xxvj. of Aprill from the countrey of *Aretze*, with his armie no lesse speedy in marching then swift in hope: his celeritie to march & winne time tooke from him all care to cary artilleries or anye trayne or baggage of campe, so well was he disposed to see executed the thing whiche in his heart he had determined, or rather so violent was his destenie, to call him to the ende of his life which he could now no longer prolong: In so much as marching with this incredible diligẽce neyther being hindred by the raynes which in those dayes fell in great abundance, nor with the want of vittells which is no small impediment to all great actions, he drewe neare to *Rome* at a time when the Pope was scarcely aduertised of his comming: All the wayes where he passed were as free from resistance, as his desire was farre from alteration and chaunge, seeing he found no impediment neyther at *Viterba* whither the Pope had not sent strength in time, nor in any other place apte to staye the resolution of the armie so well prepared to endomage him. Nowe began the Pope to haue recourse to those remedies, which if he had vsed in their due time and place, might haue bene to speciall purpose to turne awaye so great storme: and nowe founde he too late theffect and truth of the counselles of some wise men about him, propheſying that he would deferre the ministration of those helpes vntill eyther his necessities were greater then his remedies, or at leaste they woulde profite little beeing applyed out of due season: Nowe did he create three Cardinalles for money, which eyther could not be leauyed for the speedy importunitie of thassayres, or else if he should receiue it, the vse would be vnprofitable by reason of hys daungers that hastned on so faste: He called together the people of *Rome*, whome in great compassion he besought that in so great a hazarde of their countrey, they would readely runne to armes to defende it, wherein he disposed the bodies of the popular sort to protect their libertie, and imposed vppon the rycher loanes of money to wage souldiours: A taxation which ranne amongest the people with no authoritie, seeing vppon the leauying of the impostes one *Dominike Maximo* of the greatest wealth amongst the Romains, offred to lende but an hundred duckets: for which couetousnes he bare a sharpe punishment, for that his sonnes were made a pray to the souldiours, and himselfe falling into the calamitie of a prisoner, was rated at a huge raunsome to redeme his libertie. But after they vnderstood at *Florence* the newes of the discamping of the duke of *Burbon*, which beeing written by *Vitelly* lying then within *Aretzo*, lingred a daye in comming more then ordinary: The capteins determined that the count *Guido Rangon* with his horsmen & with the trowpes of the count *Caiezze*, together with a thousand footmen of *Florence* & the Church, should march spedely without baggage towards the towne of *Rome*, and that the other part of the army should follow after: They hoped that if the D. of *Burbon* drew with him hs artilleries, that proportion of succours woulde be at *Rome* before him,

The duke of Burbon draweth his army directly to Rome.

And if he marched with expedition, it would aryue so soone after him, that hauing no artilleries, and the citie of *Rome* beeing furnished with six thousand footmen by the Popes reaport, the towne would be hable to maynteine defence vntill the first succours were come, which being aryued, there could be no danger of the losing of *Rome*: But the celeritie of the Duke of *Burbon* and the slow prouisions made at *Rome*, preuented theffect of all those deuises: for as *Ranso de Cero* to whom the Pope had recommended the principall charge of the defence of *Rome*, had according to his short time leauyed very few footmen of seruice, but gathered a great crewe of men ignorant and vntrained in warre, whom he had drawne by force out of the stables of Cardinals and prelates, and shoppes of artificers, besides Innes and other domesticall places of the towne: So he laboured to cast rampars in the suburbes, such as in his iudgement were sufficient for defence, though in the account of others they were farre to weake to holde out the daunger that was toward: his confidence was such to defend them, that he would not suffer (for the safety of the towne) to breake vp the bridge of *Tyber* in case the suburbes and quarter beyond *Tyber* coulde not be defended: and in that humor of securitie holding for superfluous all other sortes of succours, when he was aduertised of the comming of Count *Guido*, he wrote letters to him in the Popes name by the Bishop of *Verona*, that seeing the citie of *Rome* was furnished and fortified sufficiently, he should only sende a proportion of six or eight hundred harquebuziers, and for himselfe with the residue of his people, he aduised him to goe ioyne himselfe to the army of the league, where he should do more profite, then if he were inclosed within the towne of *Rome*: Which letter albeit did litle harme for that the Count was not so farre aduaunced as he might aryue in time, yet it made good declaratiō what slender sense or feling he had of the present dangers: But if it may be referred to a wonder that mortall men neither can not nor know not howe to resist destenie, it was a matter no lesse maruelous that the Pope, who before was wont to despise *Ranso de Cere* aboue all other capteins, threw himselfe now into his armes, and reappосed his life and estate wholly vpon his confidence and iudgement: And yet this was a matter more straunge and contrary, that he who in farre lesser daungers was wont to be vexed with feare and terror, beeing euen vppon the poynt to abandon the Citie at such time as the *Viceroy* drew with his campe to *Frusolono*, Now in so great a tempest of perill and hazard, cōtrary to his custome, his nature and all exspectation, did not only constantly remayne in *Rome*, but had so great a hope to defend it, that being as it were the aduocate & somner to solicit for thenemies, he did not only forbid men to go away, but also in the same obstinacy he gaue out ordenance that there should not be transportation nor outcarying of goodes, suche as Marchantes with other natures of Artificers woulde for safety haue sente downe the ryuer.

The fift day of May the duke of *Burbon* incamped within the medowe neare to *Rome*, from whence with the insolencie of a souldiour he sent a trumpet to demaund passage of the Pope through the citie of *Rome*, to go with his army to the Realme of *Naples*: The morning following vppon the poynt of the daye, by the consideration of his case and thaduersities therof, he found there remayned no other hope for hys affayres, then to be resolute to releeue the afflictions of his armie, and according to the oportunitie that was offred by the citie of *Rome*, eyther to dye or to vanquish: In which resolution pushed on more and more by the murmures and exclamations of his souldiors in whom he could not discerne which was greater either their insolencies or their necessities, he drew neare the suburbes by the way of the Mountaine

and

and *Santo Spirito*, where he began to giue a furious assault: wherein he seemed to haue the fauour of fortune, who made him present the armie in more surety by the benefite of a thicke mist, which beeing ryssen before day and increased with degrees of fogge and thicknes, became such a couer to his whole campe that his souldiours were not discerned til they were neare the place where they began to giue the assalt: The Duke of *Burbon* through a laste dispayre of his estate aduaunced before all his companies, eyther for that he had no other exspectation of refuge in case he returned not victorious, or else by his owne example, he thought to call on with a greater courage the Launceknightes whome it seemed went not resolutely to the seruice: But suche was his destenie to determine his life and his glorie together, or rather suche the rewarde of his wilfull forwardnes, which for the most parte heapeth wretched effectes vpon such as seeke not to accompanie their vallour with counsell and discression: In the beginning of the assaulte he was stricken with a bullet of a harquebuze, of which wound he fell downe dead to the earth, receiuing iustly vpon his body and life the price of the action which contrary to all iustice and pyetie he went about to execute: But muche lesse that his death did abate or diminishe, seeing it did inflame and redouble the courage of his souldiours, who feighting with a wonderfull constancie the space of two houres, made way at last by their hands and weapons to enter the suburbes, wherein they were not onely holpen by the weaknes of the rampiers which were great and generall, but also they found helpe in the slender resistance which the defendantes made: An experience of right good doctrine to such as haue not as yet gotten by the benefite of examples paste, the knowledge of things present, who in that action may discerne what property of difference is betwene the vertue of souldiours exercised & trayned in warre, and armies newly and hastily leauied and compounded of the multitude of a people more wilful then skilfull, and by so muche lesse apt to be drawne vnder discipline, by how much more by their nature and custome they are seldome conformable to any good order. For there was at the defence of the suburbes one parte of the youth of *Rome* vnder the enseignes of the people, notwithstanding that many of the *Gebelins* and faction of *Colonno* desired or at least did not feare the victorie of thimperialls: They hoped in regard of their faction, to receiue no harme or offence by the victors, the same being the cause why they proceded so coldly in the defence: Neuertheles for that according to the rules of warre, it is a hard matter to take townes without artilleries, there dyed of the assaylants, partly by that want, and partly through their wilfull forwardnes, about a thousand footemen: who hauing once by their vallour made the waye open to enter in, all the defendantes fled before them as men whose feare was farre aboue any other sense or passion in them, In which disorder some tooke the waye which his fortune and not his witte layde out for him: some in the astonishment seking to flee who durst no more feight, was slayne by thenemy afore he could resolue vpon the way of his safety, some eyther better prepared or more happly preserued, found that safety in running away which they could not but dout if they had longer endured the fight: and some with that resolutiō which their present calamity would suffer, ranne by heapes towards the Castell, where in place of reskew they founde a feare conformable to their owne, In so much as all things beeing reduced to confusion and manyfest flight, the suburbes were entirely abandoned and leste a pray to the victors: And the person of the Pope who exspected with great deuotion in the pallace of *Vattican* what would be the issue of thassault, hearing that the enemies were entred, had also (with the others) his passions of feare and frayltie, and

The Duke of Burbon slayne at the assault of Rome.

Rome taken and sacked.

in that tymerous contemplation of hys owne perill, he fledde with certayne Cardinalls to the Caſtell: His feare kept him from beeing reſolute in a perill that was ſo deſperate, neyther dyd he thinke that with the preſence and maieſtie of his perſon though it was couered with the vayle of the higheſt dignitie vpon earth, he was hable to put by the daunger, which the vallour and fidelitie of his ſouldiours could not defende with their weapons: There he conſulted with the Cardinalls whether it were more for his ſafety to remayne there, or during the fury of thaſtoniſhment to retyre with the light horſemen of his garde into ſome place of more ſuretie by the waye of *Rome*: But he who was appoynted by deſtenie to be an example of the calamities that may thunder vpon Popes, and howe frayle is thauthoritie and maieſtie of that ſea, beeing certified by the relation of *Berard de Padoa* who was fledde from tharmy imperiall, that the Duke of *Burbon* was dead, and that the whole army ſtanding abated in courage for the death of their Capteine, deſyred to come to accorde with him, In which matter they ſent out men to parley with the principalls there, he wretchedly left there all his counſells to goe awaye, both he and his Capteines remayning no leſſe irreſolute in the prouiſions for defence, then they had bin ſlowe in thexpeditions: So that the day following, the Spaniardes neyther ſeeing order nor counſell to defende the quarter beyonde *Tyber*, entred the place without any reſiſtance: and from thence, not finding any impedimentes to ſtoppe their victorie, the ſame euening they entred the Citie of *Rome* by the bridge *Xiſto*, where except ſuche as reappoſed in the confidence of their faction, and certayne Cardinalls, who for that they bare a name to embrace themprours quarrell, beleeued to finde more ſuretie then the others, all the reſidue of the Court and Citie (as happneth in accidentes ſo furious) was conuerted into fleeing and confuſion: But the ſouldiours beeing within the Citie whiche they knewe wanted nothing to make them right, glorious, and well ſatisfied of all things apperteining to their deſyres, they began to omit no tyme to execute the thing they had ſo dearely bought: euery one ranne to pillage with the ſame vnbridled libertie whiche in ſuche caſes maketh ſouldiours both inſolent and impious: There was ſmall care or regarde borne eyther to the name of friends, factions, or fauorers, and muche leſſe was reſpected the authoritie of Cardinalls and prelates, or dignitie of temples and monaſteries, and laſtely not reſerued from violation the holy Relickes brought thither from all partes of the world, yea euen things ſacred and ſpecially dedicated, were prophaned from their ſhrines and holy places, and made ſubiect to the furious willes and diſcreſſion of the ſouldiours: it is not onely impoſſible to reaccount, but alſo to imagine the calamities of that Citie rayſed to a wonderfull greatnes, and appoynted by Gods ordinance to ſuffer many fortunes and directions, hauing bene ſacked by the *Gothes* within nyne hundred and foureskore yeres: It is harde to particulate the greatnes of the pray, both for the generall wealth and riches which the greedy hands of the ſouldiours had made vp in heapes, and for other thinges more rare and precious drawne out of the ſtore houſes of Marchauntes and courtiers: But the matter which made the ſpoyle infinite in value, was the qualitie and great number of priſoners redeemed with moſt riche and huge raunſomes: And to make vp a full tragedie of miſerie and infamie, the Launceknightes beeing ſo muche the more inſolent and cruell, by howe muche they bare hatred to the name of the Churche of *Rome*, tooke priſoners certayne Prelates, whom with great contempt and indignitie they ſet vpon Aſſes and leane Moyles, and with their faces reuerſed to the crowpe of the beaſtes, they ledde them through the Citie of *Rome* apparelled with the habites

and

and markes of their dignitie: yea they passed many of them to cruell tormentes, who eyther dyed in the furie of the action, or at least with the paynefulnes thereof they lyued not long after, first yeelding a raunsome, and afterwards rendring their liues: The generall slaughter aswell at the assault as in the rage of sacking, was about foure thousande bodies: All the pallaces of the Cardinals were sacked, except some particulars, who to saue the Marchantes that were retyred thither with their goods together with the persons and goods of many others reserued of the generall calamitie, made promise of great summes of money: To whom notwithstanding was vsed this iniquitie, that some of them that had compounded with the Spaniardes, were afterwards sacked by the launceknightes, or at least constrayned to a seconde raunsome: The Lady Marquis of *Mantua* compounded for her pallace for the summe of fiftie thousande duckets which were payed by the Marchants and others retyred thither: of which summe the rumor ranne that *Ferrand* her sonne had ten thousande for his share: The Cardinall of *Sienna* dedicated in a perpetuall deuotion to the name of themprour, after he had agreed with the Spaniardes aswell for himselfe as for his pallace, was afterwardes made prisoner by the Launceknightes, who made bootie and pray of his pallace, and afterwardes leading him all naked with buffets and bastonadoes into the Borow, he was driuen to redeeme his lyfe out of their handes with a promise of fiue thousande duckets: The Cardinalls *Minerua* and *Ponsero* passed vnder almoste the like calamitie: who beeing prisoners to the Launceknightes, were rated at a raunsome which they payed, after they had bene in a vyle spectacle caryed in processiõ through the towne of *Rome*: This furie of souldiours executed in a place of so great riches and profite, could endure no dispensation of any sorte or qualitie of men, seeing the Prelates and Cardinalls Spanish and Germains, who made themselues assured that the souldiours of their Nation would spare them from oppression and taxation, were taken and passed by the same measure of miserie and calamitie as others did: Right pitifull were the cryings and lamentations of the women of *Rome*, and no lesse worthy of compassion the calamitie of Nonnes and Virgins professed, whom the souldiours rauished by trowpes out of their houses to satisfie their lust, no age, no sex, no dignitie or calling was free from the violation of souldiours, in whom it was doubtfull whether bare more rule the humor of crueltie to kill, or the appetite of luste to deflowre, or lastely the rage of couetousnes to robbe and spoyle: yea in the violation of these women might be discerned a confirmation of the iudgementes of God hidden from mortall men, for that he suffred to be deliuered vp to the vilenes of men barbarous and bloudy, the renowmed chastitie of women professed and virgins: To this compassion was ioyned the infinite clamours of men forced agaynst all law of humanitie, partly to wrest from them vnreasonable raunsomes, and partly to disclose their goods which they had hidden from the rauine of the souldiours: All holy things, Sacraments, and relikes of Saintes whereof the Churches were full, beeing dispoyled of their ornamentes, were pulde downe and layde vpon the earth, suffring no small prophanations by the vyle handes of the Launceknightes: And what so euer remayned vpon the prayes and spoylings of thimperialls, which were things but base and vyle, were raked and caryed away by the peysantes and tennantes of the lands of the *Colonnois*, whose insolencie caryed them into *Rome* during the generall furie: Onely the Cardinall of *Colonno* aryuing the day after, preserued in his compassion the honour of many women that happly were fledde for reskew into his house. The rumor went that the valuation and prise of this sacke in golde, siluer, and iewells, amounted to

more then a million of duckets, but the matter of raunſomes conteyned a greater quantitie.

The ſame day that thimperials tooke *Rome*, *Count Guido* aryued with his light horſmen and eight hundred harquebuziers, thinking to enter the ſame night by the bridge of *Salaro*: But hearing of the accident and dolorous eſtate of the towne, he retyred to *Otricoly*, where the reſidue of his forces came to him: for notwithſtanding the letters he had receyued from *Rome*, by which he vnderſtoode there was no reckoning made of his ſuccours, yet he forbare not to kepe on his waye, reteining this ſpecial deuotion to be reputed the man that ſhould giue reskew to *Rome* in her greateſt afflictions: And yet like as it is the nature of men to be gracious and eaſy interpreters of their owne actions, but hard and ſeuere cenſors of the actions of others, ſo there wanted not ſome who in that humor reprehended the Count *Guido* for not knowing howe to vſe a fayre occaſion: for that as the Imperialls beeing wholly diſpoſed to followe ſo riche a pray, to robbe houſes, to ſearche out treaſour that was hidde, to take priſoners, and to reduce to places of ſuretie ſuche as they had taken, were diſperſed into all the partes of the Citie, without order for their lodging, without knowing their enſeignes, and without obeying the commaundementes of their Capteins: their confuſion was ſuche, as if Count *Guido* with his reskewes had made a ſodayne entrie into *Rome* and ſhowed their faces to the Caſtell which was neyther beſieged nor garded, it was beleeued that they had not onely obteyned the deliuerance of the Pope, but alſo in that oportunitie had done ſome braue exployte: wherein they ſhould haue had ſo muche the more facilitie, by howe muche they might haue commaunded ouer the diſorders of the ſouldiours, who were ſo vniuerſally drowned in the action of pillage, that for any accident that might happen, there could be ſcarcely reordred or drawne together any notable number, the ſame beeing verified by thexperience of certayne dayes after, when vppon ſounding the
" Alarme, not a ſouldiour was in readynes to reſort to his enſeigne: But ſuche are the
" errours and imperfections of men that being caryed with ſelfe opinion, without the
" ground of reaſon or example, they oftentimes beleeue that if things had taken an
" other courſe, the iſſue had bene otherwiſe, wherof if thexperience might be ſeene,
" their iudgementes would oftentimes be founde fallible and falſe. But nowe there remayned onely to thoſe that were incloſed within the Caſtell, a hope to be reskewed by the armie of the league, who beeing departed from *Florence* no ſooner then the thirde of May for the long tyme the *Venetians* tooke to paye the *Svvizzers*, diſpoſed their marching in ſuche ſort as the Marquis of *Saluſſe* went a dayes iourney before the *Venetian* regimentes, but vnder this ordenance and agreement betweene him and the Duke that he ſhould followe him the ſame way: Neuertheles the Duke contrary to that reſolution, tooke the ſeuenth day the way from the lodging of *Cortona* to *Perouſa*, to aryue at *Lody*, and afterwardes at *Otrio*, and there paſſing *Tyber* to ioyne with the reſidue: Who as they marched along the waye appoynted, forced and ſackt the borow of *Pieua* refuſing in their obſtinacie to lodge the *Svvizzers*, in which conflict were paſſed to the ſworde ſix or eight hundred of thoſe that were within: By reaſon of this diſorder which drew the ſouldiours to conſume time in pillage and ſpoyle, the armie aryued no ſooner then the tenth day at the bridge of *Graniauola*, where they had aduertiſement of the taking of *Rome*, and the eleuenth daye they came to *Oruieto*, where by the counſell of *Federike de Boſſolo*, he and the Marquis and *Hugo Peppoly* with a great trowpe of horſe drewe towards the Caſtell, with this intention, that he and *Hugo* ſhould go vp euen to the Caſtell, and the Marquis

quis to remayne behinde to backe them: In which deuise they had this hope, that finding thimperialls disordered, the suddennes of their aryuing both not looked for, and in their greatest heate of spoyle and pillage, would happly fauour them with occasion to drawe out of the Castell the Pope and his Cardinalls, wherein they seemed chiefly to take the aduauntage of the disorders of the souldiours, in whom was more care to robbe and spoyle then to foresee daungers: But that deuise drewe to no effect, both for that beeing not farre from *Rome*, *Federiks* horse falling vnder him he receyued suche a hurt as he was not hable without greater hazarde to goe from the place, and also *Hugo* showing him selfe before the Castell at high dayes where by his direction he should haue aryued in the night, retyred his companies, alleaging that thenterprise was discouered, but as *Federike* sayde, he forsooke the action committed to him because his feare was greater then his vallour.

In this meane while the duke of *Vrbin* vnderstanding the accident of *Rome*, albeit he assured that he would succour the Pope with all his forces, yet taking the fauour of the tyme and occasion to depriue the estate of *Perousa* out of the hands of *Gentill Baillon* who was supported and confirmed in it by the Popes authoritie, and to restore it to the arbitration and disposing of the sonnes of *John Pavvle*, made his approches to *Perousa* with the *Venetian* regimentes, & what with threates which were sharpe and rigorous, and with the terrour of his armie standing prepared in their presence, he compelled *Gentill* to depart from the thing which he kept by vsurpation: He consumed three daies in that action, and leauing there certayne commanders, suche as depended vpon *Malateste* and *Horatio*, of whom the one was inclosed in the Castell *S. Angeo*, and the other managed the warre in *Lombardy* with the *Venetian* regimentes, he departed from thence the sixtenth day to *Orbietta*, the waye which he tooke at comming out of *Cortona* to goe to *Rome* beyonde *Tyber*, being the cause that he had lingred long. At *Orbietta* all the Capteines and commaunders of the armie tooke counsell together, to set downe a resolution of their proceedings hereafter: Amongst whom the duke of *Vrbin*, after many protestations of his deare and right great affection, propounded many difficulties, recõmending them chiefly to thinke vpon the suretie of their retrayte in case the succours of the Castel soarted to no good successe: In which reason he vrged of them of *Orbietta* to giue him ostages for assurance not to releeue the army with vittells at their returning: And interposing in all the affayres of that enterprise a temporising and tract of time, he resolued at laste to be at *Nepi* the xix. day, and that the same day the Marquis with his people and the Count *Guido* with his Italian footemen, should likewise be at *Braciano*, to thende to goe the next day in one strength to the Ile, whiche is a place nyne myles from *Rome*: The Pope vnderstanding of the approching of these succours by the relation of *Guicciardin* writing to him from *Viterbo*, tooke occasion, that hauing almoste concluded thaccorde with thimperialls, he refused to subsigne the articles: Not so much for the hope he receyued by the letters, which (albeit they were aduisedly written) made some discouery to him of things which by discoursing of matters past, he was to looke and hope for of the time to come, as to auoyde thimputation and note of ignominie to laye vpon his fearfulnes and rashnes the fault that he had not bene reskewed. There was in the French an vniuersall readynes to succour the Castell, in whom the *Venetians* with letters and relations of great affection, augmented the same disposition, the prince soliciting the matter with great vehemency in the counsell of the *Pregati*: So that all excuses beeing taken away from the Duke, he consented that the day following a mooster should be made of all the ar-

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mies and men of warre, hoping perhaps that finding ſuche diminution of numbers amongſt the regimentes and particular bandes, that he might make it a iuſte cauſe to refuſe the feight: A deuiſe which he could not reaſonably vſe to ſerue his turne, ſince vpon preſenting the armies to the mooſters, there were founde fifteene thouſande footemen ſtrong, with an vniuerſall reſolution to feight and do the office of ſouldiours: Immediatly after the mooſter and ſuruey of the armies, a generall counſell was taken for the maner of their proceeding further, whiche drewe to this determination to leade the armie to incampe at the croſſe of *Montmary* according to the great inſtance and ſolicitation of thoſe of the Caſtell: They alleaged that in reſpect of the ſtrength of the place and the ſmáll diſtance thereof from *Rome* conteyning but three myles, together that there was no feare of thimperialls to iſſue out of *Rome* to incampe, They might not onely remayne there in ſafety, but alſo retyre without daunger, And laſtely that by the oportunitie of that place they might better take a view and better execute the occaſion to ſuccour the Caſtell. But this reſolution nothing pleaſing the Duke of *Vrbin*, he embraced an other deuiſe propounded by *Guido Rangon*, who offred to approche the Caſtell the ſame night with all the horſemen and footemen of the Churche, and in that action to aduenture to reskew the Pope out of the Caſtell, So farre foorth as the Duke of *Vrbin* with the reſidue of the mayne armie would marche vp to the three *Cauannes* to backe him: But that deuiſe was not executed that night, becauſe the Duke went vp to ſuruey the lodging of *Montmary* being earneſtly preſſed by the importunities of the Pope: And albeit he offred to make his approches that night, yet eyther for his wante of vallour, or his toomuch iealouſie of his own ſafety, he paſſed not the three *Cauannes*, In ſo much as many howres being vaynly ſpent in that temporiſing, they were driuẽ to deferre thexecution of thenterpriſe till the night following: But the ſame daye they were aduertiſed by their eſpials (whether true or ſuborned) that as the trẽches which the Imperialls had made in the medowes, were more ſtrong and braue then they were in deede, So alſo that they had broken vp in many places (which alſo was falſe) the gallery wall that leadeth from the *Vatican* to the Caſtell *Saint Angeo*, to thend to miniſter ſuccours of many ſides, in caſe any inuaſion were offred: Vppon which reaport the Duke tooke occaſion to alleage many difficulties, which were all conſented vnto by *Guido* and approued almoſt by all the other capteines: Whereupon enſued the concluſion that it was a matter impoſſible to giue ſuccours to the Caſtell for the preſent, wherein ſome other of the Capteines that roſe vp to diſpute & defend the contrarie opinion, were bitterly reprehended of the Duke, who wanted patience to be drawne to that by reaſons and argumentes, wherunto he had no inclination of will and vallour. In this ſorte the perſon and preſence of the Pope remayned in pray, not one launce beeing broken to reskewe and recouer out of priſon, him who to ſuccour others had leauyed ſo many bandes of ſouldiours, exſpended ſuche huge maſſes of money and treaſure, and ſtirred vp to warre almoſte all the Nations of the worlde: Neuertheleſſe they diſputed if the helpes that were not to be giuen preſently, might be miniſtred at an other tyme with more forces: A deuiſe which beeing proponed by the Duke, was alſo aunſwered by him ſelfe, that vndoubtedly the Caſtell might be ſuccoured when ſo euer the armie were poſſeſſed of a ſtrength of ſixteene thouſande *Svvizzers* leauyed by ordenance of the Cantons, not comprehending in the reckoning ſuche as were there already, as beeing become vnprofitable for the ſeruice by their long abyding in *Italy*: And beſides this cooplement of *Svvizzers*, he required a newe proportion of ten thouſande

sande harquebuziers Italians, three thousande pyoners, and fortie peeces of artilleries: With which resolution he required the Lieftenaunt to comfort the Pope, whom they knewe to be furnished with vittells for a weeke, that amid his aduersities he woulde temporise and deferre to make anye accorde till his forces might be assembled together. The Lieftenaunt aunswered, that as he lyked of his deuise so farreforth as in the meane whyle the estate of affayres did not chaunge: So beeing very likely that those within *Rome* would make the reskew more harde with newe trenches and fortifications, and also that from *Naples* woulde come to *Rome* the bandes which the *Viceroy* had ledde thither by sea, he desyred to knowe what propertie of hope he could giue to the Pope in case matters drew that successe according to the sensible apparances and coniectures that were discerned. But the Duke replied, that in suche case should be omitted no indeuour or action tending to so good an office, adding withall, that if the bandes that were at *Naples* were ioyned with those of *Rome*, their strength woulde be in all more then twelue thousande Launceknightes, and eight or ten thousande Spanish footemen, and that if the Castell were loste, there could be made no rekoning to remayne maisters of the warre, if there were not at least xxij. or xxiiij. thousande *Svvizzers* strong: Whiche demaundes being contemned of all the Capteins as vnreasonable and impossible, the army beeing diminished in footemen, retyred the first day of Iune to *Monterga*, notwithstanding the great instance which the Pope made, not to depart so soone to thend to make his aduauntage of tharmy in the practise & negociation of thaccord: The same night *Peter Mariaroſſa* & *Alexander Vitelly* with two hundred light horsmen passed vp to *Rome* towards thenemies. But nowe the Pope hauing small expectation of succours, and no lesse feare and ielousie of his life by the rage of the *Colonnois* and furie of the Launceknightes, sente for the *Viceroy* who was at *Sienna* to come to *Rome*, And as the Pope hoped that by the interposing of the *Viceroy* his composition would be both more easie and reasonable, so the *Viceroy* went with great will and readynes to finde the armie, with intention and hope to be created Capteine generall: But beeinge aryued at *Rome* whither he passed vnder safeconduit of the Capteines of the armie, he founde no good inclination in the Launceknightes and Spaniardes, who after the death of the Duke of *Burbon* had elected to that place the Prince of *Orange*: By reason of whiche preuention together with the yll disposition of the armie continuing, he had no reason to abyde at *Rome*, And yet as he went towardes *Naples*, he was encountred in the waye by the Marquis of *Guast*, *Don Hugo*, and Capteine *Alarcon*, by whose counsells he returned eftsones to *Rome*: Neuertheleſſe for that he was not agreable to the armye, he bare no more authoritie neyther in the affayres of the warre, nor in the negociation of accorde with the Pope: Who beeing by his aduersitie made naked of all helpe present, and lesse exspectation to be reskewed where was so great want of vallour and order, was dryuen to runne the race of his fortune, compounding the sixth day of Iune with the Imperialles almost vnder the same conditions with the which he mighte haue accorded before: That the Pope should pay to the Armie foure hundred thousande duckets in this order: one hundred thousande presently to be defrayed of the golde, money, and treasure reserued in the Castell: fiftie thousande within twentie dayes, and two hundred and fiftie thousande within two monethes, Assigning to him for these defraymentes, an imposte of money to be charged vpon the whole Church state: That he should deliuer into the power of themprour to reteyne them so long as he thought good, the Castell *Saint Angeo*,

The Pope beeing abadoned of all hopes, compoundeth with the Imperialls.

the Rockes of *Ostia*, of *Ciuitavecchia*, and of *Ciuita Castellano*, together with the Cities of *Parma*, *Plaisanca*, and *Modena*: That the Pope together with all those Cardinalls that were with him, which were thirteene in number, should remayne prisoners within the Castell vntill the firste payment of an hundred and fiftie thousande duckets were satisfied: That afterwards they should goe to *Naples* or to *Caietta* to exspect what themprour would determine of them: That for assurance of the paymentes whereof the thirde parte apperteined to the Spaniardes, he should deliuer in for ostages, the Archbishops of *Siponto* and *Pisa*, the Bishoppes of *Pistoia* and *Verona*, together with *Iames Saluiatio*, *Simon de Ricasola*, and *Lavvrence* brother to Cardinall *Rodolffo*: That *Ranso de Cero*, *Albert Pio*, *Oratio Baillon*, the knight *Casalo*, thembassadour of *Englande*, with all others that were saued within the Castell, except the Pope and the Cardinalles, shoulde departe in suretie: That the Pope should giue absolution to the *Colonnois* of the censures they had incurred: And that when he shoulde bee ledde out of *Rome*, a Legate shoulde remayne there for him with authoritie to dispose and administer iustice. Assoone as this accorde was passed, Capteine *Alarcon* entred within the Castell with three bandes of Spanishe footemen, and three companies of Launceknights: who because there was put vppon him the confidence and deputation to garde the Castell, and the Pope, he perfourmed it with a very strayte and seuere watche, suche as shutte vp from the prisoners almoste all libertie. But touching the other castells and townes promised, they were not so easily consigned, for that as the Castell of *Ciuitavecchia* was kepte and defended in the name of the Confederates, so *Andrea Dore* notwithstanding he had receyued warrant and commaundement from the Pope, refused to deliuer vp the Castell of *Ciuita Castellano*, vnlesse he were firste satisfied of foureteene thousande duckets which he sayde were due to him for his paye. *Iulian Leno* a Romaine was sent to *Parma* and *Plaisanca* in the Popes name, and *Lodovvike* Count of *Lodron* accompanied in the name of the Capteines, with commaundement to those Cities to obey the will of themprour, notwithstanding the Pope had giuen them secrete aduertisement to the contrarie: And accordingly, those Cities abhorring the iurisdiction of the Spaniardes, refused to receyue them. Touching them of *Modena*, they stoode not in their owne power, for that the Duke of *Ferrara* letting not passe any occasion whiche the calamities of the Pope offred him, threatned them to ouerrunne and waste all their corne whiche was nowe rype, by whiche compulsion he constrayned them to render vp the towne to hym the sixt of Iune, not without the infamie of Count *Lodovvike Rangon*, who notwithstanding the Duke had but a small strength with him, lefte the towne abandoned without making any signe of resistance. In this action the Duke respected not the authoritie of the *Venetians*, who perswaded him to attempt or innouate nothing agaynst the Church in such troubled times: And yet they themselues enterteyning intelligence with the *Guelffes* of *Rauenna*, after they had sent certeine bands of footemen vnder cooller to defende the towne for feare of those of *Cotignola*, conuerted to themselues the iurisdiction & possession of that city, and vnder the same cloke tooke the castell, after thay had made secret slaughter of the capteine, publishing that they would holde it in the name of the whole league: Not many dayes after they possessed thēselues of *Ceruia* & the saltes that were there, apperteining to the Pope, whose estates being neither garded nor defended further then the people and inhabitantes for their own interests, stoode in defence of their places and libertie: *Sigismond Malatesta* with the same facilitie seased vpon the towne and castell of *Rimini*.

The

The affayres of the Pope proceeded with no better course in the citie of *Florence*, where when the accidence and losse of *Rome* was related to them, the Cardinall *Cortono*, whose feare was farre greater then his assurance, resolued to giue place to necessitie and fortune: He sawe he was abandoned of those partakers and Citizens who made profession to be friendes to the house of *Medicis*: he sawe there remeyned no meane for him to leauy money without vsing meanes violent and extraordinary: And lastly lacking deuocion to employe his owne purse at least till he saw a further euent and yssue of the armies who were marched to succour the Pope, he stoode possessed with passions of feare and cowardisse, and gaue skoape to the aduersities of the towne without laying to his hande to restrayne or moderat the vniuersall perill: In which dispositicion, after he had made an assembly of the Citizens together, he deposed vnto them the free administracion of the common weale, hauing before obteined certeine priuileages and exempcions together with faculty to the Popes Nephewes to remeyne at *Florence* as Citizens priuat being clearly absolued and pardoned of all things past, which they had committed ioyntly or seuerally against the estate: Vppon the conclusion of which graunts, the sixt daye of May he went to *Lucquay* with the Popes Nephewes, where reprehending and repenting his departure in so greate timerousnes, he practised to reteyne to him selfe the castells of *Pysa* and *Lyuorna*, beeing already in the handes of Capteines of the Popes confidence, who neuertheless, hauing no hope of succours by reason of the Popes captiuity, and being corrupted with some secret summe of money, within very few daies after, deliuered vp those castells to the *Florentyns*: In the meane while the people of *Florence* had reduced their citie to a popular gouernment, and in that humor had created *Gonfalonier* and chiefe Magistrate of the pollicie for one yeare with faculties of confirmation for three yeares, one *Nicholas Cappony*, A Citizen of great authoritie and a louer of the publike libertie: This man desiring wholly the concord and vnitie of the Citizens, and no lesse zealous to reduce the gouernment to the most perfect forme of a common weale that was possible, debated the action with reasons graue and resolued, in a conuocacion of the great councell in whome rested absolute power to establishe lawes and create all Magistrates: And sure if the Citizens had giuen faith to the perswasions of this man, their new libertie had happly endured longer: But as for the most parte the passion of spite and disdaine is stronger in him that recouereth libertie, then in an other that defendeth it, so the hatreds being great against the house of *Medicis* for many causes, but especially for that they haue bene driuen to beare out for the most part with their owne money, all the enterprises that they had begonne: The people began to persecute immoderatly all those Citizens that were friendes to the *Medicis*, together with such as boare affection to the name of the Pope: They called into remembraunce how the citie had exspended not onely in the occupacion but also in the defence of the Duchie of *Vrbyn*, more then fiue hundred thowsand duckats, And as much in the warre which Pope *Leo* managed against the French king, and in matters hapning after his death depending vppon the same warre: Neither did they forget the three hundred thowsand duckats which were payed to the Capteines Imperialls and to the *Viceroy*, before the creacion of *Clement*: And lastly they reduced into reckoning the six hundred thowsand duckats disburssed aswell since that tyme, as employed in this last warre agaynst the Emprour: These reckonings beeing ioyned to the humor of their vniuersall hatreds, so aggrauated their rage and furye, that they defaced and reuersed through all the partes of the citie, the armes and enseignes of the

house of *Medicis*, not forbearing in that course of insolencie to pull downe euen those skootchions which were affixed and emboasted to the publike pallaices builded by them selues: They brake the images or portraictes of *Leo* and *Clement* set vp in so greate glorye in the temple of *Annunciado* so much celebrated through all the worlde: yea the moste parte of them omitted nothing apperteyning to moue the Popes disdaine, and to nourish the diuisions and discords of the citie, wherein they had risen into greater degrees of disorder, if the authoritie & discression of the *Gonfalonier* had not bene interposed, which yet was not sufficient to remedie many insolencies.

But by this tyme were comen to *Rome* with the Marquis of *Guast* and *Don Hugo*, all those footebands of launceknights and *Spanyards* which were in the Realme of *Naples*: So that it was sayd they had stronge within the towne of *Rome* eyght thowsande Spanish footemen, twelue thowsand launceknights, and foure thowsand *Italians*: An armye sufficient to doe in *Italy* what they would, aswell for the reputacion they had gotten, as for the vniuersall astonishment of those regions, together with the weake prouisions that were made to oppose against them: Onely the armye tooke such libertie in their insolencies and disorders, the Prince of *Orenge* being Capteine generall in title and name, but not in authoritie and effect, that they tooke litle care of thinteresis of thEmprour, beeing wholly caried with the humor of praye and spoyle, and to raunsom prisoners and racke the purse of the Pope: Matters whose sweetenes deteyned them still in *Rome*, where running a race of tumult and mutinie, the *Viceroy* and the Marquis of *Guast* feared least they woulde extend their furye vppon their persons to the daunger of their liues, In which feare they fled, leauing the souldiours to the hazard and stroake of the plague, which beeing already begonne, kindled amongest them greater bronds of infection to their vniuersall domage: for these reasons thImperialls lost thoccasion of many enterprises, but especially they omitted the oportunitie to conquer *Bolognia*, A citie which albeit the Count *Hugo de Pepoly* went thether after the losse of *Rome* with an army of a thowsand footemen payed by the *Venetians*, yet it stoode and persuered in the obedience of the sea Apostolike, though not without difficultie by reason of the tumult which *Lavvrence Maluezzo* made by the secret consent of *Ramassotto* and the fauor of the faction of the *Bentyuoleis*, yea, (which was of no lesse importance then the residue) their disorder and careles nes gaue tyme to the French king to dispatch into *Italy* a moste mightye armye, with great daunger to the Emperor to lose the Realme of *Naples* after he had triumphed gloriously in so great a victorye: for, matters going on long time before in *Fraunce* to a preparacion of a newe warre, there was established the foure and twenty of Aprill, A conclusion of the confederacion solycited many moneths, betwene the French king and king of *England*: Wherein one condicion was that the Daughter of the king of *England* shoulde be maryed to the french king, or to the Duke of *Orleans* his second sonne, the election of which shoulde be resolued at the tyme of the enteruiewe of the two kinges which was to bee performed at Whitsontyde betweene *Callyce* and *Bolleyne*: An other article was that the kinge of *Englande* shoulde renownce the title of kinge of *Fraunce*, receyuing in recompense a yearely pension of fiftye thowsande duckats: The thirde article bare that the kinge of *Englande* shoulde enter the league made at *Rome*, and to bee bownde by the next moneth of Iulye, to moue warre beyonde the Mountes agaynste thEmprour with nyne thowsande footemen, and the Frenche Kinge with eyghteene thowsande, and a conuenient number of laun-

Plague in Rome.

Confederacion betwene the French king and the king of England.

launces and artilleries: That in the meane whyle bothe the one and the other of them, shoulde sende Embassadors to thEmprour, bothe to signifie the confederacion made by them, to summon him to restore the kinges children, and to enter into the peace with comely condicions: Which in case he woulde not accept within one moneth, their Embassadors shoulde denownce warre to him, and beginne it: Assoone as this accorde was passed, the king of *England* entred the league, who together with the Frenche king dispatched two gentlemen in post to present to thEmprour conuenient summonce: Matters which were done by the Embassadors of the Frenche and Englishe with a farre greater readines then they were performed by the Popes commission: for that his Nuncio *Baltasar Castillion*, sparing to sharpen the mynde of thEmprour, would not consent to denownce warre agaynst him: But afterwardes the Court of *Fraunce* beeing possessed with the newes of the losse of *Rome*, And the displeasure of the accident of the Pope beeing ballanced with the gladnes of the deathe of the Duke of *Burbon*, And lastly the Frenche kinge not holding it good pollicye to suffer the thinges of *Italy* so to declyne, he contracted the fiftenth daye of Maye with the *Venetians*, that they shoulde wage in common tenne thowsande *Svvyzzers*, he to furnishe the first paye, and the *Venetians* the seconde, and so forwarde according to that rule: That he shoulde sende into *Italy* tenne thowsande Frenche men, vnder *Peter Nauarre*: That in lyke sorte the *Venetians* ioyntly with the Duke of *Myllan* shoulde wage tenne thowsande footemen *Italyans*: That he shoulde sende thether a newe supplye of fiue hundred launces and eyghteene peeces of artilleries: And bicause the king of *England* notwithstanding tharticles of the contract, shewed no greate readines to make warre beyonde the Mountes, A dealing which was not very agreable to the French king, They dispensed with that obligacion, and in place of that, they couenanted: That the king of *England* to furnishe the warre of *Italy* shoulde defraye the paye of tenne thowsande footemen for six monethes full: And at the speciall instance of the sayde kinge of *England*, *Monsr de Lavvtrech* almoste agaynst his will, was declared Capteine generall of the whole armye, during whose preparacion to marche and passe with conuenient prouisions of money and other thinges necessarye, there was nothinge done in *Italy* that was of any consequence: for, bothe thEmprours armye styrred not out of *Rome* notwithstanding that many perished dayly by the rage of the plague which at that tyme ranne also with greate mortalitye in *Florence*, and through many partes of *Italy*: And also the armye of the league, into which at thinstance of the Marquis of *Salusso* and the *Venetians*, the *Florentyns* were entred of newe with obligacion to defraye fiue thowsande footemen wherewith thEmprour felt him selfe greeuously offended for that hauing at their instance giuen to the Duke of *Ferrara* authoritie to compownd in his name, was almost assoone aduertised of their contrary deliberacion: This armye beeing greatly diminished in numbers for that the regiments of the *Venetians*, of the Marquis, and the *Svvyzzers* were yll payed, was retyred towardes *Viterba*, And looking altogether to temporise and enterteyne, they labored to holde in the deuocion of the league, *Perousa*, *Orbieta*, *Spoleto* with other places thereabowts: And afterwardes hauing vnderstandinge in that place that one parte of thEmprours armye was yssued out of *Rome* somewhat to take breathe with the largenes and skoape of ayre fearing least the residue shoulde doe the lyke after the first payments were made, they retyred to *Orbietta* and afterwardes neare to the borowe of *Pyena*: And in that inclinacion they had retyred vppon the landes of the

Florentyns, if they would haue giuen consent: In this rage of the plague the castell of *Saint Angeo* was visited, to the great daunger of the life of the Pope abowt whom dyed certeine speciall men that did seruice to his person: who amyd so many afflictions and aduersities and no other hope remeyning to him then in the clemencie of th Emprour, appoynted for Legat with the consent of the Capteines, Cardinall *Alexander* of *Farneso*, who notwithstanding being yssued out of the castell and *Rome*, refused vnder that occasion to goe in the layd legacion: The Capteines desired to cary the person of the Pope with the thirteene Cardinals that were with him, to *Caietto*, but he labored against that resolucion with greate diligence, peticions, and arte.

Monsr Lawtrech Capteine generall of the league.

At last *Monsr de Lavvtrech*, after he had giuen order to thinges necessary, departed from the Court the last of Iune with eyght hundred launces, and honored with the title of Capteine generall of the whole league. And the king of *England* in place to present tenne thowsand footemen, was taxed to paye in money for euery moneth beginning the first of Iune, the summe of xxx. thowsand duckats: Which money should be conuerted to the payment of tenne thowsand launceknights vnder *Monsr Vavvdemont*, which was a regiment of very good exercise and practise, for that they had many times broken the bands of the *Lutherans*: The French king tooke also to his paye *Andre Dore* with eyght gallyes and xxxvj. crownes for euery yeare: But before *Monsr Lavvtrech* was past the Mounts, the regiments of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Myllan* ioyned together, marched to *Marignan*, whome *Antho. de Leua* yssuing out of *Myllan* with eyght hundred *Spanyards* and the like number of *Italyans* together with a very fewe horsemen, constrayned them to retyre: About which tyme *Iohn Iames de Medicis* Captaine of *Mus* who was in pay with the French king, and expected vppon the lake the comming of the *Svvyzzers*, made him selfe Lord by suttle meanes vppon the castell of *Monguzzo* seated betwene *Lecqua* and *Coma*, wherein dwelt *Alexander Bentyuolo* as in his owne house: for the recouering of it, *Antho. de Leua* sent thether *Lodovvyk de Belioyense*, who hauing assalted it in vaine, turned to *Monceo*: But afterwards, *Antho. de Leua* hauing espiall that the sayd Capteine *Mus* with two thowsand fiue hundred footemen, was come to the village of *Carato* foureteene myles from *Myllan*, returned to *Myllan*: where leauing onely two hundred men notwithstanding the *Venetians* were almost ten thowsand, and yssuing out by night with the rest of the armye, he charged suddeinly, vppon the rising of the Sunne, the bands of Capteine *Mus*, who at the alarme leauing their houses wherein they were lodged, they retyred into a playne place enuyroned with hedges not farre from the village, not thinking that all the bands were there: And albeit they cast them selues into order, yet by the disaduauntage of the place beeing lowe and strayted as a prison, they fell all without any resistance into the calamitye of the sworde or prisoners, except many who in the beginning sought their sauetye by fleeing, taking their example of the Capteine.

In this meane while, Th Emprour had aduertisement of the Popes captiuitie, by letters which his high Chauncellor wrote to him from *Monaco*, as he went into *Italy*, whether he was sent by his authoritie: And albeit by his speeches and outward forme of behauior he expressed how greeuous that accident was to him, yet it was discerned by his secrete mocions and affections that he was not muche discontented with it, which he well declared in publike demonstracions not forbearing to followe the feastes and torneyes begonne before for the byrthe of his Sonne:

But

But as the deliuerie of the Pope was vehemently desired by the king of *England* and Cardinall of *Yorke*, and for their authoritie no lesse displeasing to the French kinge, who in case he coulde otherwayes haue recouered his children, woulde haue taken litle care and greefe for the calamities of the Pope and vniuersall domages of all *Italy*: So in a cause so generally inducing to compassion, bothe the one and the other king sent Embassadors to thEmprour, to demaunde the deliuerance of the Pope as a matter apperteyning in common to all the Princes Christian, and particularly due by the Emprour vnder whose faith he had beene reduced to that estate of misery, by his Capteynes and by his armye. Abowt this tyme the Cardinalls that were in *Italy* made a mocion, that aswell they as the other Cardinalls beyonde the Mountes might assemble together at *Auignion*, to take councell in so troublesom a tyme, what courrse to holde for the stabilitie of the Church: But becausse they woulde not all at one tyme raunge themselues vnder the power of so mightye Princes, they refused to goe thether though with diuerse excuses: By whose example also the Cardinall *Saluiatio* Legat in the Frenche Court, beeing required by the Pope to goe to thEmprour to helpe his affayres at the comming of *Don Hugo* who according to the capitulacion, was to go vp to thEmprour, refused to accomplish that legacion as though it had beene a matter hurtfull to deliuer vppe to the power of thEmprour at one tyme, so many Cardinalls: Onely he sent by one of his seruaunts of credit thinstructions he had receyued from *Rome*, to thAuditor of the chamber resident with thEmprour, to thende he might negociat with him, who brought from him very gracious wordes, but such as promised a diuerse and vncerteine resolucion: And albeit thEmprour could haue desired that the Pope had beene ledde into *Spayne*, yet for that it was a matter full of infamye and greatly tending to incense the king of *England*, And withall for that all the Potentates and prouinces of *Spayne* and principally the Prelats and Lordes, detested not a litle that an Emprour of *Rome* Protector and Aduocat of the Church should, with so great indignitie to all Christendom, holde in prison the man in whome was represented the person of Iesus Christ in earth: In those regardes he made gracious aunswers to all thEmbassadors which occupied his presence there, At whose instance also to goe thorowe with a peace, he sayde he was content to referre the action of it to the king of *England*, which was accepted by them: And seeming to confirme this good inclinacion with corespondencye of effects, he dispatched into *Italy* the thirde daye of August the generall of the Graye Frears, and foure dayes after him *Veri de Miglian* enhabling both the one and other with commissions sufficient to the *Viceroy* for the deliuery of the Pope and restitucion of all such townes and castells as had bene taken from him: he consented also for the better releeuing of the Pope, that his Nuncio should send him a certeine summe of money exacted vpon the collection of his Realmes who in their Courts and parlyaments had refused to contribute money to thEmprour.

The Cardinal of Yorke in Fraunce.

In this time about the ende of Iuly, the Cardinall of *Yorke* passed the sea to *Callyce* with twelue hundred horse: The French king who had great desire to receyue him with all showes of honor, sent to meete him at his landing the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and went afterwardes in persone to *Amyens* where the Cardinall of *Yorke* made his entrey the daye after with very greate pompe: Wherein one thinge that muche augmented his glorye and reputacion, was the treasor he had brought with him amownting to three hundred thowsande crownes, bothe to furnishe thexspenses occurringe, and to imparte it with the Frenche Kinge by waye

of loane if neede were: They debated betwene them aſwel of matters apperteyning to the peace, as of occaſions tending to nouriſh the warre: Wherein albeit the ends and intencions of the French king were different from the purpoſes of the king of *England*, for that to haue his children reſtored he cared not to leaue abandoned to manifeſt praye both the Pope and all the ſtate of *Italy*: yet what by the authoritie of the king of *England*, and neceſſitie of his owne affayres, he was driuen to promiſſe to make no accord with thEmprour without the deliuery of the Pope: And therefore thEmprour hauing ſent to the king of *England* the articles of the peace, aunſwer was made to him by both the kings that they woulde accept the peace vnder condicions of reſtitucion of the children of *Fraunce* receyuing for raunſom of them two millions of duckats within a certeine tyme, and deliuerye of the Popes perſon with the ſtate Eccleſiaſtike, together with the conſeruacion of all the gouernments and eſtates of *Italy* as they were at that preſent, and laſtly vnder condicion of an vniuerſall and generall peace: And bicauſe the mariage of the French king with the Emprours ſiſter ſhould ſtill continue, there was ſet downe a ſpeciall couenant that thEmprour accepting theſe articles, the Daughter of the king of *England* ſhould be maryed to the Duke of *Orleans*: But in caſe the peace ſucceeded not, the king him ſelfe ſhould take her to wife: After theſe articles were ſent, they refuſed to giue ſafe conduit to a man whome the Emprour required to ſend into *Fraunce*, aunſwering that they had done enough to ſend him the articles of their reſolucion: Which being not accepted by thEmprour, the peace and confederacion betweene the two kings was ſworne and publiſhed ſolemnly the eyght day of Auguſt: They determined to employ all their forces in the warre of *Italy* hauing for their principall obiect, the deliuerye of the Pope, And touching the manner to proceede in that warre, they reappoſed them ſelues vppon *Monſr Lavvtrech*, to whome according to the confidence they had in him, they gaue abſolute power, and before he tooke his leaue to depart with his expedicion, they ſuffered him to obteyne of the French king all his demaundes, for that the king ment in that warre to ſet vppe his laſt reſt: The Cardinall of *Yorke* would alſo that the knight *Caſalo* ſhoulde goe to the campe on the behalfe of his king and that the thirty thowſande duckats which were his monthly contribucion, ſhould be deliuered to him to thende to be aſſured if the nũber of *Almaines* were compleate. Thus after the reſolucions and directions of the warre were eſtabliſhed, the Cardinall of *Yorke* returned, and at his departure he diſpatched the pronotorye *Gambaro* to the Pope to induce him to make him his Viccaire generall in *England*, in *Fraunce*, and in *Germanye* ſo longe as he was in priſon, Whereunto though the French king ſeemed by demonſtracions to conſent, yet ſecretly and in effect he did impugne ſo great an ambicion.

In this meane whyle there paſſed but very fewe actions and exployts of warre in *Italy*, thexſpectacion of the comming of *Lavvtrech* being very great: The reaſon was, that as the Imperiall armye full of diſorder and diſobedience to their Capteynes, and no leſſe chargeable to their friendes and townes that were rendred, made no greate mouing and gaue no feare at all to their enemyes: ſo the footebandes of Spanyardes and Italyans fleeing from the infection of the plague, laye diſpearſed and wandring abowt the confynes of *Rome*, And the Prince of *Orenge* with an hundred and fiftye horſemen was gonne vppe to *Syenna*, aſwell to eſchewe the daunger of the plague, as to keepe that citie in the deuocion of thEmperour: And for the better conteyning the Citie in fidelitie and order, he had ſent thyther before, certeyne bandes of footemen, the rather

for that the people beeing drawne into commocion at the incensing of certeine sedicious Citizens, had, in that tumult sacked the houses of such as were of the familie of *Montenouo*, and had slaine in their rage *Peter Bourgeso* a Citizen of authority together with one of his sonnes and seuenteene or eighteene others: There remained only within *Rome* the Launceknightes, as full of infection and plague as ripe in disorder and insolencie, who, being satisfied by the Pope with verie great difficultie of the first hundred thowsande duckats which were partely payed in money, and parte to be aunswered vpon bills of marchants of *Genovvay* being to be repayed vpon the tenthes of the realme of *Naples* and vpon the sale of *Beneuent*, required for the residue of their payes due, other sureties, and other assignacion, then the imposicion of the state Eccleſiastike, a matter impossible to the Pope being a prisoner: By reason whereof after many threatninges made to the ostages and sureties whom in great crueltie they kept in chaines, they led them in a manifest ignominy to the field of *Flora*, where they sette vp a gibbet as though they would haue made present execucion of them: Afterwardes they issued all out of *Rome* without any Capteines of authoritie, rather to lodge abroade and refresh them selues, then to execute any exployt of importaunce: In which inhumanitie and insolencie, after they had sacked the Cities of *Ferno* and *Naruo*, *Spoleto* agreed to giue them passage and vittells: By which occasion the armie of the confederats to assure *Perousa*, went to lodge at *Pontonouo* beyond *Perousa*, they were incamped before vpon the lake of *Perousa*, but they were much diminished in numbers in regard of thobligacion of the confederates: for, the Marquis had with him three hundred launces and three hundred french archers, three thowsand *Svvizzers* and a thowsand footemen *Italians*: The Duke of *Vrbin* had with him fiue hundred men at armes, three hundred light horsemen, a thowsand footemen *Almains*, and two thowsand *Italians*: The *Venetians* alleaged for their excuses, that they supplied their promise and obligacion with the bandes of souldiours whom they held in the Duchy of *Millan*: The *Florentins* had foure score men at armes, an hundred and fiftie light horsemen, and foure thowsand footemen: And as they were constrained to maintaine a better prouision then all the others, for a continual feare they had least thEmperours army would assaile *Tuskane*: So in that respect they failed not to make payes to their souldiors in times due, wherin they did contrarie to all the residue: But the Duke of *Vrbin* ouer & besides his auncient difficulties was not without his passions of greefe and disquietnes tending almost to dispaire, for that he knew that both the french king and *Monsr Lavvtrech* spake not of him to his honor, and also the *Venetians* were drawne into a very ill opinion of him: Who, suspecting either his fidelitie or his inconstancie, had set a diligent and carefull gard vpon his wife & children that were at *Venice* least they should depart without their leaue: And in that humor of gelousie and suspicion, they reproued openlie his councell, which was, that *Lavvtrech* should drawe directlie to *Rome* without attempting any thing in *Lombardie*.

So that all matters of action or enterprise lay on sleepe in that armie, who interpreted it to a speciall grace that thimperialls passed not further: And thimperialls hauing a litle afterwards receiued two crownes a peece of the Marquis of *Guast* who went to tharmie, returned, the Launceknightes (who agreed not well with the Spanyardes) to *Rome*, and the Spanyardes were seuerallie dispersed to *Aluiano*, *Tegliano Chastillion*, and *Bolseno*: Only the generall numbers were so muche diminished especiallie the Launceknights, by the stroke of the plague, that it was thought the whole army of thEmprour conteyned not aboue tenne thowsand footemen: Here is not

to be omitted the reapport of an act worthy of perpetuall infamy committed by the Imperiall Capteines before their departure: The discourse of it was this, *Gentill Baillon* being returned to *Perousa* with the will and consent of *Horacio*, who perswading that the disorders betwene them were hurtfull to euery one, had made show that he would reconcile him selfe to him: Thither went *Federike Bossolo* with the priuitie & authority of all the Capteines to signifie vnto him, that forasmuch as they had found out that he practised secretlie with thennemies, they thought good to be assured of his person notwithstanding he iustified him selfe and promised that he would go to *Chastillion*: he was left in the gard of *Gigant Corse* Coronell of the *Venetians* supposing though his libertie was restrained, yet there was no daunger to his life: But the malice of his ennemies pulling on by violent handes, the last degree of his destinie, he was the same night slaine with two of his Nephewes by certeine murtherers of *Horacio* subborned by his commission: Which bloodie accident he caused to be also accompanied at the same time with the slaughter of *Galeotto*, brother to *Braccio* & one of the Nephewes of *Gentill*: After this the confederates sent souldiours to enter within *Camerino*, by reason they had aduertisement that the Duke was dead, but they were preuented by *Sforce Baillon* in the name of the Imperialls: Insomuch as *Sero Colonno* made his entrie on the behalfe of *Rodolff* his sonne in law bastard sonne to the late Duke: Afterwards the Marquis of *Salussa* and *Federik* with many horsemen and a thowsand footmen, assaulted by night the Abbay of *S. Peter* which is neare *Ferno*, wherein were *Peter Maria Rossa* & *Alexander Vitelly* with a strength of two hundred horsemen and foure hundred footemen: This enterprise verie rash of it selfe, since for the garrison that was there, the place was not pregnable but by artilleries, succeded well to them either by fortune which is vainlie supposed to beare some sway in actions, or by indiscression which leades all thinges in errour and confusion, or else through the couetousnesse of the Capteines who hauing sent out the same day an hundred and fiftie harquebuziers to make pillage of a towne fast by, had depriued them selues of a strength necessary to defend it: Insomuch as after they had maintained resistance for certeine howers, they yeelded to discression reseruing onely the persons and goodes of *Peter Maria Rossa* and *Alexander Vitelly* who in defending the place which they could not keepe, had receiued wounds with the bollet, the one in the legge, and the other in the hande: About this time the riuer of *Tiber* rising in two or three places aboue the bankes, ouerflowed with great hurt, the campe of the league, which went to lodge at *Asceса*, thimperialls being as yet betwene *Farno* and *Narno*: And then passing further, the Duke of *Vrbin* lodged at *Narno*, the Frenche men at *Boudgno*, and the blacke bands commaunded by *Horacio Baillon* Capteine generall of thinfanterie of the *Florentins*, seeing there was no lodging prepared for them, entred into the towne of *Montfalcon* and sackt it: In which course of insolencie certeine bandes of his footemen inuaded afterwardes *Pressia*, whether were retyred *Rodolffo de Varano* and *Bettrice* his wife, who in so great an aduersitie hauing no meane to defende them selues, yeelded to discression: Neuertheless not long after, they recouered their libertie, for that *Sero* being not hable to remeine longer within *Camerino* for the displeasures he receiued of that armie, compounded to abandon it vnder condicion to recouer his sonne in lawe and his daughter: And in this enterchaunge of actions and affaires, the Marquis of *Salusso* and *Federik* made a practise, with the French horsemen and two thowsand footemen, to surprise and strippe the Spanishe horsemen who were lodged at *Monte Rotondo* without gard and watche as *Maria Vrsin* reapported: They had three dayes marching to the place where thexployt

A wicked act.

ployt shoulde be done, wherein they proceeded with so litle order, that they were discloſed & returned without doing any thing, notwithstanding, they had determined, the better to take from the Spanyards all meanes to flie away, to breake downe at the same time the bridge of *Feuerono*.

During the whole time of this sommer the actions of the souldiours that were in *Lombardie*, were of the like propertie: for, as the bandes of the *Venetians* and the Duke being drawne into one strength neere to *Millan*, with intencion to leauie and take away the corne of that countrey, had ouerthrowen the eskert or garde of vittells, and slaine an hundred footemen, taken thirtie men at armes, and three hundred horse of seruice and others: So, they forbare to proceede any further against their corne, for that the bandes of the *Venetians* according to their custome, did immediatlie disperse and diminishe: *Andre Dore* was retyred with his fleete towardes *Sauona*: And the *Genovvaies* vnder that occasion had reconquered *Spetia*: But afterwardes the affaires of *Lombardye* beganne to take a newe life for the discending of *Monsr de Lavvtrech* into *Piedmont* with one parte of tharmie: Who hauing no minde to remeyne idle whileſt he exspected the residue of his forces, went to incampe in the beginning of Auguſt affore the towne of *Bosco* in the countrey of *Alexandria* wherein were left for garrison a thowsande footemen: The most parte of them were Launceknightes who defended their liues with so muche the more obstinacie and resolucion, by howe much *Lavvtrech* made angrie for that they had slaine certeine *Svvizzers*, woulde not receiue them to rendering onleſse they referred them selues whollie to his discression, wherein the more to confirme them in hart and courage, *Lodovvike* Count of *Lodron* to whome was committed in charge *Alexandria*, sent to them oftentimes and comforted them by all the meanes they coulde: In which good office he had speciall interest for that his wife and children were beseeged also within *Bosco*: Neuertheleſse their aduersitie being farre aboue their power, at last after they had day and night for the space of tenne dayes endured the importunate furie of thartilleries, the mindes that through their vallour were no longer hable to make resistance, were compelled through the malice of their calamitie, to submitte whollie their liues and goodes to the arbitracion of *Monsr Lavvtrech*: Who tempering his seueritie and iustice with compassion and clemencie, reteined the Capteines prisoners and saued the life of the souldiours, but with this condicion that the Spanyardes shoulde returne into *Spaine* thorowe *Fraunce*, and the Launceknightes to take their way into *Germanie* by the countrey of *Svvizzerland*, & euerie particular of euerie nation of them, according to the brauerie of warre, to goe out of *Bosco* without armes, euerie one bearing a white rodde in his hand: Only in this his magnanimitie exceeded his iustice, that he liberallie rendred to the Count *Lodron* his wife & his children: This conqueſt was accompanied with a happie succeſse of the affaires of *Genes*: for, fiue shippes, whereof foure were laden with corne, and the fift with marchandise which went to *Genes*, being ariued at *Portofino*, and to thende they might passe in safetie, nine gallies being sent out of *Genes* to accompany them: It hapned that by reason of an aduertisement that *Cæsar Fregoso* approached to *Genes* by land with two thowsand footemen, almost all those that were at *Portofino* went to *Genes* leauing the fleete abandoned, the same giuing occasion to *Andre Dore* to encloſe it with his gallies in the same porte: At which place the *Genovvaies* knowing that they were not hable to resist, disarmed their gallies and set their souldiours on land, by which meane, of the nine gallies (one being burned) the others fell into the power of thenemies together with the shippes laden

Genoway returneth to thobedience of the French king.

with corne and the carracke iustinian, which being come out of *Leuant* was supposed to haue a lading in value worthe an hundred thowsande duckats: At this exployt were also the other Frenche gallies, who hauing taken before, fiue shippes laden with corne which were bound for *Genes*, were afterwardes drawne behinde *Codomont* betwene *Portofino* and *Genes*: Moreouer at that instant certeine bands of footmen which the *Adorneys* had leauied to bestowe within *Genes*, were ouerthrowne at *Priacroce* a place scituated in the same mountaines: This calamitie ioyned to many other losses of money and sundrie vessells, tooke from the *Genouvaies* being now reduced to extremitie, all hope to make good any further resistance, notwithstanding that at the same time *Cæsar Fregoso* being drawne neare to *Saint Peter de Rene*, was constrained to retyre him selfe: But the stroke of famine being ioyned to the forces and vexacions of thennemies, and no further necessitie remaining to make their calamitie more wretched, they sent Embassadors to *Monsr Lavvtrech*, to capitulate: *Antho. Adorney* who was Duke of *Genes*, retyred within the castell: Insomuch as the tumultes being appeased principallie by the industrie of *Philip Dore* who was prisoner there, the Citie diuolued to the obedience of the Frenche king who created gouernor there *Theoder Triuulco*: By the example of this felicitie, *Monsr Lavvtrech* drewe neare to *Alexandria* hauing in his armie eight thowsande *Svvizzers*, who diminished dayly in number, and the tenne thowsande footemen commaunded by *Peter Nauare*, together with three thowsande *Gascons* whom the Barron of *Bear* had newlie brought into *Italie*, and also three thowsande footemen of the Duchie of *Millan*: There were within *Alexandria* fifteene hundred footemen, who for the ouerthrowe and losse of the *Almains* of *Bosco*, were both muche weakened, and no lesse terrified, but being releeued afterwardes with fiue hundred footemen entring by the fauour of the hills next to the Citie, and guided by *Alberig de Belioyense*, they resumed their spirites and made a valliant defense: Neuertheless what by the furie of the batteries redoubled in many places, and freshe courage of the *Venetian* bandes newlie ariued in the armie, (who notwithstanding did nothing aunswere neither by sea nor lande the numbers they were bounde vnto) and also the defendantes at the same time being muche trauelled and weakened with the trenches and mynes which *Peter Nauare* cast, their aduersities compelled them to yeelde vp the place with safetie of goodes and life. This conqueste of *Alexandria* bredde amongest the confederates a beginning of some contencion: for, as *Monsr Lavvtrech* layed his plot to leaue there in garrison fiue hundred footemen, to thend that in all euentes, his bandes and regimentes might haue a sure retraite there, and also suche companies as shoulde come out of *Fraunce* might orderlie reassemble and refreshe them selues in that Citie: So, thEmbassador of the Duke of *Millan* who beganne to suspect least that beginning extended to vsurpe and occupie that state for his king, opposed against it with protestacions and wordes full of efficacie: Wherein thEmbassador of *Venice* concurring with him in that minde and the Englishe interposing in the action, *Monsr Lavvtrech* at last agreed albeit with great indignacion to leaue it freely to the Duke of *Millan*: A matter which happilie was of great preiudice for that enterprise, for that according to thopinion of many he vsed a greater negligence in the conqueste of *Millan* either through disdaine, or else to reserue him selfe to doe it in a time when without the regard of others, he might make his profit of it: But after the losse of *Alexandria*, it was not doubted but *Monsr Lavvtrech* would conuert his forces either to *Millan* or to *Pauia*, and therfore that *Antho. de Leua* who had there with him an hundred, and fiftie men at armes and fiue thow-

Alexandria taken.

sand

and fiue thousand footemen Spanish and Lanceknightes, distrusting to be able to defende *Millan* with so small forces, and amid so many difficulties, shoulde retyre his companies to *Pauia*: neuertheles, considering that *Pauya* gaue smal relefe or store of vittels, and lesse exspectation to mainteine the armie there with robberies & extortions as hadde bene done rudely and iniuriously at *Myllan*, he chaunged purpose and stayed at *Myllan*, sending to the garde of *Pauya Lodovvyke Belioyense*, and to the *Myllanois* who with money would buy libertie to depart, he solde for corruption and gaine the thing that he could not lawfully giue: But *Monsr Lavvtrech* notwithstanding he was much weakened in nombers of *Svvizzers*, marched on and tooke *Vigeuena*, and afterwardes making a bridge vpon the riuer of *Thesin*, and by the ayde of the same past his armie ouer, he drewe towards *Benerolo*, which is a village within iiij. miles of *Myllan*: In this order of proceeding he made shew as though he would incampe before that Citie, whereunto he was also counselled by the *Venetians*, but in deede he was resolued to take that course which seemed most easie: And because he vnderstoode when he was within eight miles of *Myllan*, that *Lodovvyke Belioyense* had sent thyther the night before, foure hundred footemen, by which meane there remayned no more then eight hundred within *Pauya*: He turned way and went the day folowing being the xxviij. of September, to the Monasterie of Charterhouse, and from thence with great celeritie he went to incampe before *Pauya*: To the suecours or reskue of which Citie, *Anthonie de leua*, taking occasion vpon the alteration of *Monsr Lavvtrech* and chaunging his way, dispatched thyther three ensignes of footemen, who coulde not enter: by which impediment together with the small nombers of men of warre that were there, it seemed the Towne coulde make no great resistance: And in that weakenes and feare, notwithstanding they of the Towne besought *Belioyense* to make some composition to auoyde the sacke and destruction of the Citie, yet he refused to graunt them that compassion: But when he saw with what importunitie *Lavvtrech* continued his batterie by the space of foure dayes, hauing reuersed so much of the wall, that the small nomber of men that were within, sufficed not to reenforce it: The necessitie of the place ioyned to the complaintes of the townesmen, compelled at last *Belioyense* to sende a trumpet to *Lavvtrech*, who hauing no speedie accesse to him by reason that he was by chaunce gone to the *Venetian* campe, The souldiers drawing neare the towne, entred into it by the ruines of the wall: which, being a spectacle greeuous to *Belioyense*, and no meane to remedie or resist it, he set open the gates of the towne, and issued out in his misfortune to yelde himselfe to the Frenchmen, who sent him prisoner to *Genes*. The Citie was sackt, in which action the Frenchmen spent eight dayes in pillage and crueltie, putting fire into diuers houses, which in their furie they consumed in reuenge of the battel which they lost within the parke: Then they drewe to counsel, whether they shoulde execute the enterprise of *Myllan*, or addresse their forces to *Rome*: The *Florentines* made instance to passe further, for feare least *Lavvtrech* staying in *Lombardie*, the imperiall armie issued not out of *Rome* to distresse them: The *Venetians* and Duke of *Myllan* who was expresly come from *Myllan*, impugned it, alleaging what great opportunitie there was to take *Myllan*, and the profite that would rise by it for the enterprise of *Naples*: for that as *Myllan* being taken, there remayned no hope to thimperials to haue succours out of *Germanie*, so that gate being layde open, it was to be alwayes feared that a great armie comming from that part, woulde not eyther put *Lavvtrech* in daunger, or at least diuert him from the enterprise of *Naples*: But he aunswered that he must necessarily passe further

The sacke of Pauya.

by the commaundementes of his king and the king of *Englande*, who had ſent him into *Italie* chiefelie to deliuer the Pope: To which reſolucion it was beleued he might be induced by ſuſpicion, that if the Duchie of *Millan* were got, the *Venetians* thinking them ſelues aſſured from all daunger of the greatneſſe of thEmperour, would not be negligent to ayde the king in the enterpriſe of the realme of *Naples*: And happily he was no leſſe induced by this that the king ſuppoſed it would be for the benefitte and proffit of his affaires not to ſuffer *Frauncis Sforce* to recouer whollie that ſtate, to thende that reteyning the power to offer to the Emperour to leaue it, he might the eaſelier obteyne the deliueraunce of his children by way of thaccorde which continuallie was negociated with thEmperour by thEmbaſſadors of *Fraunce*, *Englande*, and *Venice*: But in the negociacion of the ſame appeared many difficulties, for that thEmperour made inſtance that the cauſe of *Frauncis Sforce* ſhould be referred to the ſentence of the lawe, and that during the triall, theſtate of *Millan* to be holden by him, promiſing in all accidentes not to appropriat it to him ſelfe: He required that the *Venetians* ſhoulde pay to thArchduke the reſidue of the two hundred thowſande duckats which were due to him by the capitulacions of *VVormes*, which the *Venetian* Embaſſador refuſed not ſo farre foorth as thArchduke woulde accompliſhe the ſayd capitulacions and render ſuch places as he was bound by the obligacions of the ſame: he demaunded of the ſayd *Venetians* to giue to their exiles according to couenaunt an hundred thowſande duckats, or at leaſt aſſignacion for fiue thowſande duckats of reuenue: That they ſhould pay that which they ought him for the cõfederacion made with him, which he wiſhed might be renued: That they ſhoulde render *Rauenna* to the Church, and whollie to giue ouer all that they helde in the Duchie of *Millan*: he required thirtie thowſande duckats of the *Florentins* in recompenſe of the defrayments and exſpenſes made, and for domages receiued by reaſon of their inobſeruancie: He conſented that the Frenche king ſhoulde pay for him to the king of *England* a dette of foure hundred and fiftie thowſande duckats, and for the reſidue amounting to two millions, he required oſtages, he required to be prouided for him the twelue gallies of the Frenche king for the conuey of his perſon into *Italie*, onely he cut of all proporcions of horſemen and footemen: Laſtlie he demaunded that as ſoone as thaccorde were reſolued, all the Frenche regimentes ſhould iſſue out of *Italie*, an article which the Frenche king refuſed, onleſſe his children were firſt reſtored to him: Yea when it was hoped that he would mitigate theſe demaundes for the loſſe of *Alexandria* and *Pauia*, it was then he ſhowed him ſelfe more firme, and reſolute following his cuſtome which was not to yeelde to difficulties: In ſo muche as when the Auditor of the Chamber came to him out of *Englande* the fifteenth of October to ſolicite the Popes deliuerie in the name of the king of *Englande*, he aunſwered that he had taken order for that by the Generall: And that touching the accorde, he woulde not eyther for loue or by force, alter the condicions he had eſtabliſhed before: But aſſuredlie it was diſcerned manifeſtlie that thEmperour bare no great inclinacion to the peace, for that many thinges gaue him corage againſt the puiſſance of his ennemies: for, he called into conſideracion that in *Italy* he might make reſiſtance through the vertue of his armie, and for the facilitie to defende townes: That he coulde alwayes with ſmall difficultie make paſſe newe ſupplies of Launceknightes: That the long tract of exſpenſes had drayned of money and treaſor, the Frenche king and the *Venetians*: That according to the cuſtome of leagues, their prouiſions were defectiue and diminiſhed: he had confidence to draw out of *Spaine* ſufficient ſtore of money,

Demaundes which the Emperour made to the armie of the confederats if thaccord went on.

ſeeing

seeing he bare out the warre with farre lesser exspenses then did the confederates being much impouerished by the pillage and robberie of souldiers, and also for that he hoped by seperating the confederates to make them more weake or negligent. Lastlye, he promised much to himselfe of his great felicitie both approoued by thexperience of so many yeeres, and had bene assured from his infancie by manye predictions.

But in this time *Monsr Lavvtrech* solicited that the armies by sea prepared to inuade either *Cicilia* or the Realme of *Naples*, shoulde aduaunce and come on: of which, the fleete of the *Venetians* (whose prouisions eyther by sea or lande aunswered nothing thobligations,) was at *Corfon*, and sixteene gallies were to ioyne with *Andre Dore*, who exspected in the ryuer of *Genes Ranso de Cero*, appoynted to the footemen of that enterprise: After *Lavvtrech* sent backe agayne into Fraunce foure hundred launces, and three thousande footemen, and contracted with the *Venetians* whom he counselled to render *Rauenna* to the colleage of Cardinals, and with the Duke of *Millan*, that to defende that which hadde bene conquered, they shoulde reteyne their bands with whom were *Ianus Fregosa* and *Count Caieste*, in a place well fortified at *Landriano*, which is a village within two miles of *Millan*: By reason of whose neighbourhead for that the companies that were within *Millan* coulde not goe abroade, it was supposed an easyer gard woulde be made of *Pauia, Moncia, Biagrassa, Marignan, Binasquo, Vigeuena*, and *Alexandria*: After he hadde established these thinges, the eighteene of October he marched with fifteene hundred *Svvizzers*, the like nomber of Launceknightes, and sixe thowsande aswell Frenche as *Gascons*, And with this strength he passed the ryuer of *Pavv* right ouer agaynst the Borowe of *Saint Iohn*, with intention to abide there the comming of the Launceknightes, of whom till then was arriued but a very slender nomber, and also an other regiment of footemen of the same nation, which the French king had sent to leuye of newe in place of the *Svvizzers*, who were almost gone away: But from this place he was driuen to sende backe agayne beyonde *Pavv*, *Peter Nauarre*, with the bands of footemen *Gascons* and *Italians*, to the succours of *Biagrassa*, before which towne garded by the Duke of *Millan*, *Antho. de Leua*, was gone to incampe the xxviij. of October with foure thowsande footemen, and seuen peeces of artilleries, taking his reason of that enterprise vpon the wantes and ill prouisions of the towne: which being yelded to him the second day by accorde, he prepared to passe into *Lomelino*, to the ende to reconquer *Vigeuena* and *Nouaro*,: But being aduertised by good espiall that *Peter Nauare* was come with a greater supplie of forces, he returned backe againe to *Millan*: By which retyring he made easie to *Peter Nauare*, to get againe *Biagressa*, in whiche *Frauncis Sforce* bestowed better prouisions. It was nowe discerned that *Monsr Lavvtrech* deferred with great industrie and art, to depart: Wherein albeit he alleaged that the thing that reteyned him, was the tarying of the Launceknightes, of whom one band being at last arriued vnder the charge of *Monsr Vaudemont*, he abode the comming of the others, And albeit he cunningly accompanied that excuse with a complaint of the slender prouisions of the *Venetians*, yet it was supposed that the onely cause that helde him in deferring and lingring, was the money which he exspected out of Fraunce: But the true and most stronge reason was, that the French king hoping much in the peace, the negotiacion whereof was stil continued with themperour, he gaue direction to *Lavvtrech* to dissemble vnder slowe proceedings, his aduauncing on: whereupon also it came to passe that the kyng was not readie to satisfie

his part of the pay of thoſe *Almains* which were leauyed in place of the *Svvizzers*, and much leſſe the other bands that were before reſerued to go with *Monſr Vavvdemont*. With theſe neceſſities or rather excuſes *Monſr Lavvtrech* ſoiourning at *Plaiſanca*, and his companies being beſtowed betwene *Plaiſanca* and *Parma*, the difficultie which before was had of the duke of *Ferrara* was nowe taken awaye: This Duke, like as *Monſr Lavvtrech* aſſone as he was entred into *Italy*, had ſolicited to enter into the league, which was a matter deſired of thone ſide by the Duke in reſpect of thalliance that was offred to him with the French king, and on the other ſide the ſame reteining him, both for a diſtruſt he had of the vallour of the French, and for a ſuſpicion he had leaſt the king for the recouery of his children, would not at laſt accord with themprour: So neuertheles fearing the threats of *Lavvtrech*, he was reduced conformable to the will of the French, demaunding only that the negociatiõ of thoſe affayres might be performed at *Ferrara*, for that he would in his owne perſon manage a cauſe that imported him ſo muche: So that thembaſſadours of the whole confederates went vp to *Ferrara*, together with Cardinall *Cibo* in the name of thoſe Cardinalls that were aſſembled at *Parma*: And the Duke beeing not a litle moued to ſee *Lavvtrech* aduaunce, after he had laboured to inſinuate his reaſons, and make them ſeeme good to Capteine *George* and *Andrevv de Burgo*, (theſe were within *Ferrara* and greatly honoured and enterteyned by him) he lefte them ſatisfied of the neceſſitie that compelled him to compound: And at laſt he accorded but with conditions well ſhowing eyther his induſtrie & knowledge howe to negociate, & that it was not in vayne that he ſought to draw the action into his preſence, or elſe by the conditions were well declared the great deſire the other partie had to draw him into the confederation: Wherin he entred with obligation to pay monthly for the ſpace of ſixe moneths, ſix or ten thouſand crownes according to the arbitration of the french king, who reſolued afterwards vpon ſix thouſand, with bond to deliuer to *Monſr Lavvtrech* a company of an hundred men at armes payed: On the other ſide, the confederates bound themſelues to the protection of him & his eſtate: To deliuer to him *Cotignolo* (which a litle before the *Venetians* had taken from the Spaniards) in exchange of the auncient and almoſt deſolate citie of *Adria*, which he demaunded with great importunity: To render vnto him the pallaces which before time he had poſſeſſed in *Venice* & in *Florence*: To giue him ſuffrance to winne vpon *Albert Pio* the caſtell *de Nouy* ſtanding vpon the confines of *Mantua*, which he helde beſieged at the ſame time: That they would pay the frutes of the Archbiſhoprike of *Millan*, to his ſonne who was Archbiſhop there, if the imperials gaue no impedimẽt to him to receiue them: The Cardinall *Cibo* in the name of thoſe Cardinalls who promiſed the ratification of the College, bound the Pope to renew thinueſtiture of *Ferrara*: To renounce the rights of *Modena* in regard of the purchaſe he had made of it with *Maximilian*: To cancell the obligations for the ſaltes: To conſent to the protection which the confederates tooke of him and his: To promiſe by Buls Apoſtolike to ſuffer aſwell him as his ſucceſſors to poſſeſſe all that they nowe enioyed: and that the Pope ſhould create his ſonne Cardinall, and beſtow vpon him the Biſhoprike of *Modena* vacant by the death of the Cardinall *Rangon*. To this confederation was added that *Renea* the daughter of king *Lovvis* ſhould be giuen in mariage to *Hercules* his eldeſt ſonne, & to indue the mariage with the duchy of *Chartres* and other honorable conditions. By the example of the duke of *Ferrara*, concurring alſo the inſtance & ſolicitation of *Monſr Lavvtrech*, the Marquis of *Mantua* entred into the league, notwithſtanding he had put himſelfe before into the pay of themprour.

The Duke of Ferrara entreth into the league.

But at this time the confederate armie was very weake, and laye many dayes without doing any thing, betweene *Fuglino*, *Montfalcon*, and *Beuaguo*: And the duke of *Vrbin* who had aduertiſement of the reſtrayning of his wife and children at *Venice*, being departed from the army agaynſt the commiſſion of the Senate to iuſtifie his cauſe, was tolde by the way that they were deliuered, and that the Senate beeing well ſatisfied of his gouernment deſyred him to paſſe further: by reaſon of which aduertiſement he returned to the army, In whiche the *Svvizzers* and the footbands of the Marquis were not payed: Neither did the *Venetians* eyther there or in *Lombardy* where they were bound to mainteine nine thouſand footmen, aduance the third part: By which negligence accompanied with an vniuerſall ſparing of exſpences, the army was declined to great debilitie: in which weaknes they retired afterwards to the territory of *Lody* & the confines therabout. And the Spaniards vpon the end of Nouember were gone vp towards *Corneto* and *Toſcanello*, and the launceknights remained at *Rome*, to whom the prince of *Orenge* was returned from *Sienna*, where he had made but ſmall abode, for that he ſaw he could not be apt to reorder that gouernment as he thought he could haue done. Aſſuredly it was not to be douted that if themprours army had aduaunced, the duke of *Vrbin* and the Marquis of *Saluſſe* had not retired with their forces to the walls of *Florence*, notwithſtãding they had made many vauntes that to ſtoppe them from entring into *Tuskane*, they would plant a campe eyther within *Orbietto* or *Viterba*, or els vpon the territorie of *Sienna* towards *Chiuſa* and *Sertiano*: But *Monſr Lavvtrech* notwithſtanding the bandes of launceknightes were ariued, proceding, for thexſpectation of the iſſue of the peace, ſo ſlowly as he was wont, made his abode within *Parma*: where albeit he had reduced into his power the caſtells of that citie, and had leauyed vpon that towne and *Plaiſanca* and their territories about fiftie thouſande duckets, yet it was beleued that he had an intention not onely to ſubdue to his deuotion and power *Parma* and *Plaiſanca*, but alſo to thend to draw *Bologna* to depend vpon the authoritie of his king, he had impreſſion to conuert the iuriſdiction of that citie into the famuly of the *Pepolies*: But thoſe deuiſes ſorted to nõ effect by reaſon of the Popes deliuery: To the which albeit it ſeemed at the firſt that themprour was not to condiſcend readily (for ſince the newes of his calamitie he had temporiſed one whole moneth before he would reſolue) yet both vnderſtanding that *Lavvtrech* was paſſed into *Italy*, and alſo not ignorant of the king of *Englands* readines to the warre, he had diſpatched into *Italy* the Generall of the grayfreers and *Verio de Migliato*, with commiſſion to the *Viceroy* to debate that action: But the Generall finding the *Viceroy* dead before he ariued at *Caietto*, he was then to transfer the negociatiõ of thoſe affayres to *Don Hugo de Moncado*, to whom as themprours cõmiſſion did alſo extend, ſo the *Viceroy* had orderly ſubſtituted him in his place vntil themprour ſhould ſend ſome new addreſſe for the gouernment of the realme: And after the General had communicated with *Don Hugo*, he went to *Rome*, accõpanied with *Migliato* who was come out of *Spayne* with the like cõmiſſions: This buſines & negociation conteined two principal articles, the one that the Pope ſhould ſatisfie the army to whom was owing a very great ſumme of mony, And the other that the Pope being deliuered ſhould not be adherent to his enemies: To which two articles were tyed hard conditions of oſtages & townes for aſſurance: Which difficulties as they drew a long tract and delay in the general matter, ſo to make the iſſue eaſy, the Pope failed not by ſecret meanes to ſolicit cõtinually *Monſr Lavvtrech* to aduãce, aſſuring him that as his intentiõ was to promiſe nothing to thimperials but by force, ſo alſo in that caſe, being once out of

priſon,he would obſerue nothing ſo ſoone as his perſon were once transferred into a place of ſuretie, whiche he forgat not to bring to paſſe in giuing to them the leaſt oportunities he could: But in caſe he did accorde, he beſought him that the compaſſion of his aduerſities and neceſſities might ſerue him for excuſe. But during the ſolicitation of theſe matters the Oſtages ſtale away ſecretly from *Rome* in the ende of Nouember, not without the great indignation of the Launceknightes.

Long was the diſputation vpon this matter,euen thoſe being not of one opinion and aduiſe,in whom was moſt power to determine: for albeit *Don Hugo* had ſent to *Rome Serenon* his ſecretorie together with the others. yet what for his yll nature and the litle loue he bare to the Pope,he had no great inclination to his deliuery: The Generall bare a contrary affection, eyther in true regarde of office and compaſſion, or for that he aſpired to be Cardinall: And *Migliato* impugned it as a matter moſt daungerous for themprour,and beeing not hable to reſiſt it, he went from them to *Naples*, of which impietie he bare a right puniſhment, for that at the firſt beſieging of *Naples* leading the skirmiſh, he was ſlayne with the ſhot of a harquebuze. The Pope omitted nothing that by induſtrie might be made for his purpoſe,for he allured to his opinion,and wonne on his ſide the witte and toung of *Ierome Moron*, the counſels of whom bare great authoritie with the imperials in al their deliberations: The meane with the which he did allure him was,that the Pope transferred the Biſhoprike of *Modena* to his ſonne, and corrupted him with the promiſe of certayne corne which he had at *Cornetta* amounting in value to aboue twelue thouſand duckets: He made fauourable the Cardinall *Colonno* with a leſſe induſtrie, both by promiſing him the legation of *la Marqua*,and alſo aſſuring him at ſuch time as he came to viſite him in the caſtell,that he would principally acknowledge ſo great a benefit of him: wherein he forgat not to worke vpon the humor of the man,that he could not wiſhe a greater degree of glorie and felicitie,then to let all the world know that it was in his power to pul downe Popes,and being once embaſed and reuerſed,that it was in his hand to reamount them and rayſe them to their former eſtate of greatnes: With which inſinuations of them ſelues full of compaſſion, and for the party that preferred them of no leſſe pyetie and deuotion, ioyned to the propertie of the Cardinall being by nature hawty and glorious, inclined him to a ready diſpoſition to deliuer the Pope, beleeuing that it would be as eaſie for the Pope in his libertie to forgette ſo many wronges and iniuries, as beeing priſoner he was apte with prayers and teares humbly to recommend vnto him his deliueraunce.But all ſortes of difficulties were ſomewhat eaſed by a newe commiſſion from themprour, by the which he gaue order that the Pope ſhould be deliuered to his contẽtment as much as was poſſible,Wherein it ſeemed he helde it ſufficient that being in his libertie,he would be for the confederates no more then for him: Neuertheles the matter that more then all other wrought for his deliuery,was,a neceſſitie they had,which made them fearefull,leaſt *Monſr Lavvtrech* would leade his armie to the defence of the Realme of *Naples:* Which was a matter impoſſible vnleſſe they were firſte aſſured of the payes due to them, in recompence whereof they would not ſuffer ſo many prayes and great gaynes as they had made at the ſame tyme: This neceſſitie to prouide for the payes, was alſo the cauſe why there was made leſſe accounte to bee aſſured of the Pope in tyme to come. At laſte after longe negociation and practiſe, and many accidentes and difficulties occurring, there was concluded in *Rome* the laſte of October, a reſolution of accorde wyth the Generall and wyth *Serenon* in the name of *Don Hugo*, who afterwardes ratified it: Theſe were

the articles of the composition: That the Pope shoulde bee no partie agaynst thEmprour, neyther in the affayres of *Millan*, nor in the kingdome of *Naples*: That he should accord vnto themprour the Croysade in *Spayne*, and a tenth of the reuenues ecclesiastike through all his dominions: That to assure thobseruation of these things, *Ostia* should remayne in the handes of themprour, and *Ciuitavecchia* which *Andrea Dore* had left to him before: That he should assigne ouer to him *Ciuita Castellana*, a towne which had refused to receiue thimperialls, *Mario Perusquo* procurer of the fiske being entred within the rocke by secret commission from the Pope, notwithstanding he made semblance of the contrary: That he should also deliuer ouer to him the rocke of *Furly*, and to put into his hands for ostages *Hipolito* & *Alexander* his nephewes, And tyll they were come from *Parma* themprour to be possessed of the Cardinalls *Pisani*, *Triuulco*, and *Gaddi*, whom they led to the realme of *Naples*: That he should make present payment to the Launceknightes of three skore thousande duckets, and to the Spaniardes thirtie and fiue thousande: That in so doing they should let him come out at libertie with all the Cardinalls, and they to goe out of *Rome* & out of the castell, alwayes interpreting to libertie when soeuer they should be conueyed in safety to *Orbietto*, *Spoletto*, or *Perousa*: That within fiftene dayes after his going out of *Rome* he should paye the like quantitie of money to the launceknights, and afterwards the residue within three monethes to the Spaniards and launceknightes ioyntly, according to their shares & portions: Which residue together with the summes payed amounted to more then three hundred and fiftie thousande duckets. The Pope to haue the better meane to obserue these payments, and withall to deliuer himselfe of the heauy yoke of his imprisonment, had recourse to those remedies, which he would not apply before to keepe him out of that calamitie: And in that necessitie he created for money certeine Cardinalls, of whome the most part for their doctrine or vertue, were vnworthy so great honor: The same property of extremitie forced him also to consent to the Article of the tenthes through the realm of *Naples*, with power to alienate the goods of the Church: In so much that that which was dedicated to the seruice of God (so deepe and profound are his iudgementes) was conuerted to the vse and enterteyning of Heretikes, and that by the permission and consent of the Vicare of Christe: With which meanes hauing assured the paymentes of the money according to the times promised, he deliuered also for ostage for the suretie of the souldiors, the Cardinalls *Cesis* & *Vrsin*, who were led by the Cardinall *Colonno* to *Grottaferara*: And so all things hauing their orderly expedition, and the resolution set downe that the tenth of December the Spaniards should accompany him into a place of suretie, he fearing some variation eyther for the yll minde which he knewe *Don Hugo* bare to him, or for any other accident that might happen, the night before he stale secretly out of the Castell in the closing of the euening, disguysed in the attyre of a Marchaunt: *Leyvis de Gonsaguo* who was in the paye of the Emprour, taryed for him in the medowes with a strong companie of harquebuziers, and with that garde did accompanie him to *Montfalcon*, where dismissing almoste all his bandes of footemen, he was ledde by the same *Leyvis* euen to *Orbietto*, into whiche Citie he entred by nighte without the company of any one Cardinall: An example worthy of consideration, and perhaps neuer happned since the Churche was great, that a Pope shoulde in that sorte fall from so great a puissance and reuerence, his eyes to beholde the losse and sacke of *Rome*, his person to bee turned ouer into captiuitie, and his whole estate reduced to the disposing of an other, and within fewe monethes after, to be

Accorde betweene the Pope and themprours Agents.

The Pope goeth out of prison.

reſtored and reeſtabliſhed in hys former greatnes : So greate towardes princes Chriſtian is thauthoritie of the Pope, and the reſpect which mortall mendo beare to him.

About this time which was immediatly after *Monſr Lavvtrech* was departed from *Plaiſanca*, *Antho.de Leua* ſent out of *Millan* the bandes of Spaniſhe and Italian footemen, both to feede and refreſh them ſelues, and alſo to recouer ſuche places of the contrey as were moſt weake, to thend to open a way and commodity to bring a traffike of vitttelles to *Myllan*: Theſe bandes exchaunging the captiuitie of the towne wherein they were kept ſtrayte, for the libertie of the countrey which gaue them skope, tooke that part of the countrey which is called *Spetio*. He ſent out alſo at the ſame time and to the ſame ends *Phillip Toruiello* with eleuen hundred footmen and certayne light horſemen to *Nouaro*, in which citie was a garriſon of foure hundren footemen of the duke of *Millan* : *Toruiello* made his entrye by the Rocke which had bene alwayes holden in the name of the Emprour: and finding a very ſlender defence, he made himſelfe maiſter of the towne, where making pillage of ſome of the footemen, and ſending the reſidue to their houſes, he kept within *Nouaro*, holding it for a retrayte to ouerrunne all the countrey thereabout: But there were part of the Launceknightes got into *Arona*, and an other part beſtowed within *Moraro*, To whom for that the Duke had ſent a ſtrength of other footmen for the defence of *Lomelina*, and the countrey, they became impedimentes to *Toruiello* that he had no libertie to make his incurſions farre off: In ſo much as that wynter running foorth in no other exploytes then in many skirmiſhes, both partes made pillage aſwell vpon their friendes as their enemies, & in that libertie of warre ranne ouer the whole countrey with an vniuerſall ruine of all ſortes of people. In like ſort at that time were ioyned and aſſembled at *Liuorno*, the gallies of *Andrea Dore*, and fourteene French gallies, with ſixteene gallies of the *Venetians*: who after they had receyued in *Ranſo de Cere*, with three thouſande footemen to put on lande, they waighed anker the xiij. of Nouember, to departe out of the port of *Liuorno*: And albeit it was determined before, that they ſhould make an inuaſion vpon the Ile of *Sicile*, yet that reſolution beeing innouated, they were conuerted to the enterpriſe of *Sardignia*, at the perſwaſion as was ſuppoſed of *Andrea Dore*, who happly had in his minde other conceptions: *Monſr Lavvtrech* conſented eaſily to embrace this enterpriſe, hoping that *Sardignia* beeing taken, the conqueſt of *Sicilie* woulde be of leſſe difficultie: But what ſo euer the cauſe was, the iſſue and effect was ſtraunge and diuerſe, for that falling into the rage of a verye violent ſtorme, they were ſeperated and turned to their ſeuerall hazardes of the ſea: One of the Frenche gallies periſhed neare the ſhoares of *Sardignia*, and foure of the *Venetians* beeing ſore beaten with the fury of tempeſts, returned to *Liuorno*: the other gallies of the french were driuen into *Corſa* by the rage of the windes, agaynſt which the skill of the Pylotes had no force, and afterwardes they reaſſembled with the foure *Venetian* gallies within *Portovecchio*: the other eight of the *Venetians* were caried by violence of ſea and ſtorme into *Liuorno*: So that after many perills by ſtorme and weather that enterpriſe ſtoode diſſolued, *Andrea Dore* and *Ranſo de Cere* remayning in great diſcorde together. But *Monſr Lavvtrech* beeing within *Reggia*, aſſone as he was aduertiſed of the Popes deliuerie, he left the caſtell of *Parma* to the officers of the Church, and went vp to *Bolognia*, In which Citie he made his abode, exſpecting the comming of the laſt bandes of the Launceknightes, who within fewe dayes afterwardes aryued vppon the countreys of *Bolognia*, not in number of ſixe thouſande as

was

was appoynted,but only three thousand,which was farre lesse then was looked for: And neuertheles after they were aryued,*Lavvtrech* soiourned twentie dayes within *Bologna*,attending the kings aduertisemẽt for the last resolution touching the negociation of the peace: He vsed in the meane whyle a great diligence wherin was also interposed the authoritie of the king of *England* to draw the Pope to make an open protestation to cleaue to the confederates: But immediatly after he was aryued at *Orbietta*,like as there went to congratulate with him the duke of *Vrbin*, the Marquis of *Salusso*,*Federike Bossolo* who dyed a litle after at *Lody*,and *Levvis Pisano* cõmissarie for the *Venetians*: So he besought them with great instance to retire their cõpanies & bands of men of warre from the state ecclesiastik,assuring them that the imperials had promised him to withdrawe their forces, if they might discerne the armies of the confederats to do the like. And in that cõpassion he wrote also a letter to *Monsr Lavvtrech* tending to thanke him both for that he had done to purchase his deliuerance, and also for the counsell he gaue him to procure his libertie in any sorte what so euer: He debated with him that his actions and industrie had bin of so great consequence to constrayne thimperialls to resolue vpon his deliuerie, that he did no lesse acknowledge himselfe bound to the king and to him, then if his person had bin taken out of that calamitie with the force of their armes: The ayde and proceedings of which he would willingly haue tarryed for,had not his necessitie compelled him to abandon all temporising, the rather for that the conditions that were proponed were alwayes chaunged from yll to worse, the same testifying vnto him in cleare apparance that his fortune had lefte vnto him no other meane of deliuerye, then by the benefite and operation of accorde: which by how muche more it was deferred and put of,by so muche more the authoritie and estate of the Church was to fall into manyfest reuersement: But the chiefest matter that induced him to determine his aduersitie by accorde, was a hope he had conceyued that beeing at libertie,he should be made an apt instrument to solicite a common tranquillitie both with his king and the other princes of Christendome. Such were at first his phrases and manner of speeches protested in simplicitie and roundnes, as became the office of a Bishop,but especially a Pope who had receyued at the hands of God so seueare and sharpe admonitions: Neuertheles it was not long ere he returned to his natural custome,hauing not left for the calamitie of his imprisonment,neither his suttleties wherin he could depely dissemble,nor his couetousnes which he could not auoyde: for when the Agents which *Lavvtrech* sent together with the Embassadour of the king of *Englande* were come before him to solicite him to confederate with the residue, he began to giue them diuerse aunsweres,Sometimes he dismissed them with hope that he would be reduced conformable to their desires, and sometimes he would inferre excuses that hauing neyther men,money,nor authoritie,as it coulde not helpe them muche to haue him to ioyne with them,so the action could not but be preiudiciall to himselfe, for that thimperialls would take occasion to vex him in many places: And sometimes he showed a ready inclination to satisfie their demaundes,so farre foorth as *Monsr Lavvtrech* did aduaunce: A matter which he desyred greatly to thend the Launceknightes were compelled to depart out of *Rome*, who going on consuming the remaynders of that miserable citie and all the countrey confining, would not be brought to giue ouer to hunt the praye whiche they founde so sweete, but in their insolencies neyther respecting their Capteines with obedience,nor forbearing ciuill tumult and mutinies amongest them selues, they demaunded new payes.

The Pope thanketh Monsr Lavvtrech for his deliuerie.

1528.

But from the ende of the yere going before, and much more in the beginning of the yere following, the induſtrie and ſolicitations of the peace began to appeare vayne, and by that reaſon the mindes of Princes and ſtates beganne to be ſo muche more incenſed and kindled, by how much leſſe they ſaw themſelues excluded from the hope of peace: For as all the difficulties were almoſt reſolued, ſeing themprour refuſed not to render to *Frauncis Sforce* the Duchie of *Millan*, and to compounde with the *Venetians*, the *Florentins*, and the other confederates: So this reſted onely in queſtion, which of theſe two things ſhould be put firſt in execution, eyther the withdrawing of the French armie out of *Italy*, or the reſtitution of the kinges children: The king would not be bound to reuoke his armie out of *Italy*, if firſt he recouered not his children, offring to put oſtages into the handes of the king of *England* to aſſure the obſeruation of the penalties wherein he was bounde, if vpon the reſuming of his children he retyred not preſently his armie: But themprour made inſtance to the contrarie, offring the ſame cawtions into the king of *Englands* hands: Wherein the queſtion and diſputation running, in whether of them it would bee more comely or honeſt to truſt the other, themprour ſayde it was not reaſonable to reapoſe confidence in him who had once deceyued him. To the which the French Embaſſadours aunſwered, that by how muche more he pretended to be deceiued by their king, by ſo much leſſe could their king reapoſe confidence in him: They alleaged alſo that themprours offer to conſigne into the hands of the king of *England* the ſame aſſurances which their king offred, was neyther equall nor indifferent: for that both the caſe varyed in this, that the thing which themprour promiſed to do, was of farre greater conſequence then thobligation of their king, and therefore not reaſonable to be aſſured vnder the ſame cawtions: And alſo they added, that the Engliſh Embaſſadours who had authoritie to binde their king to obſerue what ſo euer the French king ſhould promiſe, had no commiſſion to tye him to thobſeruation of themprours promiſes: And that their faculties & authoritie being limited and reſtrayned to tearme and time, they could neither exceed nor anticipate: Vpon which diſputation could ſoart no reſolution, for that themprour had not the ſame inclination to the peace, which his Counſell had, the rather for that he enterteined himſelfe with this opinion, that though by warre he ſhould loſe the kingdome of *Naples*, yet he ſhould be apt to recouer it by rendring the children of *Fraunce*: yea the great Chauncellour who long time before was returned into *Spayne*, was touched muche by imputation, to haue troubled greatly the ſolicitations of the peace with cauillations and interpretations ſophiſticall. At laſt thembaſſadours of *Englande* and *Fraunce* following their commiſſions in caſe they diſpayred of thaccorde, determined to demaund leaue of themprour to depart, and immediatly afterwards to denounce warre agaynſt him: And with that concluſion being brought to his preſence the xxj. of Ianuary, his Court being then at *Burgos*, and beeing folowed with thembaſſadours of *Venice*, of the Duke of *Millan*, and *Florence*, Thengliſhe Embaſſadours demaunded of him the foure hundred and fiftie thouſande duckets which their king had lent to him, and ſixe hundred thouſande for the penaltie impoſed vpon him in that he had refuſed his daughter, together with fiue hundred thouſande for the penſions of the French king and for other cauſes: Whiche demaundes being propoſed for greater iuſtification, all thembaſſadours of the confederates asked leaue to depart away: But he tolde them he woulde take aduiſe of his counſell before he would aunſwere that demaunde, beeing in deede neceſſarie affore they departed that his Embaſſadours were in places of ſuretie. Thembaſſa-

dours were no ſooner departed his preſence, then the Heraldes of *Englande* and *Fraunce* entred, to denounce warre agaynſt him, whiche he accepted with a greate ſhowe of gladnes and brauerie: And in that humor he gaue preſent direction that thembaſſadours of *Fraunce*, *Venice*, and *Florence*, ſhould be conueyed to a towne fifteene leagues from the Court, where beeing garded with archiers and halberdiers, they were forbidden eyther to communicate or to write anye thing what ſo euer: Touching the duke of *Myllans* Embaſſadour, he impoſed vpon him a commaundement as vpon his ſubiect, that he ſhould not departe from his Court: Onely on the behalfe of the Embaſſadour of *Englande* there was nothing innouated.

VVarre denounced agaynſt them prour by the kings of Englande and Fraunce.

Thus all the negociations and hopes of peace being broken, there remayned only inflamed and kindled the cogitations and thoughts of the warre: which as it declared it ſelfe in manyfeſt preparation through all the regions of *Italy*, So to reduce to action and beginning the thing that as yet was but in apparance & ſhow, *Monſr Lavvtrech* puſhed on by the king, but muche more by the king of *Englande*, ſince the hope of peace began to diminiſhe, was departed from *Bolognia* the nynth of Ianuary to marche to the kingdome of *Naples* by the way of *Romagnia* and *la Marqua*: This way after long conſultation was choſen by him contrary to thinſtance of the Pope, who deſyred vnder thoccaſion of his marching, to reſtore into *Sienna*, *Fabio Petruccio* and *Montenouo*: That election of the way was alſo agaynſt the inſtance of the *Florentins*, who to thend to haue that army more ready to ſuccour them, in caſe thimperialls marched to inuade *Tuskane*, deſired them to take the way of *Tuskane*: But *Monſr Lavvtrech* choſe rather to make his entry into the realme of *Naples* by the way of *Tronto*, both for the commoditie of that way to leade the artilleries, and alſo for the fertilitie of the countrey yeelding plenty of vittels: and laſtly becauſe he would not giue occaſion to thenemies to make head at *Sienna* or in any other place, hauing a ſpeciall deſire to make his entrye into the kingdome of *Naples* before he ſhould encounter any impediment: And aſſone as he was departed from *Bolognia*, *Iohn Saſſatello* rendred to the Pope the rocke of *Tmola*, of which he had made himſelfe lorde in the time of his impriſonment: And drawing neare afterwards to *Rimini*, *Sigiſmond Malateſta* ſonne to *Pandolffo*, contracted with him to giue vp that Citie to the Pope, vpon condition that he ſhould be bound to ſuffer his mother to enioy her dowry, to giue to his ſiſter who was not maryed ſixe thouſande duckets, and to aſſigne for his father and for him two thouſand duckets of reuenue: That *Sigiſmond* ſhould depard immediatly out of *Rimini*, and his father to remayne there vntill the Pope had ſent the ratification: And that in the meane while the rocke ſhould abide in the handes of *Guido Rangon* his couſin, who being in the pay of the French king followed *Monſr Lavvtrech* to the warre: But the Pope deferring to accompliſhe theſe promiſes, *Sigiſmond* repoſſeſſed and occupied agayne the rocke, though not without a great complaynt of the Pope agaynſt *Guido Rangon*, as though he had ſecretly ſuffred him, and not without ſuſpicion that *Lavvtrech* and the *Venetians* had conſented, ſeeming they had deſired to kepe him in continuall difficulties: The ſuſpicion of the *Venetians* grewe vpon the cauſe of *Rauenna*, which the Pope aſſone as he was deliuered out of the Caſtell hauing ſent to ſommon and demaunde it of the Senate by the Archbiſhop of *Siponto*, he was aunſwered with words generall, referring the matter to the arbitration of *Iaſper Contarin* Embaſſadour elect reſident with him: for notwithſtanding they had giuen aſſurance before that they reteyned it for the ſea Apoſtolike, yet they had no deſire to reſtore it: Wherein they were moued aſwell by intereſts publike as priuate for the commoditie of that Citie to augment

their iuriſdiction in *Romagnia*, fertill of it ſelfe in grayne, and for the plentie of the countreys adioyning, of great oportunitie to draw to *Venice* euery yere good quantities of corne: Beſides many of the citie of *Venice* had in that territorie, great and goodly poſſeſſions: And touching *Monſr Lavvtrech* the Pope doubted no leſſe of him, for that beſides many inſtances which had bin made to him before, *Lavvtrech* notwithſtanding he had ſent to him after he was come from *Bolognia*, *Monſr Vavvdemont* capteine generall of the Launceknightes, together with *Monſr Longeuille* whome the king ſente to ſolicite him earneſtlye to declare agaynſt thEmperour: could not obteine ſo muche of him, the Pope not refuſing expreſly, but vnder delayes and excuſes: And in that cunning he had offred to the french king to giue his conſent, but vnder this condition that the *Venetians* ſhould render to him *Rauenna*: A condition which he knew could not take effect, both for that it behoued not the *Venetians* to be induced to it by the kings perſwaſions, neither was it agreable to the time that the king ſhould make them his enemies, to ſatisfie the Pope: Moreouer he gaue no inclination to thinſtance which *Lavvtrech* made to him to ratifie the accorde made with the Duke of *Ferrara*, alleaging that it was a matter farre vnworthye of him to approue in his life time, conditions made in his name whyleſt he was dead: and yet he alleaged that he woulde not refuſe to contracte with him: By reaſon whereof the duke of *Ferrara* taking that occaſion, made difficultie (notwithſtanding the king and the *Venetians* had receyued him into their protection) to ſende to *Monſr Lavvtrech* the hundred men at armes and the money which he had promiſed: Wherin he ſtoode vpon this obſeruation, that doubting the iſſue of affayres, he would not be ſo much for the French king, as not to reſerue place and meane to appeaſe in all euentes the minde of themprour, to whom he had excuſed himſelfe by his neceſſitie: Beſides he enterteined cõtinually at *Ferrara George Fronſpergh* and *Andrevv de Burgo*. Neuertheleſſe the armie for all this ceaſſed not to aduaunce, which vnder the leading of *Monſr de Lavvtrech* aryued the tenth of Februarie vpon the ryuer of *Tronto* which ſeperateth the eſtate eccleſiaſtike from the kingdome of *Naples*.

But in *Fraunce* after aduertiſement was brought that themprour had reteined the kings Embaſſadour, by his example the king cauſed themprours Agentes to be reſtrayned within the Caſtell of *Paris*, and all Marchantes ſubiects to him to be ſtayed throughout all the regions of *Fraunce*: The king of *Englande* did the like by themprours Embaſſadour reſident with him, whom he eftſones redeliuered, after he was made to vnderſtande that no reſtraynt was made vpon his. And as the warre was nowe publiſhed in *Fraunce*, in *Englande*, and in *Spayne*, ſo the French king ſtoode vppon this requeſt, that the firſt action might begin ioyntly in *Flaunders*, in which reſolution he ſent certayne bands of ſouldiours to make incurſions into that contrey: Neuertheles the Flemings for all thoſe prouocations, made no emotion nor riſing, vnleſſe to defende them ſelues, for that the Lady *Margaret* of *Auſtria* laboring to auoyde all occaſions to enter warre with the French king, would not ſuffer her people to iſſue out of their boundes and confines: But it was a matter grieuous to the king of *Englande* to haue warre with the people of *Flaunders*, for that notwithſtanding there were to be confined to him aſſone as they ſhould be conquered, certaine townes promiſed before by themprour for aſſurance of the mony he had lent him, yet he helde it alſo a matter no leſſe preiudiciall aſwell for his particular reuenues, as for the generall intereſt and benefite of his realme, to breake the trade and entercourſe of his Marchantes with thoſe prouinces: Neuertheleſſe according to thob-

ligations

ligations of the contract, as he could not apparantly refuse it, so yet he temporised & deferred it asmuch as he could, taking thaduauntage of the capitulacions by the which it was lawfull for him to linger fortie daies after sommonce made, to thende to giue time to the marchants to retire themselues. This excuse of his and inclinacion being both well knowen & approued by the french king, he solicited him that in place to make warre in *Flaunders*, he would with an armie by sea, inuade the sea coastes of *Spayne*, where he assured him he had right good intelligence: By which alteracion of councells it hapned at last, that as the king sending to the french king a bishop to perswade him to giue ouer thenterprise of beyonde the mountes, and to encrease and make stronge the warre of *Italy*: so by his perswasions and his authoritie there was an order established, that for the space of eight monethes next ensuing there should be done no vexacions nor harmes by the french and english, vpon the contreys of *Flaunders* nor any of the estates or subiects of themprour confyning vpon those prouinces: Wherein for the more easie induction of the french king to condiscend to this order, the king of *England* was bound to pay thirtie thowsand duckats monthly for the warre of *Italy*, in which was determined the contribucion promised before for six monethes.

The lie giuen by the french king to themprour.

But by how much were augmented and enforced the preparacions of the warre, by so much and by the same degrees were kindled & redoubled the hatreds of both the princes hauing especiall interest in this warre: either of them tooke occasion to multiplie iniuries and enforce quarrells, In which passions they contended no lesse with courage and malice, then with force and armes: For, whereas themprour about two yeares before in the towne of *Grenado* when in like sorte the peace was solicited betwene the french king and him, spake to the President of *Grenoble* the french embassador then, certeine wordes inferring that he would willingly put end to all quarrells betwene the king and him by a singular combat of both their persones, to thende to auoide so much bloode and affliction of Christians and persones innocent: And whereas also since that time he had cõfirmed the same wordes to the herald the last time he signified the warre to him, with this addicion that the french king had delt with him villanously and cowardly in falsefying the faith he had giuen to him: These speeches being now deliuered ouer to the king, he thought he could not let them lie in silence without his ignominie and dishonor: And therefore albeit the chalenge might better become the persones of knightes, then to be performed by princes of their estate and greatnes, yet being no lesse guided with the enuie of the chalenge then desirous to purge and iustifie his honor, he caused to assemble the xxvij. of Marche in a great hall of his pallaice at *Paris*, all his princes, attending his person, all thembassadors resident from the forreine, and the whole presence of his court: And in that aspect and stately view of nobles & embassadors the king in his time discended into the hall with a great pompe and furnishment of sumptuous attire, & no lesse honorably accompanied with a traine of Barons: where after he was with all ceremonies of state & dignitie set in his seate royall, he caused to be called before him themprours embassador who sued for his dispatch for that it was determined that being conueighed to *Bayone*, he should be deliuered at the same time that the other confederat embassadors were set at libertie, who for that purpose were conducted to *Bayone*: When thembassador stoode in his presence, the king spake to him, excusing and alleadging that thempror had bene principally the cause of his restraining, for that in an example new and against humanitie, he had kept reteined his embassadors and the agents of his confederats: But seing he

was now to go to *Bayone* to thende there might be an vniuerſall deliuerie at one time, he deſired him to cary from him a letter to thempror, and to deliuer a meſſage from him of this tenor: That whereas thempror had ſaied to his herald that he had falſefied his faith, *he had ſaied falſely, and that howe many times he had ſpoken it, ſo many times had he lied, and that for aunſwere to thende not to linger the tryall of their quarells, he vvould aſſigne him the place vvhere they might together performe the combat:* But thembaſſador refuſing either to cary the letter, or to deliuer the meſſage, the king ſaied he would ſend to ſignifie no leſſe to him by a herald: he added alſo to the meſſage, that albeit he was not ignorant that themprour had ſpoken wordes againſt the honor of his brother the king of *England*, yet he would make no mencion of that, knowing that the ſaied king was well hable to deale in his owne defenſe: And yet if thorow the indiſpoſicion of his body he had any lawfull impedimēt, he offred to preſent his perſon to hazard for him: Not many daies after the king of *England* gaue the ſame deffiance, and with the ſame ſolemnities and ceremonies. The ſame ſomewhat offending the honor of the princes of Chriſtendome who in their rage of malice could not forbeare to defile their mindes with ſuch paſſions, hauing ronning amongeſt them a warre of ſo great importance and ſo much preiudiciall to all the common wealth of Chriſtendom: But amyd theſe great heates and furies of warre and armes, the order of our ſtory draweth into diſcourſe ſome reapport of the king of *England* touching the refuſing of the Lady *Katherine* of *Aragon*.

For what occaſiō the king of Engläd refuſed his wife the Lady Katherine of Aragon.

The ſaied king had to wife the ſaid Lady *Katherine* daughter to *Ferdinand* and *Elyzabeth* kings of *Spayne*, a queene worthy of ſuch parents, and for her vertues and good behauior vniuerſally beloued & reuerenced of the whole eſtate of the realme: In the time of the father of that king, ſhe was maried to prince *Arthure* eldeſt ſonne to the crowne, but being almoſt no ſooner maried then ſhe was made a widow by the haſty death of her husband, ſhe was eftſoones by the conſent of her father and father in law, married to prince *Henry* the younger brother, but with diſpenſacion of Pope *Iulio* in regard of thaffinitie that was neare and ſtraite: of which mariage was procreated a ſonne, who died immediatly, and afterwardes there ſucceded no other generacion of children then a daughter. The ſame giuing occaſion to the court to murmure, that for the vnlawfulnes of the mariage being not diſpenſable in the firſt degree, the crowne was by miracle depriued of iſſue male: This occaſion was aptly taken and managed by the Cardinall of *Yorke*, who knowing the kings deſire to haue ſonnes, began to perſwade him, that refuſing his firſt wife who iuſtly was not his wife, he might diſpoſe himſelfe to marie an other: Wherein much leſſe that he was induced by conſcience, or of a ſimple deſier to bring iſſue male to the king, but he was caried in that action with a ſecret opinion that in drawing his king to embraſe a ſecond mariage, he might happlie induce him to fix his affection vpon the Ladie *Renea* daughter to king *Louvys*: A matter which was deſired by him with no ſmall induſtrie and ambicion: for that knowing he was generally hated of all the realme, he ſought to prepare remedies for his owne eſtate againſt all accidents that might happen both during the life and after the death of the king: he tooke alſo one ſtrong inducement to that practiſe vpon the greate malice he had conceiued againſt themperour, for that neither in demonſtracions nor with effects, he did not further and ſatisfie his incredible pride: neither did he doute for the great authoritie the king and he had with the Pope, to diſpoſe him to publiſh iudicially the diuorce: The king opened readely his eares to this councell, not that he was caried with thoſe endes which the Cardinall of *Yorke* had faſhioned: But (according to thopi-

thopinion of many) he tooke the chiefeſt reaſon of his inducement vpon the loue he bare to a Ladie of the Queenes traine whom he determined to make his wife: In which courſe of loue and chooſing, the king was ſo ſecret and priuate, that his pretence was neyther knowen to the Cardinall nor communicated with others, but when it beganne to burſt out eyther into knowledge or into coniecture, the Cardinall of *Yorke* that firſt inſinuated the mocion of diuorce, had no meane to diſſwade him from it, and leſſe authoritie to leade him in an other counſell then ſuche as he had perſwaded him before: But the king ſeeking to eſtabliſhe his conſcience vppon good groundes, ſearched out the opinions of Diuines, Lawyers, and men religious, of whom the moſt ſorte made him aunſwere that his firſt mariage was not ſounde nor lawfull, either for that their learning led them to beleue ſo, or elſe according to the cuſtome of men, they diſpoſed their knowledge to gratifie their Prince: Therefore as ſoone as the Pope was deliuered out of priſon, he diſpatched Embaſſadours to induce him to enter the league and to labour accordinge to the ordenaunce geuen for the reſtitucion of *Rauenna*: But the chiefeſt ende and induſtrie of theſe Embaſſadours conſiſted, to obteyne facultie to proceede in the diuorce, which he ſought not by way of diſpenſacion, but by declaracion that the mariage with *Katherne* was of noane effect: The king beleued that the Pope, for that his eſtate was weake in forces, and his perſon voyde of reputacion, and hauing no ſtay nor ſupporte vppon the puiſſance of other Princes, And laſtlie in recordacion of the greate fauours receiued of him for his deliuerie, he woulde not be vneaſie to conſent to the thing whereunto he was deepelie bounde by ſo many obligacions.

To which the king adioyned the conſideracion of the Cardinalls credit, whom he knewe for that he had alwayes fauored his affaires and affore him the doinges of Pope *Leo*, he was very gracious and mightye with the Pope: And to cut of from the Pope all excuſes of feare for any offence that might happen to him by thEmprour beeing ſonne of the ſiſter of *Katherne*, and the better to allure him with ſewertie, the Kinge offered to wadge for his ſauetye a garde of foure thowſande footemen: An offer which the Pope harkened vnto, and in that inclinacion though he conſidered the importance of the matter and the infamye that might redownde to him, yet beeing at *Orbietta* and aſyet in the condicion of a Newter betweene the Frenche Kinge and thEmprour, and of litle confidence with eyther of them, And in that regarde eſteeming muche to preſerue the amitye of the Kinge of *Englande*, he had no ſtomacke to impugne the kinges demaund: And albeit he declared in ſhowes and demonſtracions a ready deſire to be agreeable to the kinge, yet holding thinges in ſuſpenſe for the difficultie of the meanes that were proponed, he kindled ſo much the more the hope and importunitie of the king and his agents, which wellſpring or original of many aduerſities, tooke augmentacion and increaſſing dayly.

Aſſoone as the Pope had giuen audience to *Monſr Vavvdemont* and *Monſr Longeuille*, and aunſwered them with wordes generall, he diſpatched to the kinge togethe with *Longeuille*, the Biſhop of *Piſtoya*, to ſignifie vnto him, that beeing without money, without force, without authoritie, and wretched by all other priuacions, it could litle profit the confederats to haue him to declare: That onely he might doe a better office to ſolicite a peace, to which ende he had giuen him commiſſion to goe to thEmprour to exhort him with wordes ſharpe & rigorous to embraſe it: A matter which the king would not conſent vnto, not for that he remeyned

ill contented of the Popes newtralitie but that he doubted the negociacion was extended to some further matter: Neither did thEmprour complayne that the Pope in so great a diſſenſion ſtoode indifferent.

Lawtrech entring into the Realme of Naples, Andre Dore retyreth from Genes.

But nowe at ſuch tyme as *Monſr Lavvtrech* marched and came on, and direction giuen that the armies by ſea ſhould doe the like, there were found many difficulties to giue impediment to thenterpriſe: for, the twelue gallies of the *Venetians* which before were reduced to *Lyuorna*, hauing ſuffred many vexacions in thexployt of *Sardignia* both by the rage of the ſea, and for want of vittells, departed the tenth of February from *Lyuorna* to goe to *Corfu* to readdreſſe and refurniſhe their wants: Neuertheleſſe the *Venetians* promiſed in their place, to ſende twelue other gallyes to ioyne with the Frenche armye by ſea, which was not without their difficulties for the perplexities they had paſſed, and for the controuerſies hapned betwene *Andre Dore* and *Ranſo de Cere*: by reaſon of which accidents albeit *Ranſo* remeyned ſicke at *Pyſa*, yet it was ſette downe that *Andre Dore* who with all the gallyes was come to the ſhoares of *Lyuorna*, ſhoulde with his fleete of gallyes ſet his courſe for the Realme of *Naples*: And *Ranſo* with the other Frenche gallyes and the foure of Fryer *Bernardyn* together with the foure of the *Venetians*, which were all aſſembled into one fleete, ſhoulde prepare for thenterpriſe of *Sicilie*: But *Andre Dore* with his eyght gallyes accompanied with eyght other of the French kings, croſſed ſayle and retyred to *Genes*, taking this excuſe that it was neceſſary both for him and his gallyes to take ſome reſt, eyther for that ſuch was the true ground and occaſion, or els the intereſts of the affayres of *Genes* caryed his mynde with an inclinacion to newe thoughtes: for, where the *Genovvaies* had demaunded of the king to ſuffer them to gouerne freely of them ſelues, and for that gift of libertie did offer him two hundred thowſand duckats: The king refuſing to gratifie a demaunde ſo farre from the common weale of his affayres, it was beleeued that *Andre Dore* eyther the Author or at leaſt the furtherer of theſe demaunds, held it not reaſonable that the king ſhould accompliſhe the conqueſt of *Sicilie*, if firſt he did not conſent to the libertie of the *Genovvaies*: There was alſo brought in queſtion an other cauſe of controuerſie which was of importance: for, the king hauing diſmembred the citie of *Sauona* from the *Genovvaies*, it was doubted leaſt moſt part of thentercourſe and trafficke of Marchaunts beeing transferred in ſhort tyme to *Sauona* in fauor of the king and for the oportunitie and ſituacion of the place, And that the king making there his ſtaple, and building veſſelles for his ſeruice, the citie of *Genes* woulde ſtand depriued of moſt part of her inhabitants and plenty of riches: *Andre Dore* employed all the arte and induſtrie he could to induce the king to reſtore *Sauona* to the auncient ſubiection of the *Genovvaies*.

But a farre better ſucceſſe and felicitie followed the enterpriſes of *Lavvtrech*, then the expedicions of the ſea, for that aſſoone as he was arriued at *Askoly*, and had ſent *Peter Nauare* with his footebands to *Aquila*, *Ieramo* and *Iulia Noua* were rendred to him at the firſt brute of his comming: The Marquis of *Saluſſo* by the ſame direction followed him with his regiments by the waye of *Lyoneſſa*: And laſt of all ſucceeded *Horatio Baillon* with an hundred and fiftye light horſemen, and foure thowſand footemen *Florentyns* of the blacke bands: The *Venetians* had alſo promiſed to ſend him without the perſon of the Duke of *Vrbyn*, foure hundred light horſemen and foure thowſand footemen of thoſe bands which they had in the towne of *Rome*: And in ſupply of the others which they were bownd to adminiſter & employ to the warres of *Naples*, they had accorded to paye three and twenty thowſand duckats

kats for euery moneth: Assuring also that for the regarde of the nauie at sea, they would aduaunce xxxvj. vessells to giue ayde to thenterprise of *Sicilie:* Neuertheles they gaue manifest signes that they were weary of the burden, and proceeded very slowly in the matter of exspenses, by whose example the French king did the like: seeing at the same time complaynts were comen from *Monsr de Lavvtrech* that the assignacion for an hundred and fifty thowsand crownes monthly for the charges of the warre which the king had made to him at his departure out of *Fraunce*, of which was to receiue about two hundred thowsand crownes, was reduced to three skore thowsand crownes onely the moneth, and that but for three monethes to come: A matter which as it brought no small greefe and dispaire to him, so he burst out in complaints against the king and his omission and carelesnes as not to be moued neither with reason, nor with his faith, nor with the memorie and example of his propper domage: This was one especiall poynt of his greefe and complayning, that where the king had conuerted to thenterprise of *Fontarabye* his treasors and forces which ought to haue serued him for the defense of *Myllan*, it was the cause to make him to lose the whole estate and Duchie of *Myllan*: The enterprise of *Aquila* succeeded happely, for that as *Peter* of *Nauare* made his approches, so the Prince of *Melffy* went out of it, & for the French king, did enter the sonne of the Count *Montoiro*: In like sort the launceknights of the *Venetians* tooke by composicion *Ciuitella*, A litle towne but well fortefied and hath his situacion seuen myles beyond *Tronto:* The taking of this towne was furthered by the preuencion of two hundred harquebuziers spanish who were sent for the defense of it: All *Abruzza* followed thexample of *Aquila*, & the whole residue of the Realme of *Naples* had done the like, had not th Imperiall army yssued out of *Rome:* This army after passion of many difficulties & tumults, and the souldiers fully satisfied of all their paies from the tyme of the Popes deliuery, marched out of *Rome* the seuenteene daye of February: A day which had bene most ioyfull and of speciall respiracion to the long miseries of the wretched people of *Rome*, if their calamities which they supposed to be ended by the departure of the launceknights, had not eftsoones recontinued in a newe course by the Abbot of *Farfa* and others of the famulie of the *Vrsins*, who entring the towne with the peysants of their dominions immediatly vppon the breaking vp of the others, did for many dayes many great insolencies: By reason of these calamities greeuous for their continuance, & lamentable for their wretched succession discending from one enemie yll, to an other that was worse, the citie of *Rome* was not onely made naked of a greate parte of her inhabitants with the desolacion of many houses and pallaices, But also it stoode rent and defaced, in images of worthy and auncient presence, of pillors representing the monument and memorye of greate Princes and Conquerors, of many singular stones for their vallue precious and for their raretye greately esteemed, and lastly of many ornaments of antiquitye suche as drewe delight to the eyes of the beholders, and gaue greate reputacion to the towne that so longe had preserued them: Neuertheless the launceknightes continuing in their mutynies and wouldenot departe without imprest for two payes, where the Spanyards were satisfied with more facilitye, The Pope desirous to purge the towne of suche a contagion, was constrayned to furnishe them with twentye thowsande duckatts more, which he payed vnder cooller to deliuer the two Cardinalls ostages: And afterwardes they reteyned twenty thowsand more as from the people of *Rome*, and albeit it was doubted that this pay was made by the Pope, yet it passed vnder that name to thend to giue lesse occasion of complaynt to

Peter Nauare taketh Aquila.

The Imperial army yssueth out of Rome.

Lavvtrech: Who notwithstanding complayned not a litle that the Pope with that money was the cause that thImperiall armye went out of *Rome*, by which action his victory which was before manifest and certeyne, was nowe reduced to doubtfull tearmes and vncerteyne euents of warre: There yssued out of *Rome* according to computacion, fifteene hundred horse, foure thowsand footemen spanish, two or three thowsand footemen *Italyans*, and fiue thowsand launceknights: So great diminucion had the plague brought vppon that nation.

By the remouing of thImperialls out of *Rome*, *Monsr Lavvtrech*, who otherwayes would haue taken the straight waye to *Naples*, was constrayned to fetche a circuit more long by *Povvylla* along the sea coast: he had some reason to take that marche for the difficultie to drawe his artilleries if in these places he shoulde haue found impediment of ennemies to passe the Mounteine: But much more to make prouision of vittells least he fell into want if he happly were driuen to plant the courrse of his victorie before the walls of *Naples*, So that partly by compulsion, and partly vppon those reasons inducing, he tooke his way to *Ciuita de Chiora* the capitall towne of the furthermost *Abruzza*: for the water of *Pescairo* makes seperacion of the hethermost *Abruzza* from the furthermost: There did render vnto him *Sermono* with many other townes of the contry, and in that property of inclinacion, eyther for affection they boare to the French name, or for hatred to the *Spanyards*, there was almost no towne which sent not out at least xxv. and xxx. myles before, to yeld them selues: And yet because he would passe with a greater sewertie and stabilitie, he forbare to aduaunce with that diligence which both by his felicitie he might, and by his fortune was offred: And it was beleued to thend to gather in safetie during the moneth of Marche, the reuenue of the tribute of *Povvylla* amounting to foure skore thowsand duckats and was leauied in fiue townes, that he would send thether *Peter Nauare* with his regiments, for whose disagreements and controuersies which *Monsr Lavvtrech* was compelled to endure, there was litle good order in the armye: But being departed from *Guast* and vnderstanding that one parte of thennemies to whome was ioyned the Prince of *Melffe* with a thowsand of those launceknights which the *Viceroy Don Charles* had brought out of *Spayne*, and two thowsande *Italyan* footemen comen out of *Aquila*, was arriued at *Nocero* fortye myles from *Termyny* drawing towards the sea: And an other part of the ennemies to be passed to *Campo Basso* which is thirty miles from *Termyny* vppon the common or ordinary way to *Naples*: he sent out before *Peter Nauare* with his regiments of footemen, and went him selfe the last day of February to *Sera* within twelue myles of *Termyny*, from whence the fourth daye of Marche he arriued at *Saint Seuero*: But *Peter Nouare* according to the addresse that was giuen him, passed on, and in one day entred within *Nocero*, and in an other he gat into *Foggio*, making his entry at one gate when the *Spanyards* who were retyred to *Troya*, *Barletta*, & *Manfredonia*, would haue entred by the other: The conqueste of these places serued greatly for the reuitteling of the army.

The contents of Monsr Lavvtreches army.

The army that was with *Monsr Lavvtrech* conteyned in the whole foure hundred launces, and twelue thowsand footemen, men not very well prepared and trayned for the warre: But there were to ioyne to him, the Marquis of *Salusso* who marched before all the others, The regiments of the *Venetians*, and the blacke bands of the *Florentyns*, whome *Lavvtrech* desired not a litle to ioyne with him: for that bearing a name to be a Colonie of footemen as apt and resolute for assaults as any infanterie that then was in *Italy*, they serued as good examples and whetters on of the

residue

residue of his armye, wherein were bodyes stronge and stable for the fight: But when he vnderstoode by the reapport of *Peter Nauare* whome he sent to take the view, that there were within *Troya* and the consynes about it, fiue thowsand *Almains*, fiue thowsand *Spanyards*, and fiueteene thowsand *Italyans*, And that for the bitternes of the cold that then was, he was not able to keepe the field, *Monsr Lavvtrech* the eyght of Marche went to *Nocero* with all the footemen and light horsemen: And the Marquis of *Salusso* newely arriued, put into *Foggia* with the men at armes and a thowsand footemen: Vppon which dispersing of the armye *Monsr Lavvtrech* gaue it out that he would giue battell if occasion offred, aswell for many reasons generally mouing, as chiefly for that the assignacions which the king had giuen to him, being withdrawen and diminished, he was not able long time to susteine the expenses of the warre: he left within *Saint Seuero* with a slender gard all thEmbassadors and other natures of people that were not apt for the warre. And so he seemed to be there in sewertie, without any necessitie or compulsion to giue battell but vppon aduauntage, neither had he want of vittells, though he lacked meale: Afterwards he yssued out the xij of Marche and tooke the field three myles beyond *Nocero* and within fiue myles of *Troya*: for, *Nocero* & *Barletta* which are distant one from another xij miles, are not further from *Troya* then eight miles: The Imperials who had now assembled together all the companies that were within *Manfredonia* and *Barletta*, & had plenty of vittells within *Troya*, yssued out to skirmish, though all the bands of footemen except the launceknights, were not payed: And the day following, they rooke the field without artilleries, in a strong place vppon the hill of *Troya*: But *Lavvtrech* the xiiij day inuironed that hil on the part aboue that loketh to the South, drawing towards the Mounteine: And turning his face to *Troya*, he began to ascend, where after he had wonne the hill in a hoat skirmishe, he incamped in a place that commaunded them, from whence he compelled them with his artilleries to retyre some into the towne and some backe againe: So that both the towne of *Troya* and the Imperiall army remeyned betwene the french army and *Saint Seuero*: which both made vneasie the passage of succours that might haue comen to *Naples*, and also stopped for the most part the vittells that might haue bene brought to them, Notwithstanding they consumed not much as being discharged of all vnprofitable mouthes and the generall baggage and traine of the armye: And on the other side was stopped by them the trafficke of vittells that passed from *Saint Seuero* to the French campe, besides that they helde in daunger *Saint Seuero* which they might assault with parte of their people and the French not to perceiue it.

The armies lying incamped in this sort, that is to say the french men beyond *Troya* towards the mounteine, And the Imperials on this side towards *Nocero* at the backe of the towne, And the most part of the places thereabouts being cõmaunded by the french: They remeined there in that order vntil the xix. day, al the nights being spent in alarmes, & the daies rõning out in skirmishes, in one of which was taken prisoner *Martio Colonno*: The Imperials oftentimes cut of the vittels that went from *Saint Seuero* & *Foggia* to the french armye, which for that impediment felt some incommoditie, & had neede of a strong eskort or cõduit to defend the vittellers. Here the Imperialists drew into councel what was to be done, Amongst whom the Marquis of *Guast* perswaded to offer the battel, seing the french army went on increasing daily, & theirs was more & more weakned: But the councell of capteine *Alerson* caried most authoritie, who proued by reasons & argumẽts that there was more hope of the victory in temporising & suffring the time, then by aduaũcing to referre things to the

arbitracion of fortune: The xix. daye thImperialls retyred within *Troya* to eſchewe the continual vexacions of thartilleries of thennemies: But hauing afterwards rampared their place againſt the furie of the ſhot, they repayred thether againe in good ſeaſon, and returned in yll time within *Troya*: But the xxj. daye at the appearing of the morning, they brake vp and went towardes the mounteine to *Ariano* making a great dayes marche: They found within *Troya* a great quantitie of vittells farre ſurmounting that which the French men beleued before, And hauing cut of all paſſages by the which vittells might be brought to them, they made to them ſelues a vaine promiſſe of the victorie: it was then they leauied and brake vp, eyther to draw the French into a place where they might find want of vittells, or for an intelligence they had, that the day following they exſpected in their campe the blacke bands: Who as they marched beeing lodged in *Aquila*, had in their inſolencie ſacked that citie, not being prouoked by iniurie, or other occaſion: The xxij. day *Lavvtrech* incamped at *Lyoneſſa* vppon the riuer of *Ofanto* which the *Latyns* call *Aufidium*, ſix miles from *Aſcoly*, hauing ſent the blacke bands and *Peter Nauare* with his regiments and two Cannons, to take *Melffo*: Where after they had battred a ſmall breach, the *Gaſcoins* preſented them ſelues to the wall, and the black bands with more furie then good direction of their Capteines did the like: Wherein the one nation ſeruing with an emulacion of the other, and they both being well beaten in flanke by ſmall ſhot, the aſſalt was repulſed with the death of many *Gaſcoins* and three skore of the blacke bands: And the ſame furie continuing, they ranne the like fortune the next day in an other aſſalt which they gaue, after the battery had executed: But in the night there came to the campe a ſuccour of artilleries ſent by *Monſr Lavvtrech*, with the which hauing made two great battries the morning following, the payſants within *Melffa* began in their feare to draw into tumult: by which accident the ſouldiers being in number ſix hundred, & troubled in their ordinary office of ſeruice by the mutinie of the payſants which ſtill redoubled into worſe degrees, they abandoned the defenſe of the place: Inſomuch as the whole campe entring where no reſiſtance was made, they turned their felicitie into blood, ſlaying in their furie all the payſants & men of the towne: Onely the ſouldiers retyred into the caſtell together with the Prince, who not long after yeelded ſimply as was ſayde, to diſcreſſion notwithſtanding they pretended that their liues were excepted: The Prince was ſaued with a very fewe of his followers, all the others were put to the ſword, conteyning three thowſand bodies, & the towne deliuered vp to ſacking: In the towne was found great ſtore of vittells to the great commoditie and comforting of the French men, who, for their hard prouiſion, ſuffred no ſmall wants in *Povvylla*: The xxiiij day the *Spanyards* departed from *Ariano* and incamped at *Tripaldo* which is xxv. myles from *Naples* vppon the high waye, and xl. myles from *Ofanto*: with whome ioyned the *Viceroy*, the Prince of *Salerno*, and *Fabricio Maramo* with a regiment of three thowſand footemen and twelue peeces of artilleries: it was thought alſo that Captaine *Alarſon* yſſued out of *Naples* with two thowſand footemen to ſuccour *Dogania*: But *Lavvtrech* ſtayed vpon the territories of *Ofanto* to make great prouiſions of money, & had all his cõpanies incamped betwene *Aſcalo* & *Melffe*: And ſince the accident of *Melffe*, were rendred to him *Barletto*, *Trany* and all the townes thereabouts except *Manfredonia* wherein was a ſtrength of a thowſand footemen: In this ſucceſſe and rendring of townes, he ſent out *Peter Nauare* with foure thowſand footemen to take the rock of *Venoſa*, which being garded & valliantly defended by ij hundred & fifty ſpaniſh footemen, he tooke it at laſt to diſcreſſion, & reteyning the Capteines priſoners

ners, he sent away the others without weapõs: And there he had giuen order that the reuenue of the tribute of *Povvilla* should be receyued for him, which for the troubles & impediments which the warre brought, aũswered not the value & price that were wont to rise by it. In this place the commissarie *Pisano* with the *Venetian* regimentes conteining about two thousande footemen, came to *Monsr Lavvtrech*, who in this sorte was busied to assure him selfe of vittells and prouisions, A matter which was made more easie to him, after he had got into his power *Ascoly* by the meane of the *Venetian* regimentes: And at this tyme rising into courage by the happy euent of his affayres, he vrged the Pope with hawty wordes to declare him selfe for the league: Who notwithstanding they of *Viterbo* would not before receyue him for their gouernour (of which *Octauian Spirito* was the cause) yet beeing afterwardes raunged and made plyable through feare, he had transported his Court to *Viterba*: And *Vespasian Colonno* being dead at the same time, who ordeyned by his testament that *Isabell* his onely daughter shoulde be maryed to *Hipolito de Medicis*, the Pope vnder that cooller gatte possession of all those places which he helde in the territories of *Rome*, notwithstanding *Askanio* pretended that they apperteyned to him by the ceassing of the line masculine of *Prospero Colonno*. About this time *Monopoly* was rendred to the *Venetians*, for whome and to whose vse according to the laste couenauntes made with the French king, were gotten all those portes of the realme of *Naples* which they possessed before they were ouerthrowen by king *Lovvis* the xij. in *Guiaradada*.

By reason of these prosperities of the French, the Duke of *Ferrara* was induced to sende his sonne into *Fraunce* to accomplish and giue perfection to the mariage: A matter which he had deferred before by great industrie, refusing with the same policie to be Capteine of the League: But themprour who sent no men out of *Spayne* to releeue the daungers of the kingdome of *Naples*, had giuen ordenance that the Duke of *Brunsvvich* should passe out of *Germanie* into *Italy* with new supplies of Launceknights for the succour of that kingdome: These supplies were prepared with so muche the more care and diligence, by how muche they vnderstoode the necessitie to reskew it was great for the comming on of *Monsr Lavvtrech*. But to thende the aduauncing of those supplyes should not trouble the hope of the victorie, it was agreed by the consent of the king of *Englande*, the French king, and the *Venetians*, that the Lorde *Frauncis* of *Saint Poll*, discended of the house of *Burbon*, should passe into *Italy* with foure hundred launces, fiue hundred light horsmen, fiue thousande footemen Frenche, two thousande *Svvizzers*, and two thousande Launceknightes: This armie was appoynted to followe them if they passed to *Naples*, and otherwise, to make warre vppon the Duchie of *Millan*, adioyning to them the regimentes of the *Venetians* and the bandes of *Frauncis Sforce*: For the defrayment of this armie, was set downe a paye of threescore thousande duckets monthly: of which the king of *Englande* was to contribute euery moneth thirtie thousand: And the *Venetians* had resolued in the counsell of *Pregati*, to wage ten thousande footemen.

Monsr S. Pol appoynted to the warres of Italy.

In this time the inhabitants of *Millan* were reduced to an extreme and miserable subiection for the intollerable exactions imposed by *Antho. de Leua*: who the better to prouide for the payes of his souldiours, had drawne into his owne handes all the vittells of the Citye, and hauing bestowed them in publike storehouses and Garniers, he solde them in his owne name at what rate or prise he would, the inhabitantes beeing driuen to buy them according to his lawe, or else to dye for hunger:

Miserable condition of the citie of Millan.

And yet the money rayſed vppon that extreme meane, beeing not ſufficient to pay the Launceknightes that were lodged in houſes, they were ſuffred to make dayly raunſomes of the maiſters and owners, of whome ſuche as woulde yeelde no money, were kept in chaynes and yrons: And becauſe to auoyde ſo great cruelties and intollerable impoſtes, many dyd flee continually out of the Citie notwithſtanding the rigour of the commaundementes and diligence of the warders, there was confiſcation of goodes publiſhed agaynſt ſuche as were abſent, who were ſo many in number, that to auoyde the trouble to ſette them downe in writing, they cauſed them to be putte in print: The Nobles and beſt ſorte of Citizens ſuche as remayned there, were ſeene in their garmentes poore and ragged, and in their countenances aſtoniſhed and deſolate, expreſſing by a lamentable compaſſion, the calamities they endured, And their pallaces and places of beſt frequentation were reduced to ruines and rubbege, ſuche as were heauye teſtimonies of the crueltie of the Spaniardes. And yet all thinges ſucceeded happely to hym that was the cauſer of all theſe miſeries: For where Capteine *Mus* laye incamped at *Lecqua* with ſixe hundred footemen as a ſouldiour of the League, and hauing taken awaye the barkes to thende the Spaniardes that were within *Coma*, could not reskew it by the waye of the lake: *Antho.de Leua* with the bandes of footemen that were within *Nouaro* iſſued out of *Millan* and incamped fifteene myles beyonde with the Launceknightes: And after he had taken the Rocke of *Olgina* ſtanding vpon the ſhores of *Adda*, which capteine *Mus* had taken before: he ſent *Phillip Toruiello* with the bands of footemen Spaniſh & Italians, to giue ſuccours to *Lecqua* ſtanding vpon the other ſhore of the lake, where capteine *Mus* with the ayde of the ſouldiors whom he had drawne from the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan*, and with certayne peeces of artilleries from the *Venetian* campe, had taken and fortified all the paſſages, of themſelues conteining many difficulties for the ſteepenes of the mountaynes and other places of hard acceſſe: But thimperialls who tooke the mountayne oppoſite that commaundeth *Lecqua*, after they had made many vayne attemptes to paſſe in many places, at laſte they forced that place where the *Venetian* ſouldiours garded, Companies whom the Capteine eyther for that he had leſſe confidence in their vertue, or at leaſt to beſtow them where was leaſt daunger, had diſperſed into places moſte ſtepe & inacceſſible. Capteine *Mus* with his ſouldiors and artilleries, was eſtſones remounted vpon the barkes and ſaued himſelfe, not without ſuſpicion that the *Venetians* had made a light defence to gratifie the duke of *Millan*, to whom it was nothing agreable that he tooke *Lecqua*: And afterwards to thende to cary by accorde that which he could not winne by armes, he changed both the ſeruice & pay wherin he was, and goeth to thimperials, obteining of *Anth.de Leua* by way of accord for reward of that infidelity, both *Lecqua* and many other places: And he got of *Ieronte Moron*, who by letters & intelligence had bin the author of this practiſe, ceſſion of his rights: By reaſon of this accord *Anth.de Leua* who before had bin much afflicted by hunger, was releeued both with vittells & money: for the capteine who aſpiring to high and great things, tooke afterwardes vppon him the title of Marquis, payed thirtie thouſand duckets, and ſent into *Millan* three thouſand ſackes of corne.

During all this while *Monſr Lauvtrech* marched towardes *Naples*, and by the thirde daye of Aprill was come to the Rocke *Manarda*, hauing lefte for the garde of *Povvilla* (where onely *Manfredonia* held for themprour) fiftie men at armes, two hundred light horſemen, and xv. hundred or two thouſand footmen, all bands of the *Venetians*: But the imperials who had reſolued in abandoning al the countrey thereabout,

about,to laye onely for the defence of *Naples* and *Caietta*, and to cutte off vittelles from thennemies; after they had ſackt *Nola*, and caryed to *Naples* all the vittelles that were within *Capua*: they incamped vppon the hill of *Saint Martin*, and the daye following entred within *Naples* with tenne thouſande footemen Spaniſh and Launceknightes, hauing decaſſed the bandes of the Italians, except ſixe hundred who were vnder *Fabricio Maramo*, for that *Sero Colonno* was gone to *Abruzza* with his bandes of footemen. *Naples* was very naked of inhabitantes,for that almoſte all men of qualitie,and ſuche to whom their fortune had yet leſte any meane, were retyred into *Iſchia*, *Capria*, and other Ilands confining: It was ſuppoſed that there was within the towne ſufficient prouiſion of corne for more then two monethes,but for fleſhe and other natures of vittelles, the quantities were very ſmall. *Capua*, *Nola*, *Acero*, *Auerſa*, and all the places thereabout yeelded to *Monſr Lavvtrech*, who remayned foure dayes with his army in the Abbey of *Acero* whiche is ſeuen myles from *Naples*: He had aduaunced and did ſtill marche with a verye ſlowe paſe, to thend to tary for the vittells which could not obſerue the ſpeede of the armie for thimpediment of fowle wayes and raynes, ſuche as had made all the countrey full of waters: Beſides,it behoued him to make great prouiſions of vittels: for that the brute ranne that his armie according to the corruption of the diſcipline of warre at this daye, conteyned more then twentie thouſand horſemen, and foureſcore thouſande footemen, of whom two partes were men vnprofitable for ſeruice: From this place he ſent out to the enterpriſe of *Calabria*, *Simon Roman* with an hundred and fiftie light horſemen, and fiue hundred *Corſegnans* not payed, but were come from the campe of thimperialls: And *Phillip Dore* who with eyght gallies of *Andre Dore* and two ſhippes was come into the waters of *Naples*, bothe tooke a ſhippe laden with grayne, and with his artilleries draue the Imperialls from *Magdelaine*: And albeit with the ſame vallour and fortune he tooke a little afterwards two other ſhippes loaden with grayne, and brought vppon thennemies many other diſcommodities, yet his gallies onely were not ſufficient to holde the port of *Naples* wholly beſieged: for the helpe whereof *Lavvtrech* ſolicited that the ſixteene gallies of the *Venetians* mighte be ioyned with the fleete of *Phillip*: Theſe after they were with ſlowe diligence aſſembled in order at *Corfu*, were nowe come vp to the port of *Trany*: But notwithſtanding the Cities of *Trany* and *Monopoly* were alreadye rendred to the *Venetians*,yet thoſe gallies preferring their particular profites before forreine intereſtes,though they knewe that all things depended vppon the victorie of *Naples*, yet they were ſlowe to aduaunce, to thend to take alſo *Pulignano*, *Ottronto*, and *Brunduſo*. The ſeuententh daye of Aprill *Lavvtrech* incamped at *Cauiano* within fiue myles of *Naples*, And the ſame daye the light horſemen of thimperialls whoſe celeritie and diligence appeared farre greater then the negligence of the Frenchmen, tooke from the French a great quantitie of vittells,a prouiſion which they were not well furniſhed of: They had alſo fortified *Saint Hermo*, whiche is in the toppe of the mount *Saint Martin*, and commaundes muche the towne of *Naples*, to thend to take from the French men all commodities to vex it with their artilleries, And for that they were maiſters of that mountayne,they gaue impedimēt to the French to approche neare the moſte partes of the Citie. The Frenche men tooke ſome hope of good euent by the diſcordes that were amongeſt thennemies, of whom the Marquis of *Guaſt* for ſome particular quarrell,hurt the Count *Potenſa* and ſlewe his ſonne: But the xxj. daye the Frenche army came to *Caſoria* within three myles of *Naples* vppon the waye of *Auerſa*: And the ſame daye was embraſed

of both parties a skirmish vnder the walles of *Naples*, wherein was slayne *Migliato*, he who had impugned by all his industrie the deliuery of the Pope, for the whiche he was the bearer of the Emprours Commission to his Capteines: The xxij. daye the armie incamped within a myle and an halfe of *Naples*, where *Monsr Lavvtrech* forbad his souldiours to skirmish, as a matter vnprofitable to the estate of the seruice: There was *Pozzolo* rendred to him. At last, beeing the last but one of Aprill, he brought his armie very neare the Citie of *Naples*, and incamped betwene *Poggio Royall* which is a stately house for pleasure and buylded by *Alfonso* of *Aragon* the seconde when he was Duke of *Calabria*, and the hill of *Saint Martin*: The campe was extended euen within halfe a myle of *Naples*, and the person of *Monsr Lavvtrech* laye somewhat before *Poggia Royall* at the pallace of the Duke *de Monte Alto*: In this place he had made great fortification, stretching out the face of his lodging towardes the way of *Capua*: It was a place of very good situation, and aptly seruing to cutte of from them of *Naples* the commoditie of the water conduits that come from *Poggia Royall*: He made account to plant an other lodging somewhat before that, aboue the hyll that is beneath the mount *Saint Hermo*, to thende to cutte off more commodities from those of *Naples*, and to vexe the towne more nearer. But to haue a more true and perfect information of these matters, it were necessarie to set downe by description the situation of the Citie of *Naples*, and the countrey thereaboutes.

The Frenche besiege Naples.

The ende of the eyghteenth Booke.

The

THE ARGVMENT OF THE NYNTENTH BOOKE.

LAvvtrech beſiegeth Naples: In the meane vvhyle Anthonie de Leua taketh Pauia and beſiegeth Loda: Andre Dore leaueth the paye of the Frenche: Monſr Lavvtrech dyeth: The French breake vp from before Naples: Monſr de Saint Pol reconquereth Pauia: Andre Dore taketh Genes: The Genovvaies take Sauona, and put themſelues in libertie: Monſr de Saint Pol is taken by Anthony de Leua: Themprour falleth to accorde vvith the Pope: Peace is made at Cambray betvvene the Emprour and the French king: The Emprour paſſeth into Italy, vvhere the vvarre is made agaynſt the Florentins, and peace is ſolicited vvith all others.

THE NYNTEENTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

THVS *Monſr Lavvtrech* hauing reduced his whole armie vnder the walles of *Naples*, the firſt thing he drew into conſultation was, whether it were beſt to attempt thexpugnation of the towne with the furie of artilleries, and vallour of men: An action wherevnto many of his Capteines aduiſed him, wiſhing that for the better execution of thenterpriſe, the regimentes of footemen might be encreaſed with newe numbers: They alleaged manye difficulties, in regarde of whiche there could be no hope to enterteyne the army any long ſpace before the towne: The firſte difficultie conſiſted in vittelles, the traffike and reaſort whereof was alwayes in daunger by the inroades of thennemies, who hauing many companies of light horſemen, commaunded by their incurſions all the wayes and paſſages of the feeldes: The ſeconde impediment reſted in the hope very vncertayne that *Naples* would render for famine, by reaſon the gallies of *Phillip Dore* beeing not ſufficient to holde the porte beſieged or reſtrayned, and the *Venetian* gallies not aryuing notwithſtanding they were promiſed dayly: there came from *Caietta* to *Naples* foure gallies laden with meale, and by the weake defence of the hauen, other veſſells entred the towne dayly with releefe: The thirde doubt was referred to the colde prouiſions of the *Venetians*, who beeing taxed to paye monthly to *Monſr Lavvtrech* xxij. thouſande duckets, were already become behind with him for lx. thouſande. The ſucceſſe of thenterpriſe ſtood alſo deſperate both by the ſlender releefe of money that came out of *Fraunce*, and alſo by the maladies and diſeaſes that generally reigned in the armie, ſuche as did not proceede ſo much by the ſtinche and ordinarie corruption of that ayre, which by cuſtome beginneth to deliuer infection in the ende of Sommer, as through the great quantities of raynes that fell, whiche by ſo muche more offended the armie, by howe muche moſte parte of

the ſouldiours laye in the open fieldes, hauing no other couer then the skye: yet neuertheleſſe *Lavvtrech* conſidering that in ſo great a multitude and vertue of defendantes wherein he knewe to conſiſt not the leaſt difficultie, and for the fortification of the mount *Saint Martin* which laye apte to be ſuccoured, it would be an action very harde eyther to take the hill, or to force the towne, And happly foreſeeing not to exſpend his money with ſmall hopes, fearing to want for the furniſhment of exſpences ordinary: tooke this reſolution not to aſſault the towne, but to beſiege it: hoping that in very ſhort time the enemies would fall into the wante of vittells to feede their bodies, or money to conteyne the ſouldiours: So that vnder thoſe hopes, and the reaſons and conſiderations of them, he conuerted his whole mynde and all hys prouiſions to the beſieging of *Naples*, cutting off all meanes of acceſſe or reaſort of vittelles by lande, and ſoliciting the comming of the *Venetian* gallies to reduce the towne to an abſolute priuation of releefe by ſea: And yet altering his reſolution in ſome poyntes, he ſet the campe at libertie to skirmiſh, leaſt the ſouldiours liuing without action might become effeminate and abated in vallour: In ſo muche as there paſſed many skirmiſhes betwene the campe and the defendantes of the towne, to the great commendation of the ſouldiours of the blacke bands, who being moſt reſolute and ready in that kinde of fighting by the diſcipline of *Iohn de Medicis*, had not as yet made anye ſhowe of their vallour in the playne fielde in any battell pitched and raunged where they were to keepe their ground, and eyther to be founde dead or liuing in the places appoynted to them. About this tyme came to the armie foureſcore men at armes of the Marquis of *Mantua*, and an hundred from the Duke of *Ferrara*, who notwithſtanding he had bene amply receyued into the protection of the French king and the *Venetians*, yet he deferred ſo long as he could to ſende to tharmie, reſeruing to him ſelfe to dreſſe and regulate his deliberations according to the conieƈture and iudgement of the accidents and euentes of the warre.

Reſolution of thimperials within Naples.

In this eſtate and condition of affayres thImperialles were not without their hope to bee hable to breake the fleete of *Phillip Dore*, who roade wyth his Gallies in the gulfe of *Salerne:* In whiche enterpriſe they reapoſed not their fundation and hope ſo muche in the numbers and goodnes of their veſſelles, as in the vallour and dexteritie of their ſouldiours: For they furniſhed ſixe Gallies, foure Foyſtes, and two Brigantins, with a thouſande harquebuſiers Spaniſh, and that of the moſte approued and beſt choyſe of the armie: And with them entred as commaunders, *Don Hugo Viceroy* accompanied almoſte with all the Capteines and perſonages of authoritie: To this armie by ſea diſpoſed and gouerned by the direction of *Gobbo* a ſtowte and famous Capteine for ſea ſeruice, were adioyned many Barkes of fyſhermen, to thende to aſtoniſh thennemies a farre of through the multitude and number of veſſelles appearing: This fleete departed from *Poſſilipo*, and by a directe courſe made with the Ile of *Caprio*, where *Don Hugo* to the great preiudice of that exployte, loſte tyme to heare a Spaniſhe Hermit, who vnder reaſons and perſwaſions of hys profeſſion, inflamed them to feight according to the glory of that nation gotten in ſo manye victories. From thence, leauyng on the lefte hande the Cape of *Minerua*, they entred into the mayne ſea, and ſente before two Gallies with thys direction, that beeing come within ſighte of the ennemies, they ſhoulde make ſhowe as thoughe they woulde giue backe and flee to thende to drawe thennemies into the mayne to feighte. But *Phillippe Dore* beeing aduertiſed the day before by verye faythfull and aſſured

eſpialls

espialls of the intention and stratageme of the enemies, dispatched a messenger with diligence to *Monsr Lavvtrech*, to sende to him foorthwith three hundred harquebuziers, who being commaunded by Captaine *Croche*, were arriued with *Phillip Dore* a litle before the Nauie of the enemies were discouered: Whiche when he beheelde a farre of resembling for the nomber of vessels, a huge wood replenished with manye strong trees, notwithstanding he hadde before with great courage aduaunced all necessarie preparations to execute the fight, yet the consideration and viewe of the vessels giuing him manye timerous impressions, he stoode long suspended betweene hope and feare: But he was presentlye deliuered of that perplexitie, when by the drawing neare of the fleete of the enemies, he discerned them to conteyne not aboue sixe vessells of helme: Therefore with a courage resolute and as a Captaine well experienced in the warres by sea, he caused to enlarge and as it were he caste of as though they woulde runne awaye, three other gallies of his to the ende that with spooning afore the sea and winning the wynde, they might in their time charge the enemies both in side and in powpe: And the personne of him selfe with fiue gallies made directlye with the front of the enemies, who were to discharge their artilleries to take from him by the thickneſſe of the smoke, both his leuell and his viewe: But *Phillip* to turne vppon them selues the daunger he sawe prepared for hym, gaue fyre to a verie greate basiliske, whose force caryed his charge with great violence thorowe the gallie Admirall of the enemie, wherein was the person of *Don Hugo*, and at the first shoote, killed fourtie men, of whom the Captaine of the gallie was one with many officers and men of place. This furie of the basiliske he folowed with all his other sortes of artilleries by whom were executed and hurt many bodies of the enemies: who for their partes lost no time both to defende and endomage, for that the artilleries of the gallie of *Don Hugo* being fiered at a token giuen, slewe the Captaine and Patron of the gallie of *Phillip*: In whiche medlye the greate artilleries hauing done their execution, the gallies by the helpe of their oares, drewe neare one to another, and with their small shotte and other furies whiche men in fight doe vse beganne a blooddie fight: In whiche the *Genovvais* who were not without trayning and experience in such encounters, hadde better meanes to auoyde the perill by fighting lowe and as it were bowing downe standing vppon theyr gardes within the bodie of the pauishes or couertes: As these two gallies were in fight together with a woonderfull furie and astonishment, three other gallies of th Imperialls obseruing their aduauntage inuironed straightly two of the *Genovvayes*, and hadde alreadie gotte the vpperhande: But the three first gallies of *Genovvay* those that were shaked of and made as though they ranne away, were gotte into the mayne sea, and with the fauour of the wynde came with a fierce charge vppon the enemies, and playing in flanke vppon the gallie Admirall, they reuersed with a shot the mayne yarde of the gallie, called the *Neptune* which did no smal domage to her seruice: There *Don Hugo* hauing already a wound in his arme, whileſt he was laboring to encourage his souldiers & neuer was free frō the daunger of stones and wyldefyers which were throwen from the tops of the enemies gallies, was slaine in fighting, giuing by his death an honourable testimonie of his vallour

Fight at sea betweene the Imperials and French.

Death of the Viceroy. Don Hugo Monkado.

and fidelitie: There the Admirall of *Phillip* and the gallie called the *More* rent in peeces the Admirall of *Don Hugo*, and the other two, with their artilleries ſonke the gallie of *Gobbo* wherein *Fieromoſquo* died: And in the meane while the other gallies of *Phillip* hadde reskewed and recouered two gallies of their companie ſore preſſed and afflicted by the *Spanyardes*, and in that action had taken their foyſtes: Onely two Spaniſhe gallies not without ſome greeuous teſtimonie of the encounter, fell of from the fight, ſeeing the abſolute victorie of the enemies: The *Marquis* of *Guaſt* and *Askanio*, their gallie being in perill both of water and fyre, their oares broken and their ſouldiers bleeding in their deadlye woundes, were made priſoners, the ſhyning of their armours being gylt preſeruing their lyues which their vallour could not doe.

In this battell *Phillip* was much holpen by certaine captiues whom he deliuered, who being for the moſt part *Turkes* and *Mores* ſhowed their cruelty in the fight, accordinge to the cuſtome of thoſe nations: The dead bodie of *Don Hugo* was caſt into the ſea without other ceremonie or regarde of his greatneſſe, and likewiſe *Fieromoſquo*: The principalls of the priſoners of this battell, were the *Marquis* of *Guaſt*, *Askanio Colonno*, the Prince of *Salerne*, *Saintcroſs*, *Camille Colonno*, *Gobbo*, *Serenon*, with manye other Captaines and gentlemen of marke: The dead bodies of this battell conteyned more then a thowſande footemen, and of the *Spanyardes* there were verie fewe who were not eyther ſlayne or greeuouſlie wounded: The priſoners with three gallies were ſent by *Phillip* to *Andre Dore*, and one of the two gallies that eſcaped, paſſed not long after to the pay and ſeruice of the *French*.

By this victorie as the Frenchmen roſe into great hopes of good ſucceſſe for the generall enterpriſe, wherein happelie their preſuming was not without preiudice, for that it reduced *Lavvtrech* to a more negligence or omiſſion in the prouiſions that were to be made: So on the other ſide it repleniſhed the imperialls with no ſmall feare and aſtoniſhment to fall into wante of vittels, ſeeyng both they remayned depriued of all commaundement by ſea, and alſo the fauors of the lande were taken from them in many partes, but eſpeciallie ſince the loſſe of *Pozzolo* a place whiche adminiſtred a great traffike of vittels to *Naples*: And the towne of *Naples* was alreadie fallen into great wantes of meale and fleſhe, and the ſtore of their wine wel waſted: In ſo much as being through their neceſſitie driuen to folowe the examples and cruelties of men of warre in that caſe, the daye after the ouerthrowe at ſea, they put out of the Citie no ſmall nombers of mouthes vnprofitable, and eſtabliſhing orders for the diſtribution of vittels, they prouided in any wiſe that the Launceknights ſhoulde haue leſſe wantes then the other ſouldiours: By theſe expulſions and good informacion of their other doings within the towne, *Lavvtrech* nouriſhed his firſt hope which was alſo wel encreaſed and confirmed by a ſurpriſe made of a *Brigantyn* the ſeuenth daye of Maye wherein he founde by certaine letters written to the Emperour by his Captaines, that the flower of the armie was loſte, The towne was not prouided of corne for a moneth and a halfe, that they were driuen to grynde theyr meale with the force of theyr handes, that the Launceknightes beganne to incline to tumult, that there was no money to furniſh their pay, and that there remayned

Diſcommodities aſwel of the imperials as the French during the ſiege of Naples.

remayned no remedie for his affayres, vnleſſe he comforted them with a ſpeedie prouiſion of money and ſuccours both by ſea and land: To which extremities was not forgot to be adioyned the ſtroke of the plague begunne in *Naples* which is ſo much the more contagious where Launcknightes doe frequent, by howe much in their rudeneſſe they forbeare not to conuerſe with ſuche as are infected, and muche leſſe to manage and vſe in their owne perſons, anye thing that was theirs.

On the other ſide the French men were not free from thoſe afflictions and calamities which a warre trayneth after it: They ſuffered great want of water for that from *Poggio* Royall, euen vnto the front of the armie, the campe was ſerued onely with ceſternes: The malladies of the campe went on multiplying and encreaſing, which diminiſhed not a litle the ſtrength of the armie: And the enemies being farre aboue them in light horſemen, made continual ſallies eſpecially by the way that leadeth to *Soma*, and did not onely bring to the reliefe of the towne much fleſhe and many ſortes of wines, but alſo cut of oftentimes the traffike of vittels that paſſed to the French campe: Many of the Captaines dealt with *Lavvtrech* to wage more companies of light horſemen to oppoſe againſt the cauallerie of the enemie, which he did not onely refuſe to doe, contrarie to good foreſight and order of warre, but alſo he gaue ſufferaunce to the moſt part of the French horſemen to lie diſperſed within *Capua*, *Auerſa*, and *Nola*, a matter which made eaſie to the enemies all their exploytes: others perſwaded him for that diſeaſes had done much to diminiſh the infanterie or footmen of the armie, to leuie a proporcion of ſeuen or eight thowſand footmen, aſwel to ſupplie the weaknes of the armie, as to be more ſtrong and mightie according to their deſire in the beginning: A counſel which as he had begunne to denie alreadie, ſo he ſtoode reſolute to refuſe it ſtill, alleadging that he had no money, notwithſtanding he had at that time receiued from Fraunce a conuenient prouiſion, and had gathered the tribute of the cattell of *Powille* together with the taxation of the townes which he had taken, and laſtly the Barons of the Realme that were with him were readie to lende him any reaſonable quantitie of money he woulde require: By which experience I may ſay that it is a worke worth the labour, to obſerue and conſider what diſorders are bredde by the obſtinacie of thoſe that are preferred to great thinges, or do manage the place of high authoritie: for *Monſr Lavvtrech* no dout the principall captaine of the Realme of Fraunce, as he caryed with him a long experience in matters of warre and enterpriſe, and commaunded in the armie with great reſpect and authoritie: So on the other ſide he was by nature hawtie and imperius, and hauing a ſinguler weening in him ſelfe, would reiect the counſel of all others, and ſtopping his eares from the reaſons of other men, he interpreted it to his diſhonour that the worlde ſhoulde perceyue that he gouerned not alwayes by his owne arbitracion and iudgement: In which conceyte of ſingularitie and weening, he refuſed to make thoſe prouiſions whiche if he hadde accompliſhed, might happlie haue giuen him the victorie, but being reiected, were the cauſes that the enterpriſe begunne with ſo great a hope was paſſed into extreame ruine: The ſouldiers of the blacke bands who were lodged in the front of the armie, skirmiſhed dayly, wherein running on in the humour of their courage and forwardneſſe, they woulde oftentimes preſſe ſo neare the walles of *Naples*, that the ſmall ſhotte within the towne had power of them, and in their retyring becauſe they hadde not horſemen to backe them, they fel into the mercie of the horſemen of the enemies: In ſo much as prouing to their harmes the

Obſtinacie of Monſr Lavvtrech.

disaduauntage to make skirmishes without horsemen vnder the walles of *Naples*, they began to giue ouer the often practise of the thing, which so often had brought them harme.

After this victorie by sea, the towne of *Stabia* standing vpon the sea side, yeelded to *Monsr Lavvtrech*, but not the Castel, by whose example also was rendred *Saint Iermyne*: And by this successe and victorie of the fleete, the garrisons that were within *Caietta* hauing recouered *Fondy* and the countrey there abouts, *Lavvtrech* dispatched thyther *Don Ferrand* of *Caietta*, sonne to the Duke of *Tracetta*, and the Prince of *Melffe*, he who had newly contracted with the Frenchmen taking his reason vpon the omission of thimperials, whose Captaines he thought were careless to deliuer him: Moreouer, the streame of victorie running with many courses, *Simon Romaine* at the same time made a great aduancement in *Calabria*, much helping him in that action the readines and inclinacion of the people crying with great affection vpon the name of the *French*.

But all these exploytes for their qualitie good and happie, and for their maner honourable and full of valour, were not sufficient to carie the victorie of the warre, for that it depended wholly eyther vpon the conquering or vpon the defending of *Naples*: The same inducing *Monsr Lavvtrech* who chiefly applied the siege & not altogether desperate to take the towne by force for the slaughter of so many of their good souldiers of *Spanyards* at the battell vpon the sea, solicited earnestly the comming of the *French* and *Venetian* Nauie to the end to depriue whollie that Citie of all vittels that might be brought to it by sea: he caused also to remoue the campe and planted it in front vpon a hil both more neare *Naples*, and more commaunding the Mount *Saint Martin*: Where the blacke bands cast a trenche, not onely to drawe from that hill a trench, which being stretched out to the sea side and hauing vpon that end to the seawarde a bastilion, closed vp the way of *Somma*: But also to the end that immediatly after the sea armies were come, they might with better oportunitie cary by force the Mount *Saint Martin*, hauing cut out before, an other trench betweene the citie and the Mount to stoppe them for succouring one another: And afterwards at one time to execute *Naples* by water with the sayd armies by sea and land, beating it within from the front of their campe, and vexing it without with one part of the armie, and conuerting the other part to inuade the Mount: So might the enemies, whose necessities to defende so many seuerall places would driue them to deuide their forces, be more easely ouercome in some place: And yet they helde it not good to abandon *Poggio* Royall, though the front of the campe were farre of, to thende that if the enemies did recouer it, they should not cut from them the commoditie of fresh waters, onely they closed vp their campe behinde or on the backside.

These counsels and deuises albeit they were considered with great skil and knowledge in warre, yet many difficulties were opposed against them: first the trenches conteyning more then a mile euen to the sea, could not be cast with speede aswell for want of pioners to laye out the worke, as for the diseases of the souldiers being weakned from all hardnes of labour: secondly (which was very necessary for the besieging and inuasion of the towne) the armies by sea did not come, for that neyther *Andre Dore* with his gallies that were at *Genes* did stirre, neither was there any aduertisement of the comming of the Nauie prepared at *Marceilles*, and also the *Venetians* regarding more their profit particuler then the benefite generall and common, or rather respecting lesse, interests principall, then ends more inferior and accidentall,

employed

employed their Nauie at the expedition of *Brunduſa* and *Ottranta*: of which cities *Ottranta* had couenanted to yeeld, if within ſixteene dayes it were not reskued, and for *Brunduſa* notwithſtanding it had receyued by accorde the *Venetians*, yet the Caſtel helde good for th Emperour, whereof the one hauing a ſtrong ſituacion vpon the ſea, gaue ſmall hope to be taken, and the other ſtanding within the towne and of greater circuite then the other, ſeemed not to be able to make long reſiſtaunce for that it had loſt two rockes: The xij. day of May they made a battrie with thartilleries vpon the hill, which executed a torret that vexed not a litle the fielde: They ſhot oftentimes alſo into the towne but that offended litle, and many skirmiſhes were performed at *Saint Anthonies*: The ſixteenth day the artilleries being planted vpon the top of the mountaine vpon certaine torrets betweene *Saint Gennaraes* gate and the gate of *Capua*, and kept them alſo from erecting a baſtilion whiche the defendants had begunne: within the towne moſt mouthes were fedde with ſodden corne, & for feare of extreme famine, they deliuered the towne dayly of many nombers of people whom the calamities of the warre had reduced to a harde election, either to languiſh in famine within the towne in the eyes and compaſſion of their friends, or to runne to the mercie of the enemie in whom it was not reaſonable they ſhoulde hope for ſauetie and ſuccour, hauing ſo iuſtly offended them: And the Launcknightes notwithſtanding they ſuffred leſſe then the other nations of ſouldiers, yet both for want of bread and farre greater neceſſities of wine and fleſh, they proteſted oftentimes to mutine: But they were eftſoones reclaymed with many good offers and meanes, and for the moſte parte kept enterteyned with falſe letters and promiſes of ſuccours.

The xix. day the pionners and ſouldiers were brought to worke at the newe trenches, and planting two cannons vpon the baſtilion when it was made, they wonne and reuerſed two myles neare to *Magdaleine*, garded by two enſignes of Launceknightes, againſt which they neuer addreſſed any enterpriſe for that they were apt to be reskued from *Naples*.

The affaires of the French men begin to decline.

Hytherunto the affaires of the Frenchmen haue runne in a courſe happie and pleaſing, but they beganne to ſwarue to declination for many cauſes manifeſt and apparant: for, as *Phillip Dore* by the ſecrete ordinance of *Andre Dore* was retyred with his gallies to lie about *Pozzouv*, ſo by that meane there entred dayly within *Naples* where were left no other ſortes of people then ſouldiers, ſome quantitie of vittels in Barkes: And albeit the *Venetian* Nauie after they had conquered *Ottranta*, gaue continuall hopes to diſcend and fall with *Naples*, yet they temporiſed and interpoſed dayly newe delaies and excuſes, hoping to get ſpeedely the great Caſtell of *Brunduſa*: Laſtly the affliction of diſeaſes and ſickneſſe encreaſed dayly in the armie, and where the blacke bands were wont to be in all actions three thowſande ſtrong, Nowe what for their hurt men who were vnprofitable to the ſeruice, and what for their ſicke men in whom was more weaknes then vallour, and what for the bodies dead whoſe places were emptie, they were reduced to a nomber of two thowſand.

The xxij. day the *Spanyardes* made a braue ſallie vpon thoſe that defended the newe trenches, where was a continual labour and working of men in hope to perfect them within ſixe or eight dayes: At this ſallie *Horatio Baillon* being appointed to a place of perill with a very litle companie, was ſlaine as he was fighting in good example to his ſouldiers, a death more meete for a ſimple ſouldier then worthie ſuch a Captaine.

The Imperials rising into courage and hope by the successe of this sallie, made it good with a newe action and greater forces, but the whole campe being in armes and running to the defence of the trenches, they retyred againe into the towne: *Philip* returned in the ende to the golfe of *Naples* for the great instance and solicitation that was made to him: The trenches that had bene begunne to close vp the way of *Somma*, were not finished the xxvij. day: The *Spanyards* made roades dayly through the countrey, brake downe wayes, and made open passages, and brought into the towne great quantities of flesh: Against whom the horsemen of the campe made litle head for that they went rarely to the feeld: And *Monsr Lavvtrech* beginning nowe to wishe for a supplie of footmen (though he yelded not wholly to the counsell of others) solicited that they would send him out of *Fraunce* by sea sixe thowsand footmen of any nation, alleadging that for want of vittels, and the stroke of maladies and diseases, the campe was much diminished: And yet amongst so many difficulties, and in so small exspectation of remedie, it was he onely that had hope of the victorie, reaposing himselfe whollie vpon the famine of that Citie.

In this time things fel out well in *Calabria* with *Simon Roman*, who had with him two thowsand footmen aswel *corsegnans* as souldiers leuyed of the countrey: And albeit the Prince of *Bisignan* and one of the sonnes of Captaine *Alerson* were opposed against him with a regiment of fifteene hundred footmen waged of the countrey, yet they found it a hard matter to stande against him, insomuch as the sonne of *Alerson* retyred to *Tarenta* leauing the Prince in the field: Not long after, *Simon* folowing the course of his fortune, got *Cosense* by accorde, and successiuely after that, he tooke in a towne thereby the Prince of *Stigliano*, and the *Marquis* of *Lauie* his sonne with two other of his children: But in *Povvylla* the garrison that helde *Manfredonia* for themprour vexed all the countrey with incursions and roades without any resistance of the horsemen or footmen of the *Venetians*, who were gone vp to the conquest of those townes: Moreouer, in the quarters about *Rome*, things were not well appeased, for that *Ferro Colonno* hauing taken *Paliano* notwithstanding he was forbidden in the *Popes* name on the behalfe of the daughter of *Vespasian*, yet the Abbot of *Farfa* recouered it, making prisoners *Serro*, and *Prospero de Gauy*, though afterwards *Serro* made escape by the helpe of *Lovvys Gonzaguo*.

Antho. de Leua recouereth Pauia.

Whilest the armies were in action about *Naples*, and trauailed with those difficulties and with those hopes, *Antho. de Leua* being aduertised by good espiall, that there was negligent garde in *Pauya*, in which towne was *Peter Lungeno* with foure hundred horsemen, and a thowsand footmen *Venetians*, and *Hannibal Pissynard* Captaine of *Cremona* with three hundred footmen which he had ledde thyther to mainteyne in the deuotion of the Duke, all the countrey beyonde *Pavv*: he drewe to him a companie of souldiers of confidence and choyse, whom he led thyther one night when was least dout of any action, & hauing with no lesse fortune then celeritie skaled the towne by ladders in three places, he tooke it by assault before the souldiers heard the alarme: in this exployt he made prisoners *Peter Lungeno*, and one of the sonnes of *Ianus Fregoso*: From thence he followed his victorie to *Biagrassa*, where the garrison and townesmen rendred vp the place to him after they had endured some execucion of the Cannon, & so preparing to goe to *Arona*, *Federike Boromeo* compounded with him bynding himselfe to followe th Emperours faction.

Duke of Brūdſwyke in Italie for the Emperour.

About this time the Duke of *Brundſvvyke* being issued out of *Trente*, had passed the tenth day of May the riuer of *Adice* with an armie of x. thousand footmen, & vj. hūdred horsmen wel armed many of thē being gentlemen: This army being repulsed from

frō *Chiusa* discended vpon the territories of *Verona*. And albeit for that it was knowē long time before that he would come, there was a resolution set downe that *Monsr saint Pol* should go before to meete him: yet making nō greater speede in this expedicion then in others, the launceknights were in *Italy* before *saint Pol* could be in order to marche: And as to omitte occasions is to breede impediment and difficulties, so comming on with his marche with so slowe a foote, he was driuen afterwardes to abide many daies in *Ast*, both to reassemble and mooster his companies, and to obey the difficultie of vittells, of which a greate darth and skarcety raigned in all the partes of *Italy*, but chiefly in the quarters of *Lombardie*: And there was not to be hoped for, a more great and more ready succour for the generall affaires, then of the Senat of *Venice*, who albeit had assured that their armie should take the fielde with xij. thowsand footemen; yet the Duke of *Vrbyn* being within *Verona*, disposed himselfe to no other enterprise then to defend the townes of most importance of their estate. By which omission the Launceknights who were discended vpon the lake of *Garda*, had *Pisquiero* by accord, and successiuelie *Riuolto* and *Lunaro*: In so much as being vnder that propertie of fortune, made Lords almost of the whole lake, they drew contribucions of money from many places, committing to fire and sworde such as had no meane to satisfie them with raunsom: *Antho. Adorno* who was ariued in this armie, perswaded them to goe vp towardes *Genes*, but both for their necessity and want of money, and for other impediments and difficulties: and also for their desire to haue conference with *Antho. de Leua* issued out of *Myllan* to that ende, they marched slowly along the contrey of *Bressia*, whether went to meete them *Andre de Burgos* and captaine *George*: By whose meanes it was feared the Duke of *Ferrara*, who in so great a feare of others made no preparacion, enterteined some secret intelligence or practise: After this the Launceknights marched vp towardes *Adda* to ioine with *Antho, de Leua*: who being passed the riuer of *Adda* the ix. of Iune with an armie of six thowsand footemen and sixtene greate peeces of artilleries, and being incamped neare those companies that were within three miles of *Bergama*, in which citie and also in *Bressia* and *Verona*, the Duke of *Vrbyn* had distributed his bandes of soldiers: he perswaded them for an extreame desire he had to reconquer *Loda*, to embrase the recouerie of the state of *Myllan*, before they passed to *Naples*: By whose perswasions they incamped the xx. of May before that citie, out of which issued the Duke of *Myllan*, who retyring to *Bressia* left for the defense of the towne, *Iohn Pavvle* his bastard brother with a garrison of three thowsand footemen. And after the artilleries had plaied which being planted in two seuerall places, did greate execucion, *Antho. de Leua* to whom the first assalt apparteined, brought his bandes of Spaniards neare the place where the ruine was greatest. There they fought breauelie for the space of three howers, but at last the vertue of th Italians defendāts being nothing inferior to the vallour of the Spaniards assailants, they were repulsed by the same vertue which ledde them first to the fight: So that reiecting all hope to carie it by assalt, they reduced all their confidence to the fauor and working of famine: The rather for that the harueste being not yet made, there was within *Loda* so greate wante of vittells that the share and distribution of breade ronning equally betwene the soldiors and the inhabitantes, the towne of necessitie was either to perishe vnder the rage of famine, or the townesmen to issue out to the great perill of their liues: But the plage began now to be warme amongest the Launceknights, and the armie withall, suffring no small afflictions for want of vittells, they began to breake vp, and many returned into their contreis by the waies of the *Svvizzers*

Loda besieged by thimperialls.

and *Grisons*: An action which bred no great care in the Duke of *Brundſwike* their captaine, who hauing conceiued greate hopes in *Germanie* for the example of the regiment which *George Fronſpergh* ledde, he found by proofe and triall the matters of *Italy* to be farre more intricat and hard then he imagined: And his money falling ſhort, much leſſe that he could leade them to the kingdom of *Naples*, ſeeing it was impoſſible for him to conteine them before *Loda*: Neither was he releued with any comfort by *Antho. de Leua*, who rather tooke awaie all his hope of remedie, that waie filling him with continuall complaintes of the pouertie and wantes of *Myllan*: For, after he had loſt all hope to recouer *Loda*, he deuiſed all the waies he coulde to giue them occaſion to breake vp and goe awaie, fearing leaſt they would eſtabliſh their abiding in the Duchie of *Myllan*, and by that meane would intrude them ſelues to be competitor with him in the gouernment, and ſhare with him in the ſpoile: And he forgatte not in this time of temporiſing to giue order both to threſh out the corne thorow all the eſtate of *Myllan*, and to carie and laie vp all their harueſt within the towne of *Myllan*: At laſt the xiij. of Iulie as they were going to giue a newe aſſalt to *Loda*, the Launceknightes in their diſcontentments fell into mutinie: in which rage a thowſand of them went their waie to *Coma*, and the others that remained retired in greate diſorder thartilleries from before *Loda*: But fearing leaſt they woulde returne into *Germanie*, the Marquis of *Guaſt* whom *Andre Dore* lette goe for twelue daies vppon his faith, came to *Myllan* to perſwade *Brundſwike* not to ſuffer his ſouldiours to returne into *Germanie*: Neuertheleſſe the ſoldiers whoſe rudenes could not be reclaimed with wordes and reaſons, reteined their reſolucion to goe awaie and paſſed by *Coma*, except two thowſand who remained with *Antho. de Leua* to whom in thoſe daies *Moraro* was rendred. And it was not dowted that if the Launceknightes had continued before *Loda* a few daies more, they had honorably caried the towne both by their vertue, and want of vittells in the towne: In which expedicion many deſired a readines in the Duke of *Vrbyn*, to thende that whileſt they laie about *Loda*, he might draw neare *Crema*, or *Piſquaiton*, or at leaſt kepe menteined there ſome cornetts of horſemen to vexe them: And albeit whileſt they were vpon the confins of *Breſcia*, he did ſometimes both accoaſt them and moleſt them, yet neuer comming ſo neare them as three miles, and ſtanding onely vpon defending of the eſtate of the *Venetyans*, he paſſed no further then the riuer of *Eglia*: Neither was *Monſr ſaint Pol* for his parte more diligent to aduaunce and come on, who, notwithſtanding all the reſolucions ſette downe and confirmed by ſo many promiſes made by the king to ſend on his behalfe bandes of ſoldiers againſt the Launceknightes, ariued not in *Piedmont* but at ſuch time as the Launceknightes departed, and yet his armie conteined farre fewer nomber then had bene promiſed and publiſhed: Neuertheleſſe the confederates forbeare not for all this to ſolicite of newe the Pope to declare himſelfe for them, wherein they required him that proceeding againſt themperour with armes ſpirituall, he would alſo depriue him of the Empire and the realme of *Naples*: But he ſtoode vpon theſe excuſes, that if he ſhould declare for them, he could then be no more a conuenient meane to practiſe & ſolicite peace: That his declaracion would ſturre vp a greater combuſtion amongeſt the princes of Chriſtendome and yet bringe no profit to the confederats for that his pouertie and weaknes would alwaies impugne the good they exſpected in him: That the priuacion of the emprour for *Naples* and the empire would ſette all *Germanie* in an vprore: both for ſuſpicion that he would appropriate to himſelfe thauthoritie to elect themperour,

The bandes of Launceknights vnder Brundſwike do mutine.

The Popes excuſes to the confederats.

and

& for ielowsie that he would establish that election in the person of the french king: Lastly he reduced to their memories the imminēt daunger of the Lutherans which went on encreasing by the diuision of the time: Neuertheless not being hable in reason and comlynes to resist thimportunities that were vrged to him, he promised to enter with them so farforth as the *Venetians* would restore to him *Rauenna*, which condicion he proponed as impossible to be graunted, and confirmed this offer with his promise and obligation not to molest the state of *Florence*: vpon which occasion thembassadors of *England* came to *Venice* the xx. of Iune to solicite the Senat to render *Rauenna*, protesting for the Pope to assure the obseruacion of his promises: But being not hable to induce the Senat, they went away ill contented.

In this time the Pope recouered the citie of *Rymyny*, which *Iohn Sassatello* hauing before assaied in vaine to recouer, was at last yeelded vp vppon condicion of life and goods saued.

The Popes intēcion touching Florēce.

But now by the operacion of the time and course of euentes and affaires, began to be laied open and discloſed the Popes most deepe and secret thoughtes, such as he had before dissembled with great art: For, where before, he had firmely imprinted in his minde a desire to restore to his house the greatnes which aunciently it had had in *Florence*, he was driuen in publishing by singular cunning, the contrarie, to perswade the *Florentyns* that much lesse that he had any such thought, seeing all that he desired of that common wealth was, that they would according to thexample of other Christian princes, acknowledge him for Pope, and that in causes particular they would forbeare to persecute such as depended vpon him, or deface or reuerse the armes and ornamentes proper to his house: To these endes and with such commissions, he sent to *Florence* as his embassador when he was deliuered, a Florentyn prelat: And for that the state of *Florence* would not giue him audience, he forgat not, the better to cloake his dissimulacion, to recontinue a new instance by the solicitacion of the french king that they would send to him an embassador, seeking by these simplicities & offers to haue them familiar with him, & to draw them with more facilitie into the ambushes, he had dressed against them: But when he sawe these deuises and labors soart to none effect, he began to perswade *Monsr Lavvtrech*, that where as such as gouerned the state of *Siena* were dependants and deuote to themperour, it were conuenient for the better course of his affaires there, to referre to that gouernment *Fabio Petruccio*: Neuertheless albeit *Lavvtrech* saw reason and conueniency in the deuise, yet in regard of the contradiction of the *Florentyns*, he forbeare either to follow it or to effect it: And when the Pope sawe he could worke none of these to his driftes, and hauing no inclinacion to dissolue or leaue of the practise which his ambicio kept enterteined in him, he wrought secretly in such sort that *Pirrhus di Castello* vnder pretence that thinhabitants of *Siena* had done him wrong, made him selfe Lorde of *Chiusa* with a strength of eight hundred footemen, and by the good diligence & office of certeine exiles of that towne: The Popes reason to raise this man to the iurisdiction of *Chiusa*, was to make him an instrument vnder that oportunitie, to trauell and trouble the gouernment of *Siena*: But the *Florentyns* discerning depelie into the Popes driftes, complained to the *Vicont* of *Loraine* embassador to the french king, that the doinges of the Pope tended to no other ende then with the commoditie of *Siena* to trouble and disorder the affaires of *Florence*: In which regard thembassador procured of the Pope that the action of *Chiusa* should cesse.

In this meane while the affaires of the kingdom of *Naples* proceeded diuersely,

for that on the one side the Count of *Burello* was passed from *Sicile* into *Calabria* with a thowsand footemen, where he ioined himselfe with the residue: And on the other side, *Symon Roman* had raunged to discression with the fauor of mines, and trenches the Castell of *Cosenso*, though by a wounde he receiued of a harquebuze in the shoulder, the course of the victorie was somewhat hindred: he ioined his forces afterwardes with the Duke of *Somma* who with the bandes of footemen of the contrey, held besieged *Catanzara*, a towne strong by fortificacion but weake by the want of vittells: In this towne was the sonne in law of *Alarson* with two hundred horsmen and a thowsand footemen: And as in taking this towne they stoode in good degree to commaund the whole contrey euen vp to high *Calabria*: so neuertheless necessitie constrained them to turne against the forces vnited with the succours that were come from *Sicile* who had now made some aduauncing: But *Symon* being abandoned of one parte of his footemen leaiued of the contrey, was driuen for his sauetie to retire within the castell of *Cosensa*, and the other parte of his footebands not without the slaughter of many of them, disparsed and went away: The *Corsegnans* went wandring towardes the army, in so much as not only the region of *Calabria* was left in daunger, but also it was feared least the victors would aduaunce & addresse their forces to *Naples*. On the contrary, the affaires of the frenchmen drewe good succesſe and issue in *Abruzza* by this accident, as the bishop *Colonno* was approched within xij. miles of *Aquila* to sturre vp *Abruzza* to commotion, he was ouerthrowen and slaine by the Abbot of *Farfa*, with whom were put to the sworde iiij. hundred bodies of soldiours, and eight hundred taken prisoners: In the confins of *Caietta* the Spaniardes went wandring and retiring being caried with feare for the ariuall of the prince of *Melffe*, And the garrison of *Manfredonia*, through the slender vallour and action of the *Venetyan* bandes, committed many domages without perill or resistance.

Cardinall Cãpeius Legat in England.

Like as the Pope perseuered still in his resolucion to declare himselfe for neither partie: So the french king espying the intelligences and practises which he entertained, began to hold him for suspected. And to themprour he was nothing aggreable, though for no other cause, yet for that he had sent as Legat into *England* Cardinall *Campeius* to debate there the controuersie delegated to him, and to the Cardinall of *Yorke*: for, where the king of *England* solicited vehemently to haue published the inualiditie of the first mariage: The Pope hauing delt verie liberally in wordes and promises with his Agents, and also being of litle fidelitie or credit with other princes, laboured to kepe himselfe vnder his protection: he made at last secretly a Bull decretall by the which he pronounced the mariage to be of no force, and gaue the Bull to the Cardinall *Campeius*: he charged him withall that in showing it to the king and the Cardinall of *Yorke*, he should tell them that he had commission to publish it if in iudgement the knowledge and informacion of the cause succeded not wel: wherein it seamed the Pope wrought vpon this ground. That both they should be brought with more facilitie to consent to haue the cause iudicially debated, and also indure with better temperance of minde the delaies and longenes of the iudgement: Which he had inioined his Legat to holde of and prolonge to as long a tract of time as he could: And as he should not deliuer the Bull vntil he had receiued new commission from him, so neuertheless he should labour to perswade the king by all the meanes he could that his intention was to deliuer it vp to his handes in the ende: of this embassage in the person of that man & of the delegation of the cause, themprours embassadors that were within *Rome* complained not a litle, though with lesse

autho-

authoritie for the ill termes of his affaires in the kingdom of *Naples*.

About *Naples* many were the difficulties happening vpon both the one & other partie, but such as in all discourse of reason, made more apparant on the french side the hope of the victorie though it was hindred by the vertue and obstinacie of the ennemies: Within the towne of *Naples* the wantes of vittells grew daily to extremities, especially of wine and flesh, a calamitie without his comfort for that no prouision could enter the towne by sea for the impediments of the *Venetian* gallies being after so longe exspectation ariued nowe the x. of Iune in the goulffe of *Naples*, to the nomber of x xij. And albeit the horsmen of the towne made daily sallies out not towardes the face of the armie, but to those quarters of the contrey where they thought to find vittells, by whose industry some praies of flesh were alwaies brought in, and the whole estate of the towne somwhat releued and refreshed: yet these prouisions and comforts brought in by these aduentures, were not such as being depriued of the commoditie of the sea, they might suffice to nourishe and enterteine them longe: Besides, they began to grow short in money, the stroake of the plage afflicted them much, and they had much to doe to kepe enterteined the Launceknightes whome they coulde no longer abuse with vaine hopes and promises: In which discontentment many of them went by troupes to the french armie notwithstanding the authoritie and grace which the prince of *Orenge*, who by the death of *Don Hugo* commaunded in the place of *Viceroy* had with them, was of some force to reteine them: who the better to frame their mindes with authoritie & discipline which he coulde not raunge by lenitie and easynes, he made prisoner captaine *Cattay* a Gascon with many of his soldiours beinge of the remeindars of the regiments of the Duke of *Bourbon*, And afterwardes he did the like by suspicion, to *Fabricio Maramo* whom notwithstanding he sette at libertie presently. On the other side discases encreased daily in the french campe, the same beinge the cause that *Lavvtrech*, to thende not to haue so great a space or circuit to garde, would not suffer to be perfected the last trenches, which neuertheless coulde not easely be finished for the impediment of certeine waters: Besides, the campe suffred want of vittells and nourriture though more for the ill order and gouernment that was vsed, then through any other occasion: Neuertheless *Monsr Lavvtrech* obseruing his owne rule and councell hoped more in the necessities that were within *Naples*, then he feared or douted his proper difficulties, and perswading himselfe of thexpedicion of the victorie, either for that cause, or for their want of money, he forbare to make any newe leauies of footemen, a matter which the whole armie desired for the vniuersall diminucion which was made by death and diseases, not onely of persones meane and base, but euen of such as satte in places of authoritie as the Popes Nuncio and *Loys Pisano* commissarie of the *Venetians*, who died in the face of the towne the xv. daie. He hoped also to allure to the campe either all or the most parte of those bandes of Launceknightes that were within *Naples*, a practise wherein the Marquis of *Saluss'a* first, and afterwardes himselfe, had reaposed of longe time greate confidence in vaine: So that vpon these groundes together with certeine hopes that were giuen him to draw to the armie certeine light horsmen that were within *Naples*, he forbare to make any newe leauies of light horsmen such as had bene most necessarie for the seruice, of whom if he had waged but foure hundred he had stopped in good time the hurtfull incursions which the soldiours of the towne made so often to his disaduauntage: And yet in those actions of praie and bootie, he was not without his felicitie, for that as the horsmen of *Naples* re-

turned one daie with a riche spoile of cattell, they were encountred by the blacke bandes, who as they were the sinewes and strength of the armie, so without them there had bene no seege planted before the walles of *Naples*: By them the bootie was recouered from the Napolitains with the losse of three skore horsmen notwithstanding the Spaniards issued out of the towne to reskew them: Thus *Monsr Lavvtrech* was not without hope that thimperialls would be constrained to leaue *Naples* to discression: And therefore laying to cutte them of from all retraite within *Caietta*, he gaue order to garde well *Capua* and kepe in deuocion the sea towne of *Vulturno*: And to depriue them also of meane to retire into *Calabria*, besides that he cutte of certeine passages, apte for their purpose, he recontinued the working at the trenche begon so often and left of for sondrie accidents he now raised it so high that the springes and waters which before gaue impediment were nowe beneath the worke: besides, he sought to put in defense certeine houses adioyned neare to *Naples*, and to haue them garded with a thowsand footemen which he ment to leauie to that ende, turning also to that seruice the fauour of the *Venetyan* gallies which were come vp right ouer against the trenche. This trenche also serued aptly for that resort of vittells to the armie that came from the sea coast, and was no lesse conuenient to cutte of the ennemies if they returned that waie with their booties: for, by reason of the greate ditches and waters at *Poggio Royall* that had bene cut vp, the waie from the campe to the sea conteined a greate and daungerous circuit: Thimperialls sought to vexe and hinder those that wrought at the trenche, And beinge one daie issued out in very stronge troupes, the pioners by the ordenance of *Peter Nauare* who solicited the worke, made as though they fledde, and thimperialls pursuing them more in rashnes then in good gouernment of warre, fell vpon an ambushe dressed for their destruction, wherein were hurte and slaine an hundred bodies: Neuertheless the trenche was not halfe finished aswell for wante of pioners as by other accidentes ioyned to an ordinarie negligence which oftentimes hindreth the effect of the good directions and ordenances that are giuen: In which good course of direction if the campe had continued, many were of opinion that considering the straite tearmes and condicion of *Naples*, *Monsr Lavvtrech* had honorably caried the towne. And at the same time was offred a faire occasion and of greate consequencie, if the execucion had bene as resolute as the offer was ready: *Monsr Lavvtrech* being informed that the souldiours of *Naples* were issued out in greate troupes to goe on forraging and for bootie, and for that he would at one blow ridde the contrey of those incursions and open himselfe a waie to the absolute victorie, sent out the xxv. of Iune by night, the regiment of the blacke bandes, the horsemen of *Florence*, and three skore french launces with a bande of *Svvizzers* and Launceknightes, whom he directed to take the waie of *Beluedere* and *Pedegrotto*, to encounter the forraigers, and to vexe them in their retire: he appointed capteine *Burio* with the Gascon footemen to stande vpon the hill which is aboue *Grotta*, and vpon the alarme giuen, to discende and cutte the ennemies from entring into *Grotta*. The beginning of this exploit was well executed and drew with it a good issue, for that the companies of *Lavvtrech* hauing encountred thimperialls, they charged them and put them to fleight, more then three hundred bodies remaining prisoners and slaine, besides an hundred horses of seruice and greate stoare of baggage: And in the encounter *Don Ferrand* of *Gonsagua* was striken from his horse as he fought, and being made prisoner he was estsoones recouered by the furie of the Launceknightes: But this medley had his imperfection by captaine *Burio*,

who

who eyther through negligence which is yll, or by feare which is worse, appeared not in the place to the which he was appoynted, which if he had done according to his direction, they had no doubt giuen an absolute ouerthrow to thimperials. *Monsr Lavvtrech* had also sent to *Caietta* six gallies of the *Venetians*, and had appoynted two to ryde at the mouth of *Garillan* to fauour the Prince of *Melffe*: And because that notwithstanding the impedimentes of the gallies, some releefe of vittels entred into *Naples* by the fauour of certayne Frigots, he put out to the sea certayne small Barkes to oppose agaynst the seruice of the Frigots: And lastely he gaue order that all the heardes of cattell should be driuen away fifteene myles compasse from *Naples*, to thend thimperialls should not with such facilitie chase them.

Andre Dore leaueth the paye of the French.

But nowe by reason of a newe accident whiche long tyme before had disclosed certayne signes and tokens, the French affayres were not a little intangled: *Andre Dore* eyther by corruption and long working wyth him, or of his owne proper motion whiche in cases of alteration caryeth men not a little, determined to leaue the French paye, to the which he was bounde tyll the ende of Iune, A resolution which he had long tyme before established in his mynde as was gathered by many argumentes and coniecturs: In that disposition he retyred to *Genes*, and would not go vp with his Gallies to the kingdome of *Naples*, no though the French king offred to make him capteine generall of the army by sea which he prepared at *Merseilles*: Against which offer he alleaged only his impotencie of body in which reigned so many maladies drawne on with yeres and old age, that he was nowe no more hable to beare the trauels of an army: But the originall and first motion of this chaunge was afterwards attributed aswell by himselfe as others, to diuerse causes: Touching him selfe he complained that the French king to whom he had done faithfull seruice for the space of fiue yeres, had raysed to the place of high Admirall by sea *Monsr Barbesieux*, A place which though he had refused once, yet he looked that the king would make a newe instance to him to take it: Secondly, that the king had not satisfied him of the xx. thousande duckets due for his payes past, without the which he was not hable to enterteine his gallies: That he would not harken to his iuste petitions to restore to the *Genovvayes* their accustomed iurisdiction of *Sauona*, And lastely, that becawse he vrged these petitions with importunitie, the king had debated in hys counsell to cutte off hys head as one that vsed too arrogantly hys authoritie. Others were of opinion that hys yll contentment grewe fyrst from the difference and controuersies betweene hym and *Ranso de Cero* for the enterprise of *Sardignia*: In whiche contention he construed agaynst the kinge that he had with more partialitie inclined to the reaportes of *Ranso*, then fauoured hys iustifications: That the king had too muche importuned hym to delyuer vp hys prisoners whom he desyred, but especially the Marquis of *Guast*, and *Askanio Colonno*, as a matter of great importaunce, neuertheless offering to paye their raunsome. These were the causes coniecturall gathered by straungers: but afterwardes it was both beleeued and discerned manyfestlye that in thys reuolte he was not caryed so muche wyth disdayne that the Frenche helde not reputation of him according to his merites, or wyth anye other propertie of yll contentment, as wyth an ambition and emulation to delyuer *Genes*, and so to make hym selfe greate vnder cooller of the lybertie of hys countrey: Wherein hauinge no other meanes to dryue hys dryftes to their true effecte, he resolued to followe no more the Frenche, nor to ayde them wyth hys Gallies in the action of *Naples*, lyke as also it was beleeued that to hynder the conqueste of *Sicile*, he had aduaunced and brought on

the enterprise of *Sardignia*. So that hauing repleniſhed all the thoughtes of hys minde wyth this deuiſe of ambition, and ſeeking to confirme it with ſome greater authoritie, he ſolicited by the interpoſing of the Marquis of *Guaſt*, to enter into the paye of themprour, notwithſtanding the profeſſion of great hatred whiche for the memory of the ſacke of *Genes* he had made many yeres agaynſt the Spaniſh nation, accompanied with ſeuere cruelties executed vppon any particulars of them when ſo euer they fell into his handes: But for that he couered his intention with a cloke of deepe arte and diſſimulation, the matter was not yet come to the knowledge of the Frenche kinge, who in that ignoraunce had not looked to remedie an euill of ſo great importaunce, though he was not without ſome ſuſpicion of the reuolte by the occaſion of ſurpriſing a Gallie: wherein paſſed as a paſſanger into *Spayne* a Spaniarde ſente vnder the cooller to raunſome certayne priſoners, and amongeſt other thinges was founde aboute hym a letter of credence from *Andre Dore* to thEmperour, And yet ſuche was the ſuttletie of the Spaniarde or compaſſion of ſuche as had him in hande, that they ſuffred hym to continue hys waye without examining hym. At laſte *Monſr Barbiſieux* beeing aryued at *Sauona* with a fleete of fourteene Gallies, *Andre Dore* fearing ſome ſtratageame, retyred with hys Gallies to *Genes*, and afterwardes conueyed hys priſoners to *Lerice*, A matter whiche when the Frenche king vnderſtoode by credible relation, and taſting the daunger whiche was nowe become wythout remedie, he diſpatched to hym *Peter Frauncis Nocere* to reduce hym to hys paye agayne: By hym the king offred him to ſatisfie hys deſyre touching *Sauona*, to paye in the twentie thowſande duckettes that were due before, and to giue hym twentie thowſande more for the raunſome of the Prince of *Orenge* whome he had taken before, and the kinge ſette hym afterwardes at libertye at ſuche tyme as he made peace wyth themperour at *Madrill*: Laſtely he offered hym that in caſe he woulde delyuer his priſoners, he woulde defraye their raunſome before they came oute of his handes, And yet if he refuſed to delyuer them, the kinge promiſed not to impute or charge agaynſt hym hys deniall. But *Andre Dore*, whoſe reſolution was more conſtant and ſettled, then that the kinges offers coulde remoue it, gaue ſmall eare to the ſolicitation, but iuſtified wyth complayntes hys going from the king: In ſo muche as *Monſr Barbeſieux*, to the greate preiudice of the affayres of *Naples*, was conſtrayned by the neceſſitie of thinges, to ſtaye at *Sauona*: And yet paſſing further afterwardes, he lefte for the garde of *Genes* fiue hundred footmen, with direction to remayne within tenne myles of the Citie for the rage of the plague that raygned there: And for the ſame ſeruice he putte on lande thyrtie myles from *Genes* twelue hundred Launceknightes newly aryued, who as they had receyued their firſte paye of the Frenche men, ſo for that the *Venetians* had not made good the ſeconde according to their bonde, *Triuulco* gouernour of *Genes* was driuen to leauye it by his meanes.

Vpon this reuolting of *Andre Dore*, the Pope being aduertiſed that he enterteined practiſe with the Emprour, ſignified the ſame to *Lavvtrech* the xxj. of Iune, whome he required to conſent that he mighte reteyne hym in his paye to thende to depriue themprour of his ſeruice, aſſuring him that *Phillip Dore* ſhould depart from *Naples* within ten dayes: for which cauſe *Monſr Lavvtrech* reſtored to *Phillip* for that he would not kindle or incenſe him, the Secretorie *Serenon* whom he had alwayes reteyned with him to thende to come by his meane to the knowledge and light of many things that lay in darknes and ſhadow: And yet for the ſuſpicion he had

had conceyued of the Pope, he interpreted finiſterly the aduertiſement he had ſent him. At laſte *Andre Dore*, notwithſtanding that *Bardeſieux* in paſſing further wyth his armie by ſea conteyning nynteene gallies, two foyſtes, and foure brigantines, aſſiſted with the perſon of the Prince of *Nauarre*, had ſpoken with him: yet forbearing to cloake or diſſemble any longer the thing he intended to do, he diſpatched a gentleman to thEmprour in the companie of the generall of Grayfreers, who was nowe created Cardinall and was ſente to themprour from the Pope: There was reſolued with this Gentleman a contract bearing theſe couenauntes: The libertye of *Genes* to be vnder the protection of themprour: the iuriſdiction of *Sauona* to remayne to the *Genovvayes:* Pardon to *Andre Dore* that had bene ſo great a perſecutor of the Spaniſhe name: Enterteynment in themprours ſeruice with twelue gallies, and threeſcore thouſande duckets by the yeare, with manye other articles very honorable. In regarde of this league *Phillip* departed the fourth daye of Iulye from before *Naples* wyth all his Gallies: Whoſe going away was nothing preiudiciall to the Frenche but onely in reputation, for that he had of late not onely made yll garde, but alſo had ſuffred his Brigantines to conueye into *Naples* by ſtealth, certayne proportions of releefe: He had alſo caryed the ſonne of *Anthony de Leua* to *Caietta*, and was a backe for many dayes to the forreagers to paſſe vittells into *Naples:* But if he had followed that ſeruice with the ſame fidelitie he ſhowed in the beginning, his going awaye had bene very hurtefull to their affayres. *Monſr Lavvtrech* taking occaſion vppon his departing, ſolicited ſo muche the more the comming of the French army, which according to the Popes ordinance was ſtayed with great indiſcreſſion about the action of *Ciuitavecchia.*

Couenantes betwene themprour and Andre dore.

But for the retyring of *Phillippe* wyth his gallies, the *Venetian* armie by ſea who had taken the charge of the worke from the ſea ſhoare vntill they mette with the trenches of *Peter Nauarre*, was dryuen to leaue that action, and apply to the garde and ſeruice of the ſea: Whiche to thende to holde more ſtrayte and encloſed, there were appoynted certayne armed Frigottes to ſcoure day and night the coaſt: vſing likewiſe a greater diligence by lande in oppoſing agaynſt the dayly incurſions of the Spaniardes, whome notwithſtanding when they encountred, their vallour was turned into feare, and in that feare they fledde away without feighting: In ſo muche as *Naples* was reduced to an extreme neceſſitie, and the Launceknightes proteſted oftentimes to goe awaye if they had not ſpeedie ſuccours both of money and vittells: By reaſon whereof *Monſr Lavvtrech* who had reappoſed a great confidence in thoſe operations, perſwaded him ſelfe that for the long practiſe and intelligence he had holden with them, they would in thoſe diſorders and wantes paſſe dayly to his armie.

But the fyfteenth daye of Iulye all the Fleete of the *Venetian* Gallies except thoſe that were aboute *Caietta*, returned into *Calabria* to bee reuittelled of biſkytte: By whoſe going awaye the hauen beeing layde open, manye Frigots paſſed into *Naples* with vittelles of all ſortes excepte wyne: A releefe comming in a tyme apte, for that within *Naples* there was not ſo muche ſtoare of corne as woulde laſte tyll the ende of Iulye. And on the other ſyde, in the Campe which was filled full of the plague by the infection of ſuche as came out of *Naples*, maladies and diſeaſes encreaſed greatly: which reſpecting neyther place, authoritie, nor complexion, ſo touched *Monſr Vavvdemont* that he bare more likelyhood of death then hope of lyfe, and reduced *Monſr Lavvtrech* into great maladies: By whoſe abſence and reſtrayning for the ſickneſſe he ſuffred, the ſeruice

Many difficulties in the fr. army.

declined to ſuche diſorder, that the Imperialls had leaſure to execute their incurſions without impediment, and wyth the ſame facilitie cut off the vittelles that came to the armie, reducing the whole campe to great wantes of releefe: And yet muche leſſe that the Frenche coulde bee broughte to leauye newe companies of light horſemen, ſeeing in theſe diſorders *Valerio Vrſin* beeing in the paye of the *Venetians* with an hundred light horſemen, went from the armie for that he was not payed, by whoſe example many other companies of light horſemen left the ſeruice for want of pay, and the reſidue were made vnprofitable by reaſon of diſeaſes: The men at armes of the Frenche were beſtowed in garriſon in the places thereabout, And the bandes of the *Gaſcons* beeing diſperſed into ſeuerall places of the countrey, were buſie in gathering in of harueſt and ſeeking praye and bootie. Neuertheleſſe there was great hope in certayne bandes of footemen which were ſayde to come with the armie by ſea, which armie hauing ſtayed more then twentie dayes after they parted from the porte of *Liuorno*, aryued at laſte the eyghteenth of Iuly, with many gentlemen and money to comforte the campe: Onely this ſupply brought to the armie but eyght hundred footemen, the reſidue that marched with it remayning beſtowed partely for the garde of *Genes*, and partly to follow thenterpriſe of the caſtell of *Ciuitavecchia:* At the comming of theſe ſuccours *Monſr Lavvtrech* hauing ſent to the ſea ſide bandes of ſouldiours to receyue the money that was brought, the gallies could not come to land for the impediment of the ſea that was great and ſwelled with waters: And therefore the next day the Marquis of *Saluſſa* returned thither againe with his launces, and with a groſſe regiment of *Gaſcons*, *Svvizzers*, and Launceknightes, accompanied with the blacke bands: But in their returning they were encountred by the Imperials being iſſued out of *Naples* in great trowpes, who gaue ſo furious a charge vppon the Frenche horſemen, that they turned their backes, and in fleeing they ſo ſhaked and troade their footemen that they diſordered them whome they ſhoulde haue defended: In this encounter *Don Dugo de Pepoly* ſucceding by the death of *Horatio Baillon* to the gouernment of the Florentine bandes, beeing ſet on foote with fortie harquebuziers before the eſquadron of the blacke bands, became priſoner to the horſemen: yea ſuche was the furie of thimperialls that if the vallour of the blacke bandes had not reteyned them, they had in this medley made a great ſlaughter, for that they foughte wyth a wonderfull reſolution, but chiefly the horſemen: There were lefte dead of the French men more then an hundred bodies, and no leſſe number paſſed ouer to the calamitie of priſoners, amongſt whom were many of the gentlemen of the ſea army that were ſette on lande, And alſo *Monſr de Candales* Nephewe to the Marquis of *Saluſſa*: Onelye the money was preſerued and ſente in ſafetye to the Campe: The faulte of this diſorder was layde vppon the Frenche horſemen, beeing farre inferiour in vallour to the ennemies, A matter whiche dyd not a little diminiſhe the vertue of the footemen of the armie, as knowing that nowe they coulde not ſtande aſſured of reskewe in the horſemen: But the matter that moſte endomaged and weakned the armie, was the ſickneſſe of *Monſr Lavvtrech*, who albeit laboured with the vertue of his mynde and courage to ſuſteyne and beare oute the feebleneſſe of hys body, yet beeing not hable with his hande and preſence to aſſiſt actions, he could not prouide and remedie many things that went to declination: for thimperialls taking libertie to make roades abrode, did not only make purueiance of all things they ſtoode neede of except wine which they could not cary, but alſo in that libertie they cutte from the armie oftentimes the reſorte of vittelles

and

and norriture, taking their baggage and forrage euen vppon their ramparts, and winning their horſes ſometimes as they were ledde to the watering: In ſo muche as beſides the generall diminution of the armie by diſeaſes, euen thinges neceſſarye beganne to fayle in the campe, which was almoſte reduced of an armie beſieging, to a campe beſieged, if they had not ſene to the garding of the paſſages agaynſt the footmen that ranne away. And of the contrarie, within *Naples* all commodities and hopes encreaſed, the launceknightes mutined no more, and all the other bandes of ſouldiours in glory and emulation ſtroue to ſuffer and endure: With theſe dangers no leſſe manyfeſt then ſtill increaſing, the obſtinacie of *Monſr Lavvtrech* was at laſt vanquiſhed, who both had ſent into *Fraunce* to be ſupplied with ſix thouſand footmen by ſea, and alſo had diſpatched *Ranſo de Cero* being come with the army by ſea, towards *Aquila* to leauy foure thouſande footemen and ſix hundred horſemen, giuing him aſſignation for money to the treaſorer of *Aquila* and *Abruzza*: Whiche ſupplies as *Ranſo* vndertooke by promiſe to bring to the campe within few dayes, ſo they would haue ſerued better for the aduauncement of the affayres, if they had bin prepared before: By the xxix. daye the wayes and ſtraytes were ſo broken, that there was no ſuretie of paſſage to *Capua* whiche laye vppon the backe of the armie, and wherein almoſte all ſortes of people laboured of diſeaſes and ſicknes: *Monſr Lavvtrech* who ſomewhat before had bene eaſed of his feauer, was eſtſoones falne into it agayne with a more infirmitie and daunger then before: The men at armes were almoſte all diſperſed in the villages, eyther for diſeaſes and ſicknes in deede, or at leaſte to refreſhe them vnder ſuche an excuſe: The regimentes and bandes of footemen were almoſte reduced to nothing: And within the towne of *Naples* bothe the plague abating and other diſeaſes diminiſhing, by whiche helpes there were as yet ſeuen thouſande footemen ſtrong, there was feare leaſt they woulde ſallye out and inuade the Campe: In whiche regarde *Monſr Lavvtrech* cauſed to tarye the fiue hundred footemen whiche *Ranſo de Cero* had ſente after the ouerthrowe of *Symon Roman*, to thende to ſtoppe that the bandes of ennemies who were in *Calabria* came not vp towardes *Naples*: He ſente alſo to leauye a thouſande footemen in the countrey thereaboute: He reteyned the Duke of *Nola* wyth two hundred lighte horſemen, and *Rinuccio Farneſo* wyth an hundred, whom they promiſed to bring to him foorthwyth: He ſente for backe agayne two hundred Eſtradiottes of the *Venetians* who were gone to thenterpriſe of *Tarenta*: He reuoked vppon greate penalties all the men at armes that were whole and hable: He ſolicited daylye the comming of *Ranſo*, and haſtned (albeit very late) wyth a greate vehemencie and efficacie, all other prouiſions. By the ſeconde daye of Auguſt there were ſcarcely in the Frenche campe an hundred horſe, by reaſon of which diminution the Imperialls made dayly incurſions euen vp to their trenches: They tooke all aduauntages of their weaknes, and omitted no oportunitie whiche their diſorders or declination offred to them: They wonne *Somma*, performing thexployte by the ayde of skaling ladders, and they ſacked it, finding within it a companie of men at armes and a cornet of light horſmen: By theſe actions growing on to extremities, *Monſr Lavvtrech* ſeeing him ſelfe almoſt beſieged, ſolicited *Monſr Saint Pol* to ſende him ſuccours of men by ſea, and called vppon the *Florentins* to turne to his reskew the two thouſand footemen whom they had leauyed to ſende to *Saint Pol*, which they conſented to readily: *Monſr Candales* who was let goe vppon his fayth, was dead in the campe: The prince of *Nauarre*, *Vavvdemont*, *Camillo Trivulco*, and the old & new maſters of camp, were falne ſicke: *Lavvtrech* was eſtſones

falne into the pangs of his feuer, All thembaſſadours were ſicke, all the Secretories paſſed by maladies, and al perſonages of account were kept ſuppreſſed by the diſeaſes of the campe, except the Marquis of *Saluſſo* and the Count *Guido:* yea there was ſcarſly to bee founde through the whole campe a body who coulde boaſt of hys ſoundnes: The bands of footemen periſhed miſerably of hunger, and almoſt all the ceſternes being drawne dry, there was an vniuerſall want of water. Suche were the diſorders of the campe by theſe afflictions, and muche more redoubled by omiſſion and negligence, that all action was taken from the armie other then to ſtande vpon their gardes and defende their campe, abyding the comfort of reskew. After this the Spaniardes brake vp the water conduit of *Poggia Royall*, and notwithſtanding it was eftſones recouered, yet they coulde make no vſe of it without great daunger. *Monſr Lavvtrech* exſpected within two dayes the Duke of *Somma* with fifteene hundred footemen, and with the ſame expedition he looked for the bands of horſemen and footemen of the Abbot of *Farfa*, which he had ſent for ſince he had giuen the defeate to the Biſhop of *Colonno*.

About this time and in theſe extremities returned the gallies of the *Venetians*, very yll armed and appoynted, and ſo ſlenderly furniſhed with vittels & prouiſions, that to get meate and norriture conuenient for their feeding, they were driuen to runne all along the ſea ſhores thereabout, and by that occaſion had no care to gard the port of *Naples:* But the Spaniardes in whom was equall their inſolencie & their fortune, beeing returned the eyght day to *Somma*, made pillage of it of newe, and tooke away with them all the reſidue of the horſe which Count *Guido* had there in garriſon: They charged alſo the skort or garde of the French vittels, who were two hundred Launceknightes, and they fleeing in their cowardiſe into two houſes, yelded their lyues to diſcreſſion. By reaſon of theſe incurſions and felicities of thimperialls, the ſouldiours that kept the campe were oftentimes without meate to eate, A calamitie of all others moſte wretched when is wanting foode to feede the bodye which ſtandes to defende his lyfe: All their incommodities were made greater by the huge circuite of place where the army was incamped, which propertie of error as it was diſcerned in the beginning, ſo the daunger redoubling by the fauour of the place, their eyes beheld a miſerable conſuming of their ſouldiours euery day by the neceſſitie of too muche action: And yet *Monſr Lavvtrech* ſtanding firmely vpon the hope and dayly exſpectation of ſuccours, could not be brought to reſtrayne it or make it leſſe, who albeit in his owne perſon he was not well reſtored, yet in that weaknes of body he tooke payne to viſite the whole campe to maynteine due order of watche and warde, fearing to be inuaded: But ſo ſwiftly did things runne to declining, that by the xv. daye the great puiſſance and vallour of the imperiall horſemen had cut of all reaſort and entercourſe betweene the campe and the gallies, neither coulde the ſouldiours of the campe, for wante of the ſeruice of horſemen, make any incurſion or do exploytes beneficiall: Euery night the alarme was giuen to the campe twiſe or thriſe, in ſo muche as the ſouldiours waſted with ſo manye paynes and incommodities, were not hable to ſende out ſuche skort for vittells as was needefull: But the thing that amid ſo many calamities, made them moſte diſcomforted, was the death of *Monſr Lavvtrech*, yeelding vp his life the ſame night, vpon whoſe authoritie and vertue all the counſells and actions of that ſeruice depended, and in whoſe perſon ſtoode repreſented the hope and exſpectation of that warre: It was thought he fell into the relaps of his diſeaſe by the continuall paynes he put his body vnto before it was well confirmed.

Death of Monſr Lavvtrech.

The

The whole charge and gouernment of the campe remeyned now in the perſon of the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, A man whoſe weakenes made him vnhable to manage wel ſo great an authoritie: And in this dayly increaſing of the French diſorders, *Andre Dore* with twelue gallies arriued at *Caietta* as ſouldiour to th Emprour, the ſame reducing the French nauye to ſuch ſtraights, that they beganne to make no more ſo good gard as they had wont: At that time alſo the Count of *Sarny* with a thowſand Spaniſh footemen, tooke *Sarny*, expulſing three hundred footemen that were there in garriſon: And afterwardes marching by night the xxij. of Auguſt, with a greater force to *Nola*, he tooke it, and droaue *Valerio Vrſin* lying there in garriſon to retyre into the caſtell, alleaging for his excuſe that he was deceiued by the men of the contry: he ſent to demaund reskew of the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, who ſent him a ſtrength of two thowſand footemen, but carying with them the ordinary infelicitie of the campe as they marched towards the place by night, they were ſet vppon by the bands of *Naples*, and cut in peeces: The xxij. daye the campe beeing both naked of men and voyde of gouernment, ſtoode enterteyned onely with hope of the comming of *Ranſo*, who being aſyet in *Naples*, was not wiſhed to haſte on for the taking of *Naples*, nor in hope to be hable to make any reſiſtance in that place where they were incamped, but onely that by a greater ſtrength they might breake vp and leauy the ſeege: By this time *Monſr Vavvdemont* was dead, and the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, Count *Guido*, Count *Hugo*, and *Peter* of *Nouare* extremely afflicted with ſicknes: In which generall perſecucion of the french campe, *Maramo* to thend to depriue them wholly of foode and vittells, yſſued out of *Naples* with foure hundred footemen, and finding *Capua* almoſt abandoned, entred into it, by whoſe comming thether, the French men forſaking *Pozzolo*, beſtowed the garriſon that was there, within *Auerſa*, A place of very ſpeciall importance for the campe: But when *Capua* and *Nola* were loſt, the army was at a maze where to ſeeke vittells to conteine the bodies which the ſtroake of diſeaſes had yet left on liue: So that their extremities making them no longer to hold good, and the rage of their neceſſities carying them neceſſarily to obey the aduerſitie of the time, they reſolued to embraſe their laſt ſhift, and brake vp by night to retyre to *Auerſa*: But th Imperialls keeping a ielous eye vppon their doings, and hauing good informacion of their diſlodging, ſet vppon them and ouerthrewe them in the waye, where beeing taken *Peter Nauare* with many other chieftaines and perſonages of condicion, The Marquis of *Saluſſa* eſcaped & retyred with one part of the army into *Auerſa*: But being purſued no leſſe by his owne infelicitie then by the vallour of th Imperialls, and being reduced to an eſtate not to menteyne defenſe, he ſent out of *Auerſa* Count *Guido Rangon* to perley with the Prince of *Orenge*, betwene whome ranne theſe capitulacions: That aſwell he as the other Capteines ſhould remeine priſoners, except Count *Guido*, to whome in recompenſe of thaccord, was graunted libertie: That the Marquis ſhould do all that he could with the French men and *Venetians* for the rendring & giuing vp of the whole kingdom: That the ſouldiers and ſuch as by thaccord were to haue libertie, ſhould leaue their enſeignes, their armes, their horſes and their goods, graunting onely to thoſe that were of greateſt qualitie, the ſeruice of moyles and curtalls: That the *Italian* ſouldiours ſhould not beare armes againſt th Emprour for ſix monethes: In this ſorte all bands and regiments were defeated, all Capteines cut of by death, or made priſoners in fleing, or at leaſt take in the accord: *Auerſa* was ſacked by the army Imperial, who afterwards retyred to *Naples* & demaũded eight paies: *Ranſo* who the day following was drawen neare to *Capua* with the Prince of *Melffe* and the Abbot of *Farfa*, hea-

Capitulacions of the Marquis of Saluſſa with the Imperialls.

ring of the accident and aduenture of the army, returned into *Abruzza*, which contry onely together with certeine peeces in *Povvylla* and *Calabria*, held good for the confederats.

This was the yſſue and euent of thenterpriſe of the kingdome of *Naples*, diſordered by many cauſes, but guided to his laſt errour by two principal reaſons: The one, for the maladies and diſeaſes engendred partely by the cutting away of the water conduits of *Poggio* royall to depriue them within *Naples* of the meane and vſage of grinding: for, when the waters were diſperſed all ouer the playnes, and hauing no yſſue, were driuen to ſtand ſtill & gather modde, they ſo corrupted the ayre, that the french men by nature intemperat and impatient of heat, fell into maladies, and they in time were turned into the nature of the plague, whoſe contagion was caried into the body of the armie by certeine that were infected who were expreſly ſent out of *Naples*: The other errour was that *Monſr Lavvtrech* who had drawne out of *Fraunce* all the beſt experienced Capteines of that nation, was too ſinguler in his owne hope and weening: And not remembring what litle honor it brought to him at ſuch time as he lay at the defenſe of the eſtate of *Myllan*, to write to his king that he would ſtoppe thennemies for paſſing the riuer of *Adda*, he had nowe in the ſame partialitie ſince the ſeege of *Naples*, aſſured his king by ſundry letters that he would not leauy his campe from before the walls of *Naples*, till he had honorably caried the victory of the towne: By which proppertie of errour and ſelfe promiſe for that he would not be reproued of his worde and iudgement, he ſtoode obſtinate not to leauye the ſeege contrary to the councell of his other Capteines, who ſeeing the campe full of maladies and infection, perſwaded him alwayes to retyre in ſauety to *Capua* or to ſome other place of refreſhing: The rather for that hauing in his hands and deuocion almoſt all the kingdom, much leſſe that he could haue wanted eyther vittells or money, ſeeing he might with facilitie haue conſumed the Imperialls to whome all things were lacking.

The proceedings of Mõſr Saint Pol in Lombardy.

During theſe proceedings in the Realme of *Naples*, the affaires of *Lombardy* were not without trauel and diuerſitie of fortune, for that after *Monſr Saint Pol* had aſſembled his forces and made prouiſion of vittells, he tooke beyonde *Pavv* certeine townes and borowes commaunded before by *Antho. de Leua*, who the thirde of Auguſt was gone to *Torretta*, laboring to gather into *Myllan* ſo great prouiſions of vittells as he could, for that thorow the whole eſtate of *Myllan*, the haruеſts were ſo poore and barreine, that it was thought there were skarcely ſufficient vittells to feede for eyght moneths the mouthes that were in the contry: Afterwardes he retyred to *Marignan* beeing not able for want of money to abide long tyme in that place: At this tyme the Duke of *Vrbyn* was at *Breſcia*, and *Saint Pol* at Neweca-ſtell in *Tortono*, from whence beeing comen to *Plaiſanca*, they met and had conference together at *Monticella* vppon the ryuer of *Pavv*, where it was reſolued that the armies ſhould vnite and aſſemble about *Loda*: from thence *Saint Pol* paſſed the ryuer of *Pavv* neare to *Cremona*, they of *Plaiſanca* ſuffering him without reſiſtance to conuert the barkes that were there to the vſe of a bridge: And therefore *Antho. de Leua* who had at his deuocion the bridge of *Caſſan*, *Caruaggia*, and *Treuy*, brake downe the bridge and abandoned the places of *Guiaradada*, lyke as he had before abandoned *Nouaro*: onely he had beſtowed within *Pauya*, ſeuen hundred footemen, and fiue hundred within *Saint Angeo*: *Monſr Saint Pol* had in eſtate and payment foure hundred launces, fiue hundred light horſemen & fiueteene hundred launce-knights, but in numbers & true mooſter farre leſſe both through his own negligence

and

and deceite of his officers: for theſe forces and other companies of *Svvizzers* and Launceknightes which were exſpected, the *Venetains* had agreed to pay for euerie moneth twelue thowſande duckats, to *Monſr Saint Pol*, who had alſo at *Turea* three hundred *Svvizzers* enterteined and payed for nine hundred, and three thowſande footmen French: The *Venetians* had three hundred men at armes, a thowſand light horſemen, and ſix thowſande footemen: And with the Duke of *Millan* were more then two thowſand footmen of choiſe. *Antho. de Leua* had foure thowſand Launceknightes, a thowſande *Spanyards*, three thowſande *Italians* and three hundred light horſemen: The regiments of the confederates paſſed the riuer of *Adda*, and ioyned their forces together the two and twentie of Auguſt, *Antho. de Leua* being yet at *Marignan*: from that place the Duke of *Vrbin* ſent to *Saint Angeo*, a ſtrength of three thowſand footmen, and three hundred light horſemen with ſix cannons, vnder the conduit of *Iohn Naldo*, who as he was in camping was ſlaine with a bollet from the artilleries, for reuenge of whoſe death the Duke went thither in perſon and caried the towne: The fiue and twentie of Auguſt, the armie of the confederats lodged at *Saint Zenon* vppon the riuer of *Ambra* which is within two myles and an halfe of *Marignan*: The ſeuen and twentie day they paſſed ouer *Ambra*, and drewe neare to *Marignan*: The *Spanyards* at their approaching retyred within *Marignan* to an olde rampart, and after they had skirmiſhed many howers, they iſſued and ſpredde them ſelues at large, making as though they would either giue or take the battell: But after thartilleries had played on both ſides the ſpace of an hower by which time the night drew on, they retyred within *Marignan* & *Riozzo*, and at the lodging or planting of the campe, they aſſaulted it brauely: The day after *Antho. de Leua* made his retraite with all his companies to *Millan*, and the confederates went to *Landriano*: There they tooke councell whether they ſhould attempt to force *Millan*, & during the action of that conſultacion, the armie marched with intencion to enter the towne of *Myllan* by ſurpriſe, which enterpriſe was broken by a great abundance of raine, which making the wayes heauy and troubleſom, ſtopped them for going to the gate of *Verceill* where they ſhould haue entred: But ſeeing that exployt fruſtrat and the deuiſe diſapoynted wherein they were more confirmed of the impoſſibility of the action, by the relacion of a gentleman whome they ſent to take a viewe of *Myllan*, they determined to goe incampe before *Pauya* by the way of *Biagraſſa*: Both for that there remeyned no other nature of action for the armie, & alſo for the hope they had to cary it eaſily, hauing no greater a ſtrength to defende it then two hundred launceknights and eyght hundred *Italyans*: Thus keeping that waye they ſent out beyond the ryuer of *Theſin*, certeine bands of footemen, which tooke *Vigeuena*: And the nynth of September *Monſr Saint Pol* arriued at *Saint Alexis* within three myles of *Pauya*, where both the armies approching neare together, there came an aduertiſement that put them in a greater aſtoniſhment: for, the plague being great in *Genes*, for feare of whoſe infection the towne being almoſt left abandoned of inhabitants and ſouldiers, in which generall confuſion *Theoder Tryuulco* gouernor of the towne, being retyred into the caſtell: *Andre Dore* tooke the aduauntage of that occaſion and drew neare the towne with certeine gallies, hauing neuertheleſſe a very ſlender hope to force it for that he had with him but fiue hundred footemen. But as where the feare is generall there the mindes and corages are leaſt aſſured, ſo the French nauy that roade in the hauen, fearing leaſt their way to returne into *Fraunce* would be cloaſed vp, leſt without care or gard the matters of *Genes*, and hoyſſed ſaile to goe to *Sauona*, the firſt veſſell that arriued there, being the gallye of *Monſr Barbe-*

The taking of Genoway by Andre Dore.

ſieux: So that both for the weake forces of ſouldiours that were within the citie notwithſtanding *Theoder* was returned to keepe the pallaice, And for that the people and commons for the iniurie of the libertie done to the towne of *Sauona*, were becomen ennemies to the name of the Frenche, *Andre Dore* made his entry into the towne finding made againſt him no great reſiſtance: Suche was his ambicion and ſo ſtronge and violent his appetit of dominion, that the plague which forced the naturall inhabitants to leaue their patrimonye and place of abiding, had not power to make him tymerous to enter, where the others in their feare fled from thinfection: But this fowle loſſe of the citie hapned chiefly by the negligence and too much ſecuritie of the French king: for, both not looking that the matters of *Naples* would ſo ſpeedily fall to ruyne, and alſo beeing perſwaded that in all accidents the retrait of the nauye to *Genes* and the neighbourhood of *Monſr Saint Pol*, would ſuffice eyther to ſaue or reskewe, he omitted to make neceſſarye prouiſions: *Theoder* who was retyred within the caſtell, demaunded ſuccours of *Saint Pol* whome he put in hope to reconquer the towne, if there were ſent to him forthwith a ſtrength of three thowſand footemen: which demaund being conſulted vppon amongeſt the Capteines confederat, the French men ſhewed a diſpoſicion to goe thether preſently with the whole campe: But the Duke of *Vrbyn* proued that to prouide boates to make a bridge vppon *Pavv*, and to leauye neceſſarye proporcions of vittells, was a matter which woulde drawe a longer tract of tyme then the preſent buſines required: So that according to his councell it was determined that *Monſr Montilan* ſhould turne from *Alexandria* to *Genes*, A regimēt of three thowſand launceknights and *Svvyzzers* who were come out of *Fraunce* to the armye of *Saint Pol*, and were arriued at *Alexandria*: But in caſe they would not bē led thether, then the reſolucion boare, that they ſhould be led to the campe, & in their places ſhould be diſpatched and beſtowed a colonie of three thowſand others: and that as in the meane while there ſhould be made labor and practiſe to preſſe *Pauya*: So the *Venetians* promiſed that if thenterpriſe of *Pauya* fayled, they would conuert to the ſuccours of *Genes* all their companies, ſo farre forth as they might dwel aſſured of the affaires on that ſide.

Thus was reſolued and continued the ſeege of *Pauya*, & the better to aduaunce it to a good end & yſſue, there were planted the xiiij day on this ſide the riuer of *Theſin* in the plaine there below, nyne cannons which executed vpon a baſtillion adioyning to the arſenack or ſtorehouſe for municions, which in fewe howers was reduced almoſt to ruine, And beyond the riuer of *Theſin* were braked three cannons to beate (when the aſſalt ſhould be giuen) a flanke that aunſwered the arſenack: And vppon a litle hill ſide on this ſide *Theſin* were beſtowed fiue cannons which cōmaunded two other baſtillions: And vpon the point of the ſaid litle hill were beſtowed three other cannons which plaied vppon the wal: Al which fury of artilleries belōged to the *Venetians*, reſeruing the great ſhot of *Monſr Saint Pol* to beate vpon the defenſes: By the day following *Annyball* Capteine of *Cremona* was come with a trench as farre as the ditch of the baſtilliō on that ſide of the arſenack, of which two parts were already ſo reuerſed to the earth, that the ſoldiers that were within had almoſt abādoned it: This day was ſlain with a bollet frō the artilleries, *Malateſta Sogliano* one of the capteines of the *Venetians*: And after the artilleries had plaied with a cōtinual execution al the day & night following, the army was raūged & prepared to giue the aſſalt, moſt part of the wall on all ſides of the three baſtillions, being made euen with the earth: But when in the morning following they went about to draine the water out of the ditches, they found ſo great a reſiſtance by the fundacion of the wal, that they cōſumed

there

there all that day and the day following, by which occasion the assalt was prolonged till the xix. day, when the ditch was almost cleared of all the water: By this the bastillion at the corner being wonne by the first appearing of the day, they began to giue thassalt, And deuiding their companies into three, the first action apperteyned to *Antho. de Castello* with the *Venetian* regiments, the second to *Monsr de Logers*, leading the souldiers of *Saint Pol*, and the last to the Capteine of *Cremona* commaunding the regiments of the Duke of *Myllan* being twelue hundred footemē: The person of the Duke of *Vrbyn* came on foote with two hundred men at armes, and affronted the bastyllions which made a valliant defense for more then two howers, vnder the vallour of two hundred launceknights and eight hundred *Italyans* with a very fewe *Spanyards*, who notwithstanding in the action they shewed great courage and resolucion, yet for the smalnes of their numbers they defended their bodies with great hazard and difficultie, the rather for the rage of thartilleries planted beyonde *Thesin*, which alwayes executed vpon the principall part or flower of the ramparts: In the assault *Peter Viragno* was hurt in the thighe with a shot of a harquebuze, of which wound albeit he dyed within fewe dayes after, yet he would not haue his body remoued from the place, to thend his souldiours should not abandon the assalt: In like sort was wounded with a harquebuze *Peter Botticello*, but with more fauor for that he dyed not, and with lesse show of constancye for that he retyred from the assault: They were both Capteines of the Duke of *Myllan*: At last within xxij. howers the assaylants by their vallour made their entry with small hurt to them selues, and right great commendacion to the Duke of *Vrbyn*: The slaughter of the souldiours within, was about seuen hundred bodies, almost all launceknights: But when the armye began to enter the towne, *Galeas Biragno* being no longer hable to preserue the place which he saw by all properties of destinie to declyne from him, retyred into the castell with all the souldiers that remeyned of the slaughter at the assalt, together with many inhabitants of the towne, which immediatly was deliuered to sacke and spoyling, though of litle profit by reason it had passed that affliction twyse before: The castel was receiued by composicion without any assalt or exployt of warre, both for that there were in the campe no municions to batter it, and also the ditches which were both large and deepe were not in so short time to be filled vp, And lastly there were within it a regiment of fiue hundred men of warre stronge: These were the capitulacions betwene the army and the castel: That the *Spanyards* with all those sorts of artilleries and municions which they could cary in their hands, and with all their trayne of baggage, should goe to *Myllan* together with the launceknights of whom was left of the generall slaughter, a very small number: And that *th Italians* might goe whether they would, except to *Myllan*.

Vppon the taking of *Pauia*, the Duke of *Vrbyn* gaue out his reasons that it were not good to force *Myllan*, onles they had an armye sufficient for two batteries: But to thende to vexe it and restrayne it, he thought it good to take *Biagrassa*, *Saint George*, *Monce*, *Coma*, and to minister succours to *Genes*: for, notwithstanding the launceknights and *Swyzzers* had made aunswer to *Monsr Montilan* that they would go to *Genes*, yet the launceknights taking thoccasion that they were not payed, went away to *Turea*, by which alteracion there was no propertie of succours sent to the castell which *Andre Dore* labored to vndermyne with all diligence, for which cause and to apply a remedy so necessary, *Monsr Saint Pol* with an hundred launces and two thowsand footemen remeining with him, prepared the xxvij. day to goe to the succors of *Genes*: he passed *Pauy* at *Portostella* in the mouth of the riuer of *The-*

ſin,and drew towards *Tortono* with promiſe to turne backe againe,if he ſaw his ſuccours could not be made profitable to the place: All this while the Duke of *Vrbyn*, ſtayed for him at *Pauya*,and with him were foure thowſand footemen *Venetians*,and a thowſand of the regiments of the Duke of *Myllan*. At this time *Antho.de Leua* who was retyred to *Myllan*,made an order that no man ſhould keepe or make any meale in their houſes except ſuch as had redeemed and bought the tribute of it,who payed vnto him for the ſpace of ix. moneths,three duckats for euery meaſure of meale: with the money growing of this impoſicion, he payed for all that tyme the horſemen,and the footemen Spaniſh and launceknights. A contribucion which did not onely defend him from the daunger preſent, but did enterteyne him all the winter following,hauing diſperſed his regiments of *Italian* footemen within *Nouaro* & certeine townes of *Lomelino* with other villages of the territories of *Myllan*, In which wretched townes he gaue ſuffrance to the ſouldiours during the whole time of the winter,to ſpoyle and raunſom the miſerable inhabitants: The firſt daye of October *Monſr Saint Pol* arriued at *Gauy* a place within xxv.myles of *Genes* hauing for his better expedicion,left his artilleries at *Noui*: The day following he tooke the rocke of the borow of *Fornaro*, but paſſing further towards *Genes*, and vnderſtanding there was entred a newe ſtrength of ſeuen hundred footemen *Corſegans*, he returned eftſoones to the borow of *Fornaro*:Such was his want of money, that he had not with him in all,aboue foure thowſand footemen aſwell of his owne as of the companies of *Montilan*,& a thowſand who had bene ſent from the campe with *Nicholas Dore*: And yet of thoſe fewe that were with him, many trowpes paſſed continually into *Fraũce*,which making him diſpaire of the ſucceſſe of thẽterpriſe,he diſpatched *Montilan* with three hundred footemen to *Sauona* before which towne the *Genouvaies* were incamped: But there was no meane for them to enter, both for that it was reſtrained & enuyroned with trenches, and all the paſſages & places of acceſſe taken: The x. of October he retyred him ſelf within *Alexandria*, & afterwards to *Senazzaro* betwene *Alexandria* & *Pauya*,to haue conference with the Duke of *Vrbyn*: onely he was almoſt left without ſoldiers: And there conſulting vppon the common affayres, where the Duke declared that there was remeyning but foure thowſand footemen of all nations & natures,And that *Antho.de Leua* had what without & within *Millan* foure thowſand launceknights ſtrong,ſix hundred *Spanyards*,and xiiij hundred *Italians*: It was reſolued that the Duke ſhould retyre to *Pauya*,& *Saint Pol* to *Alexandria*, A matter accorded vnto him by the Duke of *Myllan*: There were alſo occupied ſpeches and deuiſes to make new leauies of footemen,and then if the tyme fauored,to aduaunce to execute thenterpriſe of *Biagraſſa*,*Mortaro*,and the caſtell of *Nouaro*.

But when the inhabitants of *Sauona* ſaw that *Montilan* could not enter for their ſuccors,they agreed amyd ſo many diſtreſſes,to render the towne the xxj. of October,if within certeine dayes they were not reskewed: And therefore *Saint Pol* who was careſull to releeue it,and not hauing of his owne companies aboue a thowſand footemen ſtrong,required a ſupply of three thowſand footemen of the Duke of *Vrbyn* & *Myllan*,who furniſhed him but with xij. hundred, Inſomuch as hauing no aſſurance to be able to reskew it with ſo ſmall a number, he ſuffred it to be loſt: And after the *Genouvaies* had it they choaked the hauen with ſtones for that they would make it vnprofitable to ſeruice: And by the example of that aduerſitie, *Theoder Tryvulco* diſpayring to be ſuccored, and being without money and comfort, gaue him ſelf vp to compoſicion: Aſſoone as the caſtel was conquered,it was in a popular fury raſed by the *Genouvaies*,who with the authority of *Andre Dore* eſtabliſhed in that

New gouernment eſtabliſhed in Genoway.

city

citie a newe gouernment ſuch as had bene affore time ſolicited vnder the name of libertie: This was the ſubſtance of it: That by the councell of foure hundred cityſens ſhould be created all the magiſtrates and dignities of their citie, but chiefely the Duke and ſupreame Magiſtrat, to continue for two yeares: They abrogated the lawe by the which the gentlemen were excluded before out of that creacion: And ſeeing the fundacion and ground of greateſt importance reſted in this to eſtabliſhe their libertie, that they ſhould preſently labour to reconcile the factions and diuiſions of the Cityſens, which of long time had bene there more greate and hurtefull then in any other citie of *Italye*, ſeeing beſides contencions priuate, there had raged for longe time the factions of *Guelffes* and *Gebelins*: To deface themulacion betwene the gentlemen and populars, which populars were not yet reduced to one vnitie of will amongeſt themſelues: And laſtely to reappeaſe the mightie and ſtronge partialitie and controuerſie betweene the two famulies of *Adorney* and *Fregoſey*: By reaſon of which diuiſions it was likely that their citie, moſt conuenient to commaunde the Sea aſwell for the ſituacion as for the ſcience and knowledge of marine matters, had not bene onely at ſeuerall ſeaſons vexed and depreſſed, but alſo for longe time had bene kept vnder a croſſe of continuall ſubiection: Therefore to cure that euill euen to the roote, they proceeded by obſcuring the names of all the famulies and houſes of the citie, conſeruing and reteining onely the memorie and name of xxviij. of the moſt noble and notable, except the *Adorneys* and *Fregoſeis*, which they vtterly ſuppreſſed and aboliſhed: vnder the name and nomber of which famulies, they gathered all thoſe gentlemen and populars who remeined without name of their houſes: wherein the better to confound the memory of all factions, they ſought to intangle and intermedle the famulies of the gentlemē with the houſes of the populars, & reciprocally the names of the populars whith the gentlemen: Such as had bene parteners with the *Adorneys* they coopled with thoſe that had folowed the name of the *Fregoſey*, & ſo of the contrary, eſtabliſhing vnder that commixtion of houſes and names, an equall affinitie betwene both: And as by this lawe it was ordeined that there ſhould be no diſtinctiō of power to hinder the one more then the other to aſpire to honours and magiſtracies: ſo by this confuſion of names and men they hoped that within the courſe of a few yeares, the poiſoned memorie of factions and quarrells would be vtterly defaced & quēched: And in the meane while thauthoritie of *Andre Dore* remeined great amongeſt them, without whoſe conſent and priuitie both for the reputacion of the man and for the authoritie of themprours gallies which he commaunded, and for his other condicions & parts, they would not paſſe any deliberaciō of things which were of greateſt importance: only the thing which made his puiſſance and greatnes leſſe troubleſome, was, that he would neither ſuffer the treaſor to be adminiſtred with his ordenance, nor intrude himſelfe into thelection of the duke and other magiſtrats, & much leſſe communicat in cauſes more particular & leſſe: By which maner of behauiour the cityſens being reduced to mindes peaſible, became more inclined to marchandize then to ambicion, & reteining ſtill impreſſions of their trauells and ſubiections paſſed, they had great reaſon to loue & folow that forme of gouernment: After this the french fleete and the nauie of *Andre Dore* buckled togeather betwene *Monaro* and *Nice*, where one of *Dores* gallies was ſonke.

After the loſſe of *Sauona*, the Duke of *Vrbyn* and *Monſr ſaint Pol*, mette togeather of new at *Seuaro* betwene *Alexandria* and *Pauya*: where the Duke of *Vrbyn* to the greate diſcontentment of *Frauncis Sforce*, and *Monſr ſaint Pol*, reſolued to repaſſe

on the other ſide the riuer of *Adda*, both leauing to the Duke of *Myllan*, the garde of *Pauya*, and councelling *Monſr ſaint Pol* to ſpende the winter in *Alexandria*: with which alteracions the french kinges officers were not onely diſcontented, but alſo himſelfe not taking for payment certeine light excuſes which the *Venetians* made to him, complained bitterly that they had not ſuccoured the caſtell of *Genes* and the citie of *Sauona* which the *Genovvayes* in their rage had vtterly deformed: After this, a ſupplie of a thowſand Launceknights were ſent to *Saint Pol*, with whom, accompting the thowſand footemen which *Villecero* had in *Lomelyno*, remained a ſtrength of foure thowſand footemen.

In this time hapned a tumult in the Marquiſedom of *Saluſſa*: The accident was this: After the death of the Marquis *Michaell Anthonie*, *Frauncis* his brother hauing taken vpon him the iuriſdiction by reaſon that *Gabriel* the ſecond brother to *Anthonie*, euen in the time of his eldeſt brother by direction of the mother who had managed the gouernment of the children during their minoritie, had bene kept priſoner in the rocke of *Rauel* vnder cooller that he was almoſt eſtraunged from his vnderſtanding: it hapned that the capteine of the *Rocke* deliuered him, by which meane ſeazing vppon the mother who had holden him priſoner and being gladſomely embraſed of the people, he conquered the whole eſtate: To which felicitie of the time it ſeamed his brother gaue place, and fledde, in his feare to *Carmagnola*, where, hauing afterwardes reaſſembled his forces, he ouerthrew his brother *Gabriel*.

There paſſed no more actions of conſequency in *Lombardie* for this yeare, ſauing that Count *Caiezza* ranne vppe euen as farre as *Myllan*, taking aduauntage vpon the negligence of the *Venetians*, who omitted to ſende to *Monſr ſaint Pol* the forces they had promiſed for the enterpriſe of *Sarauallo*, *Gauy*, and other places of the *Genovvays*: There was alſo made an attempt of an exploit of greate importance: for, *Monti Ian* and *Vecellero* with two thowſand footemen and fiftie horſemen, departed in the euening to *Vitado* to ſurpriſe *Andre Dore* in his pallacie, the which ſtanding vpō the Sea coaſt reteineth a verie neare neighbourhood to the walls of *Genes*: But this plotte was vaine in the effect, for that the footemen for the tediouſnes and longnes of the waie conteining xxij. miles, could not reach the place where they were to execute their enterpriſe before the night was waſted, and being diſcouered by the clearnes and benefitte of the daie, the alarme aroaſe which from hande to hande was brought at laſte to *Andre Dore*, who conueighing himſelfe out of the backeſide, was receiued into a barke and by her ſwiftenes of ſailes and oares, he auoyded the daunger that was prepared againſt his life. Onely the french men miſſing by miſaduenture the perſonne of *Andre Dore*, conuerted their rage vppon his pallaice which they ſacked and afterwardes returned in ſauetie: Alſo Count *Caiezzo* hauing layed an ambuſhe betweene *Myllan* and *Monceo*, ouerthrew fiue hundred Launceknightes and an hundred light horſemen who were ſent out to skorte or ſaffe conduit the vittellours: But being afterwardes ſent to *Bergama*, he ſo afflicted that citie with pillage and robbinge, that the Senate of *Venice* who had eſtabliſhed him capteine generall ouer their infanterie, decaſſed him and depriued him with infamie of their paye, whom in their compaſſion they could not endure in ſo greate acuſtome of inſolencie and auarice: About this time the Spaniards tooke the towne of *Vigeuena*: And *Belioyenſe* who was eſcaped out of the handes of the french men, being ſent by *Antho. de Leua* with two thowſand footemen to ſurpriſe *Pauya* wherein was a garriſon of fiue hundred footemen

Mont Ian miſſeth to ſurpriſe Andre Dore.

of

of the Duke of *Myllan*, preſented himſelfe one night before the walls, but being diſcouered he was compelled to retire without any effect: There ariued in the contrey of *Genovvay* a ſupplie of two thowſand footemen Spaniardes, whom the emprour ſent out of *Spaine* either to defend *Genes*, or elſe to be conuerted to *Myllan* according to the neceſſitie and occaſion of affaires: *Belioyenſe* wente out to meete this ſupplie and conduct them: who as they made ſhowe that they would take the waie either to *Plaiſanca* or of *Caſa*, ſo *Monſr ſaint Pol* put himſelfe in preparacion to ſtoppe their comming, and ſent to ſolicite the *Venetyan* bandes to make them ſelues ſtrong at *Loda*, to the ende that the bandes of *Myllan* ſhould not come out to backe them: he laboured alſo to perſwade them to execute iointly the enterpriſe of *Myllan*, being thereunto induced through the wante of vittells and other diſpaires of thoſe wretched inhabitantes: But the Duke of *Vrbyn* was not of that opinion, like as alſo the *Venetyans* proceeded coldly in the braue actions of that time, wherein both for the rapporte of *Andre Nauager* their embaſſadour nowe returned out of *Spaine*, and in regard of a certeine practiſe and intelligence which was interteined at *Rome* with themperours embaſſadour, the opinions of the Senat were diuerſe, many inclining to haue an accord with themprour: and yet it was at laſt reſolued to continue the confederaciō with the french king: at which time *Torniello* hauing paſſed the riuer of *Theſin* with two thowſand footemē, tooke *Baſignan* & went towards *Lomelina*: And thabbot of *Farfa* going with his cornets of horſemen to *Creſcentyn* a place of the Duke of *Sauoye*, was defeated by night & taken priſoner: but being afterwardes ſet at liberty by the working of the Marquis *Montferat* and the Marquis of *Mus*, he ouerthrew certeine regiments of *Antho. de Leua*, and tooke their artilleries.

There began to riſe a dout that the Pope inclined to themperors ſide, both for that the Cardinal *Saint Croſſe* being ariued at *Naples*, cauſed to be deliuered three Cardinalls who were there in oſtage: and alſo according to the rumor that ran, he had cōmiſſion from themperour to cauſe to be rendred *Oſtia* and *Ciuitavecchia*, And by his meane and working the Pope being alſo ſolicited, *Andre Dore* reſtored to the *Syennoys Portohercole*: But there were daily more and more arguments and teſtimonies that the Popes minde was caried with a diſpoſicion to new thinges, for that by his meane though ſecretly, *Braccio Baillon* for the intereſt of the affaires of *Perouſa*, moleſted *Malateſta*, notwithſtanding he was in his paie: And when he vnderſtoode that the Duke of *Ferrara* was come to *Modena*, he conſpired to take him in his returning with an ambuſh of two hundred horſemen layed by *Pavvle Luzaſquo* vpon the confins of *Modena*: But for that the Duke ſtirred not out of *Modena* both the deuiſe was diſcloſed and the effect diſappointed.

About this time the realme of *Naples* notwithſtāding the ouerthrow of the *Frēch* was not entyrely deliuered of the calamities of the warre: for, as *Symon Romain* hauing aſſembled newe companies, had taken *Nauo*, *Oriolo*, and *Amigdalaro*, townes ſtanding vpon the ſea ſide at the pointe of thappenin: So drawing to him into one ſtrength *Federik Caraffa* whom the Duke of *Grauino* had ſent with a thowſand footemen, together with many others of the contrey, he had an armie reaſonably well compounded. But after the victorie of thimperialls about *Naples*, and being abandoned of the companies of the Duke of *Grauyna* he entred into the towne of *Barletta* by the Caſtell, and putting it to ſacke and pillage, he ſtaied there: At what time the *Venetians* helde *Trany* garded by *Camylla*, and *Monopoly* defended by *Iohn Conrardo*, both captaines of the familie of the *Vrſins*: After this *Ranſo de Cero* and the prince of *Melffe* came into the kingdom with a thowſand footemen: who being re-

duced betwene *Nocero* & *Gualdo*, and afterwardes retiring from thence by the commandement of the Pope who would not offend the mindes of the victors, embarked themselues at *Sinigalo* and went by sea to *Barletto* with intencion to renewe the warre in *Povvilla*: a matter determined vpon by common consent of the confederates to the ende to constraine thimperiall armie to make their aboade in the kingdom of *Naples* vntill springe time, at what time they drewe to counsell and conference to make new prouisions for their cõmon sauetie: for which matter the french king sent to *Ranso* a releefe and succours of money, like as also the *Venetians* concurring with the king in the same desier, the rather to reteine more easely and kepe still by the helpe of others, the townes which they had taken in *Povvylla*, offred to furnish him of twelue gallies: But when the king vrged them to arme and appointe those gallies, reseruing to defraie the charge and exspenses vppon the foure skore thowsand duckats whereunto they were bounde by the contribucion promised to *Monsr Lavvtrech*, they would not harken to it: The king of *England* promised not to be behinde with his parte of the prouisions ordinarie: And the *Florentyns* had contracted to pay the thirde parte of the companies which *Ranso* had leauied: The imperialls shewed no greate readines or dispositicion to quench so greate a preparacion of trouble, beinge buysied on all partes to exact money to satisfie the soldiours of their duties and paies past: wherein both to leauie those exactions with more facilitie, and the better to assure the kingdom with examples of seueretie: the prince of *Orenge* euen in the market place of *Naples* where the plage raged most, and in the publike view of the people, caused to be beheaded *Federike Caietan* sonne to the Duke of *Tracetto*, and *Henry Pandon* Duke of *Bouiano* a discendant of one of the daughters of olde *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, together with foure other Napolitains, extending also the same rigour of punishment vpon other places of the kingdom: with which maner of proceding no lesse pityfull in the persons, thē dangerous for the example, he reduced into feare and astonishment the mindes of all men, not omitting to proceede against the absent such as had folowed the french faction with confisquacion of their goods, which afterwardes he suffred to be compounded for with money, & did not forget any violence or extremity by the which he might draw greatest summes of money: All which actions of murder and oppression were supposed to haue their deuise and resolucion by the witte of *Ierom Moron* to whom was giuen in recompense of his seruices, the Duchie of *Bouiano*: To these emotions and sturres was added the exploit of *Iohn Iacques Franquo* in *Abruzza*, who entred for the french king into *Matrina* which is neare to *Aquila*, by whose comming all the partes & people of the contrey drew into commocion, neither was the region of *Aquila* without suspiciō of rising, where lay sicke with six hundred footemen *Serro Colonno*: Moreouer the *Venetians* made prouision for the affaires of *Povvylla*, who sending by sea certeine companies of light horsmen to furnish *Barletto*, one part of the vessells which caried them perished in the lakes of *Barletto* and *Trany*, where there Treasorer was drowned seeking to saue his life in a litle skiffe: The companies of horsemen who had for their leader *Iohn Conrardo Vrsin*, being sore beaten with the rage of the tempest, fell into the handes of the imperialls: & *Iohn Pavvle de Cero* who made his shipwracke neare *Guast*, remeined prisoner to the Marquis: In the latter end of the yeare, the region of *Aquila* became for the league by the meane of the Bishop there and good working of Count *Montoiro* with others of the exiles, who being hardly vsed by the imperialls sought their remedie by reuolt.

Execucions at Naples.

In the beginning of the yeare 1529. began to appeare on all sides certeine signes and

& good disposicions to peace, which seamed to carie a generall desier to be solicited & negociated in the Popes court: for, as there was good aduertisemēt that the Cardinall *Saint Crosse* (such was the title of the Spanish generall) was gon vp to *Rome* with warrant from the emprour to conclude a peace: so the french king whose desier to end the warres was nothing inferiour, dispatched to the same end a commission to his embassadours, in which action also the king of *England* tooke interest, and in the same regard sent agents to *Rome*, which matters of negociaciō & hope of peace ioyned to the trauell & wearynes of princes, brought the confederats to proceede slowly in the prouisions of the warre: for that in *Lombardie* their greatest thought & care was whether the Spaniards being come to *Genes* could passe to *Millan*, from whēce the launceknights for want of pay, were almost all retired: and to conduit them thether, *Belioyense* with a hundred horsemen was gonne vp as farre as *Casa*: and from thence in habit disguised was passed into *Genes*, from whence he led the saied foote-bands of Spaniards to *Sauona*, with intencion to gather together fiue hundred more newly come out of *Spaine*, and were disbarked at *Villa franco*.

But in the realme of *Naples* the imperialls could not but dowt, that the rebellion of *Aquila* and *Matricia* together with the sturres and risinges that had bene made in *Povvilla*, would breede & bring forth some matter of farre greater importaunce: and therefore to cut of and remedie the mischiefe affore the ill were come to his fulnes, they determined to conuerte to the expugnacion and suppression of those places, the forces they had: & in that resolucion the Marquis of *Guast* with his regiment of Spanish footemen, was sent out to recouer the townes of *Povvilla*, and the prince of *Orenge* likewise with his Launceknights was dispatched to reconquer *Aquila* and *Matricia*: who assoone as he made his approches to *Aquila*, they that were within issued out and left the place abandoned, The prince compounding for the citie and the whole contrey at a raunsom of an hundred thowsand duckats, and tooke awaie by vertue of his conqueste & contract the oblacion of siluer which the french king *Loys* the tenth had consecrated to *Saint Barnard*: from thence he sent soldiours to *Matricia* where lay in garrison *Camyllo Pardo* with foure hūdred footemen, who was gonne awaie not many daies before with promise to retorne againe: But being not without his seuerall feares, both for the wante of wine, whereof was left no stoare, the necessity of waters which were all cutte from them, and for the faction betwene the towne and the souldiours which was stronge and violent, and lastely for some other reason which men in their timerusnesse wante not: he did not onely not retourne againe, but also he kept from them some of that releiffe of money which the *Florentyns* had sent to him for the defending and succouring of that place: By reason of which disorders, both their leader hauing left them, and their wantes without comfort or hope of releuing, the soldiours went in their araie vpon the walls, and the townesmen rendred the place. The consideracion of these good euents and issues, brought a feare least the prince of *Orenge* would passe into *Tuskane*, at the instance of the Pope, who being deliuered of a most daungerous but short disease, ceassed not to solicite and giue hopes to all men: he promised the frenchmen to sticke to the league, so farre foorthe as *Rauenna* and *Seruia* were rendred to him: And he offred to compound vnder reasonable condicions with the *Florentyns* and Duke of *Ferrara*, who touching the payments of mondy made before to *Monsr Lavvtrech*, affirmed that what he did in those paymentes was of his liberalitie and not by vertue of obligacion, for that the Pope had forborne to ratifie. On the other side, now that he had recouered (though at great charges) the Castells of *Ostia* and

Ciuita vechia by vertue of a cõmiſſion which the Cardinal *Saint Croſſe* had brought, he enterteined with themperour intelligences more ſecrete and practiſes more certeine then before: yea they debated rather vpon their affaires particular (which began to be managed in a courſe more aſſured and ſecret) then that there paſſed betwene them any action or ſolicitacion tending to the vniuerſall peace. Onely in *Barletto* theſtate of affaires was this: *Barletto* was holden for the frenche king, within the which was *Ranſo de Cero*, and with him the prince of *Melffe*, *Federike Caraffa*, *Symon Roman*, *Camyllo Perdo*, *Galeas de Farurſo*, *John Conrard Vrſin*, and the prince of *Stigliano*: The *Venetyans* had *Trany*, *Pulignany* and *Monopoly*: their forces in thoſe places were two thowſand footemen and ſix hundred horſemen Albenois, whereof two hundred were within *Monopoly*: They had alſo at their deuocion the port of *Bieſtry*: Nowe after the french king had ſent in the beginning a ſmall prouiſion of money to thoſe companies, he forbare afterwardes to releue them with any further ſupplies, nor did not accept the xij. bodies of Gallies offred to him by the *Venetyans* of which three periſhed in the lake of *Bieſtry* with a great foyſt, as they wẽt to reuittell *Trany* and *Barletto*: And of the reſidue they had loſte at ſundrie times fiue more ſauing notwithſtanding their artilleries and other furniſhments: The french men helde alſo the mount *Saint Angeo*, and *Nardo* in the quarter of *Ottranto*, and *Caſtro* wherein was the Count *Dugẽto*: The actions of the warre were perfourmed with the bodies and men of the kingdom, and with the forces of the contrey, many rebelles to themprour were aſſembled in ſundrie places, and many were drawne into companies and ſtrength, who as aduenturers folowed the warre for pillage onely: So that the condicion of the contrey was farre more miſerable then any man would haue beleeued, euery towne and place being layed open to robberies, prayes, raunſoms and wretched burninges on all ſides: Onely the extorſions and inuaſions of *Symon Roman* were more intollerable then any other, who ouer running with his light horſemen and a bande of two hundred and fitie footemen all the partes and confins of thoſe contreys, brought oftentimes into *Barletto* greate droaues of cattell, and greate quantitie of corne, with othennature of bootie and ſpoile: And in that libertie of warre running a race of vexacion and crueltie, he woulde ſometimes by ſurpriſe and ſometimes with force, inuade townes and places with wretched examples and actions of inhumanitie: of which the towne of *Canoſa* was a lamentable experience, where entring by night by the benefitte of skaling ladders, he putte the towne to ſacke and many of thinhabitantes to death whom he founde ſleeping in their laſt reſt, he ſtripped likewiſe in that exploit many horſemen of the fortie men at armes that laie in the caſtell: At laſt the Marquis of *Guaſt* forbearing to exeeute any action vpon *Barletto* being a towne ſtronge and fortified, ſetled his campe in march before the towne of *Monopoly* with iiij. thowſand Spaniards footemen and two thowſand Italyans, for, the Launceknightes beinge in nomber two thowſand fiue hundred, & ſtaying in *Abruzza*, refuſed to go to *Povvylla*: he incamped himſelfe in a ſmall vallie ſo ſhadowed and couered with the mountaine, that he could not be endomaged with the artilleries of the towne: In the towne were *Camillo Vrſin* & *Iohn Vetturio* treaſorer, to whom *Ranſo* ſent ſpeedely vpõ the gallies three hundred footemen: *Monopoly* is a towne of ſmall circuit, and hath the ſea on three partes of it, and towards the land it beareth a wall of three hundred or three hundred & fifty paſſes with a ditch about it: right againſt this wall the Marquis cauſed to be made a baſtillion within the ſhot of harquebuze, & two others vpon the ſea ſhoare, of either ſide one: They bette the ſea and the gate towardes the ſea and gaue impediment that no

ſuccours

ſuccours or vittels ſhoulde enter by the helpe of the gallies: And ſo hauing made theſe preparations in the beginning of April, the *Marquis* gaue the aſſault to *Monopoly* where he loſt more then fiue hundred ſouldiers and many pioners, beſides three peeces of artilleries which were broken, retyring with his harmes about a mile and an halfe from the place for that he was not able to endure the vexation of the artilleries out of the towne: By reaſon of which retiring the *Venetians* iſſued out and ranne vpon the baſtillions which he hadde made, making ſlaughter of more then an hundred bodies, and with the ſame felicitie they aſſured the Port or Hauen by a mount which they raiſed vpon the ſhore right oueragainſt the baſtillion of the enemies: Neuertheleſſe, though the *Marquis* was repulſed, yet he coulde not bee made deſperate, but making newe approches to *Monopoly*, and returning from whence he was repulſed, he raiſed two caualiers to beate within the towne, he caſt alſo trenches to leade him euen vnto their ditches, and filled them with ſixe hundred loades of earth rammed in baskets: But not long after, that Baſtillion was burned by the induſtrie of two hundred footmen iſſuing to that ende out of *Monopoly*: Afterwards the *Marquis* being approched with a trench vpon the right ſide of the batterie: and hauing driuen another trenche on the right ſide of the lodging of the Spaniards within a hand throwing of the ditch, and alſo after he had fortified a Baſtillion behinde the ſame, he planted vpon it his artilleries and executed three ſcore faddoms of wall there about within foure faddoms of the earth: But vnderſtanding that the ſame night were entred newe companies ſent by *Ranſo*, he retyred his artilleries, and conſequently the end of the moneth of May drawing on, he brake vp his campe: During the lying of this campe before *Monopoly* and after it was leuied and retyred, there followed diuers factions and emotions, both for the great harmes and domages done by them of *Barletta* by ſpoyle and bootie, and alſo the garriſon that was within mount *Saint Angeo* hauing for commaunder *Federik*, *Caraffo*, tooke *Saint Seuero*, and reskewing the towne of *Viro*, they compelled th Imperialls to leuie their campe from before it: After that *Caraffa* went by ſea with xxvj. ſailes to *Lanciano*, where laye an hundred and three ſcore men at armes, and entring the place by force, he brought awaye as teſtimonies of his valloure three hundred horſe of ſeruice, and a great bootie of other natures of thinges, without leauing anye garriſon in the place: There were alſo manye trowpes of exiles who did greate harmes in *Baſillicato*, for whiche difficulties as the imperials exacted with all their induſtrie the taxes and impoſitions: So there is no dout that if the French king had ſent money and any reaſonable ſupplie of ſuccours, newe affaires and buſines had not growen vpon the imperials throughout the whole kingdome, which had at leaſt ſo encombred th Emperours armie that it would haue entangled the courſe of their owne affaires: But ſo diſordred were their companies both vndiſciplined and accuſtomed to tumults, and deliuered vp without any ſuccours or refreſhing (for the *Florentins* miniſtred onely reliefe to *Ranſo*) that they coulde not doe any action of great conſequence, ſeeing withall that both the Duke of *Ferrara* refuſed to ſende to *Ranſo* by ſea foure peeces of artilleries, and alſo the ſtore of money and corne began to diminiſh within *Barletta*: Moreouer, about ſixe hundred rebels of the countrey of *Calabria*, beſieged by the Viceroy within *Montlyon*, were driuen for want of munition and vittels to render the place, and in that calamitie were led priſoners to *Naples*: Afterwards the Prince of *Melffe* with the armie by ſea, and *Federik Caraffa* by land, went to incampe before *Malfetta*, a place aforetime belonging to the Prince, where *Federik* in fighting for the ſauetie of his life, was ſlaine

with a ſtone: In reuenge of whoſe death the Prince extended his indignacion ſo farre vpon the towne, that taking it by force, he put it to a miſerable ſacke: A lyke miſaduenture fel vpon *Simon Roman*, for that as the Venetian armie which from the cape of *Ottronta* vexed all the countrey, was drawen neare to *Brunduſo*, they ſet on land certaine companies of ſouldiers with whom was *Simon Roman*, and caryed the towne, but in aſſaulting the rocke *Simon* was ſlaine with a bollet.

Proceedings of Monſr Saint Pol in Lombardy.

Whileſt the Realme of *Naples* was thus trauelled with diuers ſucceſſes, the matters of *Lombardie* ſuffred no great tranquillitie: *Monſr Saint Pol* about the ende of march tooke by force the towne of *Seuarella*, and the Caſtel compounded to ſtand newter: But the vallour of the enemies recouered againe the thing whiche by his induſtrie he could not keepe, for that he loſt one night by ſurpriſe, the towne which erſt he had wonne by force, the ſame with other reaſons driuing a feare into him, that he was no longer able to ſtoppe the Spanyardes the way to *Millan*, he ſawe alſo a dayly diminucion of the nombers of his campe for want of money, whereof as he receiued but very litle from the King, ſo of that litle being a Captaine of litle gouernment, he exſpended one part for him ſelfe and ſuffred an other part to bee imbeacelled and robbed by his officers: The King and *Venetians* diſputed what enterpriſe were good to take in hand: The King made inſtance to aduaunce the exployte of *Genes*, both for the importance of that citie, and alſo for that it beganne to be a beleefe amongſt them that the next ſommer the Emperour woulde paſſe into Italie: And for that the King eſteemed that the *Venetians* had neuer holpen him eyther to reskewe or to recouer that Citie, Wherein notwithſtanding they excuſed them ſelues by an vniuerſall rumour running in Italie of the diſcending of newe Launceknightes, yet he could not but dout that they were ill contented to fauour the victorie of that enterpriſe: But the *Venetians* to obſcure for the time the memorie of that exployte, brought into deuiſe the action of *Millan* whiche both they layde out to be very eaſie for the ſmall nomber of ſouldiers that were with *Antho. de Leua*, and alſo they offred that when the conqueſt of *Millan* were perfourmed they would adminiſter to the enterpriſe and beſieging of *Genes*: In which regarde the reſolution went by the Kings conſent to imbrace the enterpriſe of *Millan* with a camp of ſixteene thouſand footmen, of whom euery one to make prouiſion for the moyty: This reſolucion was made in march and in the abſence of the Duke of *Vrbin*, who for that the Prince of *Orenge* and the Launceknightes were drawen neare the confines of the kingdome, was retyred vpon his owne eſtate almoſt againſt the will of the *Venetians*; who neuertheleſſe reteyned him of newe into their paye with the ſame condicions which aforetime they hadde paſſed to *Bartl. Aluiano* and the *Count Petillano*, ſending him alſo for his defence three hundred horſemen and three thouſande footemen according to the contract of their obligacion, and gaue the title of gouernour to *Ianus Fregoſo*: There were in the armie of the *Venetians* ſixe hundred men at armes, a thowſande light horſemen, and foure thouſande footemen, notwithſtanding they were bounde to mainteine xij. thouſand: This armie the ſixt of April tooke by force *Caſſiano*, and the rocke rendred to diſcreſſion, when *Antho. de Leua* & *Toruiello* being commen out of *Millan* to diuert or draw away the enemies, returned back without doing any thing: The Spaniards paſſed frō *Genes* to *Millan*, notwithſtanding to ſtop them, there had bene made ſo many deuiſes & reſolucions: for, where *Monſr Saint Pol* & the *Venetians* had ſuppoſed that they would make their paſſage by the partes of *Tortona* & *Alexandria*, they tooke at their departure frō *Voſtaggio* & by the direction of *Belioyenſo*, the way that was more long by the moūtaine of *Plaiſance* & places ſubiect to the church: And being comen to *Varſy* in

the sayde mountaine, notwithstanding *Saint Pol* made to march from thence an hundred and fiftie horsemen appoynting their waye to *Loda*, and also the companies of the *Venetians*, who for that they woulde be before, sent one parte of their bands to the Duke of *Millan*, but both later by one daye then they shoulde, and in lesse nombers then they promised, yet they passed by night the ryuer of *Pavv* at *Areno* vsing the seruice of the vessels of *Plaisanca*: So that being no more able to stoppe their vniting with *Antho. de Leua*, whoe for the more safetie and facilitie of their ioyning was come to *Landriano* within twelue miles of *Pauia*, they mette and ioyned with him, and so being conduited to *Millan* so poore and naked of al things that they seemed to beare the resemblance of rogues, they encreased the calamities of the inhabitants there, by putting them to spoyle and robberie euen in the streets: Thus was litle profitable to the French and *Venetians* al their actions and doings of the whole winter, which were extended to stoppe the passage of their souldiers to take *Gauy* and places inuironing *Gonos* and *Casa*, places doing great domages to the whole countrey: Moreouer, *Antho. de Leua* tooke *Binasquo* by composition: But where the Spaniards had serued their turnes of the Barkes of *Plaisanca*, and that as was beleeued, they had not remoued had they not bene assured that in case of necessitie they might retire into that citie, besides many other apparances and tokens, the confederates began to rise in suspicion, that the Pope specially touching the restitution of the Castels, was either entirely accorded, or at least verie neare to accorde with th Emperour.

Deuises of the Pope to restore his house in Florence.

Nowe where the Pope in great secrecie, had disposed all his thoughtes to recouer the estate of *Florence*, wherein albeit to circumuent the French Ambassadours, he enterteyned sundrie practises and ledde both them and the other confederates in diuers humours of hope to accord with the league: Yet being partly mooued with feare of the greatnesse of the Emperour and the prosperitie of his affaires, and partly through hope to induce him more easely then he could induce the French King, to restore aud reestablish his house in *Florence*, he enclined much more on the Emperours side then on the French Kings: He had also a vehement desire to make easie his deuise to drawe to his deuocion the estate of *Perousa*, in which action it was beleeued that he enterteyned *Braccio Baillon*, who managed euery day newe driftes in those confines: By reason whereof *Malatesta* douting least whilest he was in his pay, he should be oppressed with his fauour, thought it necessarie for him to seeke to put him selfe in the protection of an other: Therefore either induced with that reason, or caryed with a couetousnes after greater parties, or pushed on with a passion of auncient hatred, he refused to reenter into his paye, pretending that he was not bounde for the whole yeare, but at his election, for that as he alleaged the contract appeared not by writing, notwithstanding the Pope mainteyned a further obligation: So that he solicited to enter into the paye of the French and Florentins, complayning bitterly of certaine intelligences and practises enterteyned against him by the Cardinall of *Cortono*, and of a letter which he had surprised written by the Cardinall *Medicis* to *Braccio Baillon*: But the Pope seeking indirectly to stoppe the effect of his deuice, forbad by Edicts publike that none of his subiectes without his leaue, shoulde take the payes of other Princes vpon paine of confiscation: Neuertheless, *Malatesta* forbare not for that to prosecute his deuise: The Frenchmen bounde them to indue him with a charge of two hundred horsemen, two thowsand crownes pension, the order of *Saint Michael*, and in time of warre with two thowsand footemen: And the *Florentines* gaue him the title of Gouernor,

two thousand crownes pension, a thousand footmen in time of warre, fiftie horsemen for his sonne, and fiftie for the sonne of *Horatio* with fiue hundred crownes for the paye of them both: They tooke vpon them the protection of his estate and of *Perousa*, and aswel the French King as they made him one ioynt allowance in time of peace of an hundred crownes the moneth to enterteyne ten Captaines: And the *Florentines* a part made him a paie for two hundred footmen for the garde of *Perousa*, and for his part he was onely bounde to this to goe to their seruice with a thousande footemen when their affaires required, yea, though he shoulde not haue the bandes promised from the Frenche King: Of this dealing the Pope complayned highlye to the Frenche King as a matter done directlye to let him for disposing according to his will, of a Citie whiche was vassall and subiect to the Churche, the same making the King who bare no mynd to kindle the Pope, to deferre the action of ratification: and for the same cause the Pope hoping to be able to alter or retyre *Malatesta*, perswaded him to continue out his yeare, and at the same time he enterteyned secretly *Braccio Baillon*, *Sero Colonno*, and the exiles of *Perousa*, who hauing assembled and mustered bands of souldiers, lay incamped at *Norcio*: But all these practises together with all offers and oblacions serued to no purpose, for that *Malatesta* was resolutely fixed to continue no longer in the Popes paye, and as the *Florentins* ministred ayde to him openly, so he feared so much the lesse those stirres or emocions by howe much they ceassed foorthwith, the Pope finding they were vnperfect and insufficient to leade on his hopes to their effectes: Besides, the Pope would not suffer the Duke of *Ferrara* to dwel in rest, and he was so farre off from obseruing the couenants made with the Duke in the name of the Colledge of Cardinals, that the byshoprike of *Modena* being newly fallen into vacacion by the death of Cardinall *Gonzaguo*, an estate promised to the Dukes sonne by the sayde couenants, he bestowed it by his authoritie vpon *Ierom Moron*, seeking vnder colour of refusing the possession, occasion to prouoke against him suche a personage and minister bearing great authoritie in the Emperours armie: He enterteyned also a practise with *Ierom Pio*, to occupie *Reggia*, and that by the meane and operacion of *Hubert de Gambaro* gouernour of *Bolognia*: But when the Duke was informed of the state of the practise and how farre it extended, he passed *Pio* to such propertie of punishment as his offence deserued: He layde plotts also to surprise *Rauenna*, which likewise sorted to none effect: And about this time inclining dayly by apparant degrees to the Emperours part, and being also well aduaunced in the solicitation of things, he sent vnto him the Byshop of *Vasono* his stewarde, he called backe the cause of diuorce of the King of *Englande* which he had done long time before, had not the regarde of the Bull which was already in *Englande* in the hands of his Legat *Campeius* reteyned him: For, as the good fortunes of the Emperour encreased in Italie, so he sought not onely not to offende him further, but also to reuoke the offence he had done him alreadie, being in deede determined before he was sicke, to reuoke the cause: In which action he sent *Frauncis Compagnio* into *Englande* to the Cardinall *Campeius*, dissembling to the King that he was sent for other matters including notwithstanding matter apparteyning to that cause, where in deede he brought commission to *Campeius* to burne the Bull: And albeit *Campeius* for a maladie the Pope was fallen into, deferred for a time the execution of that commission, yet when he knewe he was recured, he perfourmed the thyng he was commaunded: So that the Pope being thus deliuered of that feare, reuoked the cause though not without great indignation of that King, especiallie when he required

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the Bull of the Legate and vnderstoode by him the vnworthie accident of it: These matters made both more seuere and more readie the ruine and fall of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, whose authoritie the King supposed to be so great and gracious with the Pope, that if his mariage with the Lady *Anne* had bene agreeable to him, he might haue obteyned of the Pope what dispensation he had woulde: By whiche occasion opening his eares to the enuie and mallice of his aduersaries, he grewe kindled against him euen to the taking from him his goodes and treasure of a wonderful value, and in his indignation leauing him a smal part of the reuenues of his benefices, he restrayned him to his Byshoprike with a slender traine of seruants: And so not long after, eyther by a surprise of letters which he wrote to the French King, or for some other propertie of malice of his enemies, who gathering by the Kings speches that he was not without inclinacion towardes him, and therefore feared least he woulde rise againe into his auncient authoritie, he was conuented to appeare in counsell to speake for him selfe in matters to be obiected against him: For whiche cause as he was brought towards the Court as prisoner, he was suddenly taken with a fluxe, engendred either of the humour of disdaine, or of the passion of feare, of which he dyed the seconde day after he was apprehended with the maladie, an example in our dayes worthie of memorie touching the power whiche fortune and enuie hath in the Courts of Princes.

Cause of the ruine of the Cardinal of Yorke.

About this time fell out in *Florence* to the greate preiudice of the gouernment that then was, a newe chalenge against *Nicholas Cappony Gonfalonier*, it happened almost vpon the end of the second yeare of his magistracie, and was incensed principallie by the enuie of some of the chiefe citisens, who tooke occasion of the vaine suspicions and fond ignorancies of the commons: *Nicho.Cappony* during all the time of his magistracie hath had these two principall obiectes, the one to defend him selfe against the freshe enuie of those that had bene honored of the house of *Medicis*, suffring the principals amongst them to communicat with the other Citisens in the honors and counsels publike: And the other not to stirre or make angrie the minde of the Pope in matters which were not of importance touching the libertie: Of whiche things both the one and other had bene founde profitable to the common wealth: for, like as many euen of those who were persecuted as enemies to the gouernment, being assured and embraced had bene firmely conioyned with the others to preserue the state, knowing withall that the Pope for matters happening in the times when the gouernment chaunged, was ill contented with them: So touching the Pope, albeit he desired vehemently the returning and restauration of his friends, yet hauing no newe prouocation or matter of wrong, he had so much the lesse occasion to burst out & to complaine as he did cõtinually with other Princes: But against these matters was opposed the ambition of certaine particulers of them, who knowing wel ynough that if such shoulde be admitted to the gouernment as had bene friends to the *Medicis* being in deede men of most experience and vallour, that their estate and authoritie should be made lesse, labored by all the studies and deuises they coulde to keepe the common people full of suspicion both of the Pope and of them, not sparing to slaunder the *Gonfalonier* aswel for those causes, as also to thende to depriue him of his magistracie for the thirde yeare, to charge him that he bare not a minde so farre estraunged from the familie of *Medicis*, as the interest and profite of the common weale required: Which imputacions and chalenges not mouing him at all, and holding it very necessarie not to haue the Pope incensed, he tooke the more libertie to enterteyne him priuatly with letters and em-

baſſages, yet ſuch as he had not begunne nor proſecuted without the continual priuitie and knowledge of ſome ſuch as were principals & chiefe magiſtrates, neyther did he manage them to other ende then to reteyne or retyre the Pope frō ſome act of precipitation: But where as a letter that was ſent to him from *Rome* fel by misfortune into interception, bearing certaine wordes to breede ſuſpicion in ſuch as knew not the ground and foundation of thoſe thinges, and the ſame letter being paſſed ouer into the hands of ſome of thoſe that ſate and managed the ſupreme function: There were certaine youngmen prepared to ſedition, who riſing into armes inuaded by force the publike pallace, and in their inſolencie reſtrained the *Gonfalonier* almoſt vnder garde, and going on to confirme this beginning with actes of manifeſt rebellion, they ſummoned together in maner of a tumult, almoſt all the magiſtrates and many citiſens, where they debated to depriue him of his magiſtracie: Whiche being approued in the great counſel, his cauſe was afterwards referred to the examination of the law, wherein being abſolued by iudgement and ſentence, he was ledde with great honour to his houſes accompanied with the greateſt preſence of the Nobilitie: In his place was preferred *Frauncis Carduccio*, a perſonage vnworthie of ſo great a dignitie regarding his lyfe paſſed, his cuſtomes and his wicked endes and intentions.

Nowe beganne new ſtirres to appeare in *Lombardie*, *Monſr Saint Pol* hauing paſt the riuer of *Pavv* at *Valencia*, the xxvij. of Aprill, by reaſon of which proceeding the Imperialls abandoned the Borowe of *Baſignagua*, and the pariſhe of *Caira*: From thence *Saint Pol* ſent *Guido Rangon* with one parte of the armie to *Montaro*, a place ſtrong for the double ditches, flankes and waters: And as they had planted by night their artilleries without prouiſions of baskets, without trenches and other like preparations, they were by day charged by thoſe that were within, ſuche as did them greate harmes, and cloyed two peeces of their artilleries and put the reſidue in daunger to be loſt: At that time albeit there was within *Millan* a ſlender prouiſion of thinges neceſſarie, yet the preparacions of the French and *Venetians* were in no better condicion, who complayning one of an other, were both negligent to furniſhe thinges needefull: In ſo muche as amongſt other difficulties the confederates fell into ſome dout, that the Duke of *Millan* for the litle hope he ſawe remayning to reconquer that ſtate eyther by his owne forces or with their ſuccours, woulde make ſome accorde with the imperials by the meane and working of *Moron*: But the thoughtes and deuiſes of the Frenche King tended altogether to peace for a diſtruſt he hadde not to bee able otherwaies to recouer his children: Whereunto alſo the Emperour bearing a manifeſt inclination, two gentlemen whom the Lady *Margarit* had ſent to him for that effect, were returned from *Spaine* bringing to her ample commiſſion to goe through with the peace: Of whiche when the French King was aduertiſed by a ſecretarie of his whom for that matter he had diſpatched into *Flaunders*, he required the confederates for their partes to addreſſe commiſſioners alſo: And hauing determined in him ſelfe to leaue there all the prouiſions of the warre, yet ſeeking to worke vnder ſome iuſt colour, he complained that the *Venetians* had refuſed to contribute to the money for his paſſage: Who albeit in the beginning (ſo farre foorth as the Emperour paſſed) they had earneſtlye ſolicited him to paſſe, which alſo the King had offred to perfourme with two thouſande foure hundred Launces, a thouſand light horſemen & xx. thouſand footmen, in caſe the confederates would giue him mony to paie aboue this, a thouſand light horſemen and xx. thouſande footmen, & contribute to the moytie of the

All the Princes harken to peace.

exſpenſes

exſpenſes of thartilleries: yet what ſoeuer was thoccaſion, they chaunged counceil and retyred from thoſe offers.

At this time *Monſr Saint Pol* with foure cannons tooke *Saint Angeo* by force, wherein was a garriſon of foure hundred footemen, and in the ſame expedicion he conuerted his ſtrength to *Columbano* to open to his campe a paſſage of vittells from *Plaiſanca*, and made him ſelfe maiſter of the place by compoſicion. Afterwards being informed that there lay a force of foure thowſand footemen within *Myllan* but much weakned with maladies, he thought to aſſalt it: The ſecond of Maye *Moraro* rendred to *Monſr Saint Pol* at diſcreſſion, though after it had ſuffred ſo great an execucion of thartilleries that there was no more poſſibilitie to make defenſe: *Torniello* left alſo the towne of *Nouaro* but not the caſtel, wherin he put a very ſlēder ſtrength of footemen, & retyred his perſon to *Myllan*: So that the Imperials helde no other peece beyond the ryuer of *Theſin* then *Gaya* and the rocke of *Biagraſſa*, *Monſr Saint Pol* hauing alſo gotten the rock of *Vigeuena*. The tenth day he marched to the bridg of *Locqua* to ioyne with the *Venetians* at the borow of *Saint Martyn*: Here the Duke of *Vrbyn* came to the armie, And from thence being gone vp to *Belioyenſo* to haue conference together, the reſolucion was in the common counceil to incampe before *Myllan* with two armies on two ſides, for which expedicion *Monſr Saint Pol* paſſing ouer *Theſin* ſhould turne to *Biagraſſa* to force it, & the ſame day the *Venetians* to go to the borow *Saint Martyn* which is within fiue miles of *Millan*, the *Venetians* aſſuring that their campe conteined xij thowſand footemen, & *Monſr Saint Pols* viij thowſand, to whom was to be ioyned the bands of footemen of the Duke of *Millan*. By this direction *Monſr Saint Pol* paſſed the riuer of *Theſin*, and finding the towne of *Biagraſſa* abandoned, he caried the caſtell by accord, And ſo incamping at *Gazzano* about eight miles from *Millan*, he conferred of newe with the Duke of *Vrbyn* at *Binaſquo* the third of Iune: In which place they were credibly certefied that the *Venetians* had not in their campe the one halfe of xij. thowſand footemen according to the capitulacions of the contract, A matter which for that *Monſr Saint Pol* complained greatly vpon, it was ſet downe that *Millan* ſhould be approched with one camp onely on that ſide of *Lazzaretto*, notwithſtanding the proteſtacion of Count *Guido*, who alleaged that *Antho. de Leua* at whoſe deuocion remeined only *Millan* & *Coma*, was wont to ſay that *Millan* could not be forced but with two camps: But not many daies after thoſe opinions & councels being chaunged, the Chieftaines of both the armies being aſſembled within *Loda*, The Dukes of *Millan* & *Vrbin* notwithſtanding they ſolicited before to haue the campe go to *Myllan* & were flatly againſt the expedicion of *Genes*, yet they were now of a contrary aduiſe, the Duke of *Vrbin* alleaging many reaſons to iuſtifie that newe counceil: But principally he inſiſted vppon this that ſeing th Emprour made preparacion to paſſe into *Italy* for whoſe conduit *Andre Dore* was departed from *Genes* with his gallies the eight of Iune, And withall ſeing in *Germany* there was intencion to ſend newe companies of launceknights into *Italy* vnder Capteine *Felix*, he ſtood indifferent, & in his reaſon & experience could not finde out whether it were better to take *Millan* or not to take it: Theſe were the reaſons he inferred, But it was beleued that for an opiniō he had of the ſucceding of the peace which was negociated in *Flaunders*, he had ſignified to the Senat of *Venice* that it was a matter vnprofitable to put them ſelues in exſpenſes for the recouerie of *Myllan*: The ſumme & concluſion of his counceil was that the regiments of the *Venetians* ſhoulde tarye at *Caſſiana*, the companies of the Duke of *Myllan* to keepe within *Pauya*, and *Monſr Saint Pol* to lye at *Biagraſſa*, And they by the ſeruice of their

horſemen to ſtoppe that there entred no releeffe of vittels into *Myllan* where it was ſuppoſed they would within ſhort time fall into want of foode, for that a very ſmall porcion of the contry was conuerted to tillage and ſowing: This opinion could not be altered in him by any reaſons or inducements of *Monſr Saint Pol*, neither did he approue the abiding of him and his army at *Biagraſſa*, alleaging that to pyne & hunger *Myllan*, it was enough that the *Venetian* regiments remeyned at *Moncio*, and the bands of the Duke of *Myllan* at *Pauya*, & at *Vegeuena*: he ſayd alſo that the king preſſed him, that in caſe he went not vp to incampe before *Myllan*, then to execut thenterpriſe of *Genes*, which he had in intencion to attempt with a great celerity, hoping that in the abſence of *Andre Dore*, *Cæſar Fregoſa* to whom the French king had made a graunt to be gouernor & not his father, would reduce that ſtate to alteracion with a very ſmall ſtrength of footemen: But theſe proceedings and expedicions together with an informacion how much was diminiſhed in footemen the armye of the confederats, did ſo aſſure *Antho. de Leua* of all daungers for *Myllan*, that he ſent out *Torniello* with a very ſlender ſtrength of horſemen and three hundred footemen to recouer *Nouaro*, obſeruing the oportunitie whileſt the French and *Venetians* were wandring betweene the ryuer of *Theſin* and *Myllan*: he made his entrye by the caſtell which was holden for thImperialls, by which commoditie he recouered *Nouaro*, and afterwards ſallyed out with his forces to pyll the contrey and get vittells: But this conqueſt was not without his contrary accidents, for that as the Capteine of *Nouaro* was yſſued out of the caſtell and walked into the towne, two ſouldiours of the Duke of *Myllan* and three inhabitants of *Nouaro* that were priſoners in the caſtel, fell vppon the Capteine and ſlue him with the ayde of certeine others that wrought at the caſtell, And in the ſame fortune making priſoners certeine Spaniſh footemen, their vallour made them Lordes of the place hoping after ſo great an aduenture to be ſuccoured by their frendes: They tooke the reaſon of their hope vppon this that the Duke of *Millan* as ſoone as he vnderſtoode that *Torniello* was gone out, hauing a feare and iealouzie of *Nouaro*, had diſpatched into thoſe quarters his brother *Iohn Pavvle* with a good ſtrength of horſemen and footemen, and he in that expedicion was alreadie gone vp and ariued at *Vegeuena*: But *Torniello* was no ſooner aduertiſed of the accident of the caſtell, then he returned with ſpeede to *Nouaro*, where what with threates which priuaileth muche where the hope is leſſe then the peril, & what with preparacions to giue thaſſault which can not but make timerous ſuch as haue no remedy in their daunger, he ſo aſtoniſhed the ſaid ſouldiours of the Duke of *Millan*, that compounding only for the ſafety of their perſons, they rendred the caſtel without caring for the liues of the inhabitants of *Nouaro* by whoſe vallour they executed thexployt of the caſtell: It was determined to vex *Millan* as much as might be with the forces of the *Venetians* & regiments of the Duke of *Millan*, notwithſtanding the Duke of *Millan* alleaged that becauſe he would be more neare the lands of the *Venetians*, he would not abide at *Moncio*, but at *Caſtiano*: and *Monſr Saint Pol* who lay incamped at the Abbay of *Bibaldono*, determined to returne beyond the riuer of *Pavv* to draw towards *Genes*: According to which reſoluciō he marched vp to lodge at *Landriano* which is xij. miles from *Millan* betwene the waies of *Loda* and *Pauia*: And minding the day following which was the xxj. of Iune, to incāpe at *Lardiragno* vpon the way of *Pauia*, he ſent before, his artilleries, his cariage, & the auantgard, and departed him ſelfe ſomewhat later with the battell and the rearegard: But when *Antho. de Leua* was aduertiſed by his eſpialls where he made his abiding and how the auauntgard was gone before, he iſſued out of *Millan* with his ſouldiours all

couered

couered for their vppermoſt garments with white ſhirts, And becauſe of long tyme his body had beene reduced to debilitie by dolors and griefes, he cauſed his owne perſon to be armed in a chaire which foure men bare: And by that time he was comen within two myles of *Landriano* without ſownd of drom, he vnderſtoode by his eſpialls that *Saint Pol* was not yet departed from *Landriano*, So that ioyning celeritie to the fauors which the tyme and occaſion offred, he haſtned his march & charged vppon them before they were aware of his comming: The firſt eſquadron of the French men commaunded by *Iohn Thomas de Gallera*, was ſo farre marched away, that he could not in time be at the ſuccors of the reſidue: And albeit *Monſr Saint Pol* reapoſing much in a regiment of two thowſand launceknights, was diſcended on foote and fought valliantly, yet after they had menteyned a light defenſe, he ſaw them beginne to retyre in whoſe vallour he had layed vp his chiefeſt confidence: And albeit they were ſuſteyned and reskewed by *Iohn Ieronimo de Caſtillon* & *Clavvdo Rangon*, Commaunders ouer two thowſand *Italians* who expreſſed great effects of their vallour: yet in the ende both the horſemen and launceknightes not hable to ſtand againſt the furie and fortune of their ennemies, turned their backs leauing a wretched effect of the hope that was conceyued of them: By their example *th Italyans* did the like: And *Monſr Saint Pol* diſpayring to finde by fighting the ſauetie which the reſidue could not finde by fleeing, was eftſoones remounted vppon his horſe, and as he would haue paſſed ouer a great ditche, he fell into the calamitie of a priſoner, hauing pertaking with him in that fortune *Iohn Ieronimo de Caſtillon*, *Clavvdo Rangon*, *Liquack*, *Carbon*, with other leaders of importance: All the companies were defeated, many horſemen taken priſoners and all the baggage and trayne of the armye and the artilleries ryffled: Almoſt all the men at armes founde ſauetye in the ſwiftnes and ronning of their horſes together with Count *Guido* leading the auauntegarde with whome he retyred into *Pauya*, and from thence in the beginning of the night, the ſame feare following them nowe beeing free and at large, which they ſawe in the extremitie of their perill, they went to *Loda* but ſo perplexed with aſtoniſhment that they were almoſt at poynt to breake and diſorder of them ſelues: Many of the ſouldiours remeyned in the wayes, their horſes hauing no forces to cary them whether their feare would chaſſe them, And the Capteines excuſed their ronning awaye for that their companies were not payed, of whome the French bands returned all into *Fraunce*.

Monſr Saint Pol priſoner to Antho. de Leua.

Thus armes and warre beeing almoſt layed aſide thorowe all *Italy* by reaſon of the harde euents and aduerſities of the French men, The cogitacions of the greateſt Princes were conuerted and diſpoſed to accord: The firſt accord that ſucceeded was betweene the Pope and the Emprour which was concluded at *Barſelona* to the Popes greate aduauntage: Wherein th Emprour had the one of theſe two reaſons, eyther for that hauing a greate deſire to paſſe into *Italye*, he ſought to take awaye all impediments to his voyage, accompting it in that regarde verye neceſſarye to haue the Popes amitye: or els for that he woulde with verye large and ample capitulacions giue the Pope a greater occaſion to forgette the wronges and offences which he had receyued of his Agents and his armye: The ſubſtance of thaccorde was this: That betweene the Pope and the Emperour ſhoulde be a perpetual peace and confederacion: That the Pope ſhould giue paſſage to the Emprours armye through the dominions of the Churche, in caſe it ſhould depart out of the kingdom of *Naples*: That th Emprour in contemplacion of the new mariage and for the tranquillitie of *Italy*, ſhould reſtore in *Florence* the ſonne of *Lavvrence*

The Pope at accord with th Emprour.

de Medicis, to the ſame eſtate of greatnes wherin were his predeceſſors before they were expulſed, hauing notwithſtanding regarde to the exſpenſes which were to be defrayed for the ſayd reſtitucion according to the arbitracion to be made aſwell by him as the Pope: That thEmprour ſhoulde aſſaye aſſoone as he coulde, eyther by armes or ſome other way more comely, to reeſtabliſh the Pope in the poſſeſſion of *Ceruia*, *Rauenna*, *Modona*, *Reggia*, and *Rubiero*, without preiudice to the rights of the Empire and the ſea Apoſtolike: That the Pope hauing recouered the townes aboue ſayd, ſhould accord to thEmprour thinueſtiture of the Realme of *Naples* in remuneracion of that benefit, and ſhoulde reduce the tribute of the laſt inueſtiture to a white horſe for a fyne or acknowledgement of chiefe: That he ſhould accord to him the nominacion of xxiiij Cathedrall Churches, for the which they were in difference, remeyning to the Pope the diſpoſicion of the Churches which ſhould not be in patronage, & of other benefices: That when thEmprour ſhould be paſſed into *Italy*, the Pope and he ſhould meete & common together to conſult of the particular quiet of *Italy* & the vniuerſal peace of Chriſtendom, receiuing one an other with ceremonies and honors due and accuſtomed: That thEmprour, in caſe the Pope required the ayde of the arme ſecular to reconquer *Ferrara*, ſhould aſſiſt him euen to the ende as Aduocate, Protector and eldeſt ſonne of the ſea Apoſtolike, & that with all the good meanes which at that time ſhould be in his power: And that they ſhould agree of thexſpenſes, proceedings, and formes to be vſed according to the qualitie of times and accidents: That the Pope and Emprour with a common councel ſhould deuiſe ſome meanes to drawe lawfully into iuſtice and examinacion of the lawe by Iudges not ſuſpected, the cauſe of *Frauncis Sforce*, to thende he might be reſtored if he were found innocent: That otherwayes thEmprour offered notwithſtanding the diſpoſing of the Duchie of *Myllan* apperteyned to him, to diſpoſe of it with the councell and priuitie of the Pope, and to inueſt in it no perſon which ſhould not be agreable to him, nor otherwiſe to transferre it but in ſorte as he ſhall thinke moſt expedient for the tranquillitie of *Italie*. That the Emperour promiſed to make to conſent *Ferdinand* king of *Hungria* his brother, that for the tyme of the Popes life and two yeares after, the Duchie of *Myllan* ſhoulde be furniſhed of ſaltes from *Ceruya*, according to the confederacion made betwene thEmperour and Pope *Leo* confirmed in the laſt inueſtiture of the kingdome of *Naples*, not approuing neuertheleſſe the couenaunt that had bene made with the French king, and without preiudice to the rightes of thEmpire and the king of *Hungria*: That neyther of them a parte, to the preiudice of this confederacion, ſhoulde make touching matters of *Italie*, new leagues, nor obſerue ſuche as were made to the contrarie of this: And yet neuertheleſſe the *Venetians* might enter this league, ſo farre foorth as they left all that they poſſeſſed in the Realme of *Naples*, and accompliſhed all their obligacions to the Emperour and *Ferdinand* by vertue of the laſt confederacion made betwene them, And alſo to reſtore *Rauenna* and *Ceruya*, reſeruing the rightes of the domages and intereſtes ſuffered in regarde of theſe matters: That thEmperour and *Ferdinand* ſhoulde doe all that they coulde to haue the Heretikes reduced and brought home to the true waye, wherein as the Pope ſhoulde vſe ſpirituall remedies, ſo in caſe they woulde ſtande obſtinate, thEmperour and *Ferdinand* ſhoulde force them by armes, and the Pope to labour other Chriſtian Princes to aſſiſt them according to their ſeuerall meanes: That the Pope and thEmperour ſhoulde not receiue the protection of the ſubiectes, vaſſalls, and feodatories of one an other, but for the regarde of the iuriſdiction direct which they had of any one, without

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extending any further: And that all protections taken in other forme ſhould be interpreted voyde and derogate within one moneth: That to make this amitie and coniunction more firme and ſtable, they were to confirme it with the ſtraite knots of parentage, ThEmprour promiſing to giue for wife *Margarit* his baſtard daughter with a dowrye of twenty thowſand duckats of yearely reuenue, to *Alexander Medicis* ſonne to *Lavvrence* late Duke of *Vrbyn*, vppon whoſe perſon the Pope determined to conuert and beſtowe the temporall greatnes of his houſe, hauing at ſuch tyme as he was in daunger of death created Cardinall *Hipolito*, ſonne of *Iulian*. They contracted at the ſame tyme in articles ſeperat: That the Pope ſhoulde accord to thEmprour and to his brother to reſiſt the *Turke*, the fourth part of the reuenues of benefices Eccleſiaſtike in the ſame manner that his Predeceſſor *Adrian* had done: That the Pope ſhould giue abſolucion to all thoſe who within *Rome* and other places had offended againſt the ſea Apoſtolike, and to all ſuch as had miniſtred any proppertie of ayde, councell or fauor, or that any way participated, or ſecretly approued, or expreſly allowed, or directly had conſented, to the actions that had beene done: That where the Emprour had not publiſhed the *Croiſſade* graunted by the Pope which was leſſe ample then others that had bene beforetimes graunted, That the Pope (the firſt beeing reuoked) ſhoulde paſſe an other of more full and ample forme according to the skoape of thoſe that had bene graunted by the late Popes *Iulio* and *Leo*. Before this accorde was paſſed and after all the difficulties were reſolued, aduertiſement came to thEmprour of the ouerthrowe of *Monſr Saint Pol*: In regarde of which ſucceſſe ſo honorable for the reputacion of his armies there, and no leſſe profitable for the generall eſtate of his affayres, albeit it was doubted that to help his condicions, he would haue chaunged ſome braunch or article of matters agreed vppon, yet he confirmed them all both in ſubſtance and circumſtance, and with a ſinguler readines ratified them the ſame daye which was the xxix. of Iune, accompliſhing with ſolemne othe before the high alter of the cathedrall Church of *Barſelona*.

Peace betwen thEmprour & French king negociated in Cambray.

But the negociacions of peace betwene thEmprour and the French king were not purſued with leſſe deuocion and diligence, And the better to aduaunce them to ſome good ſucceſſe & yſſue, after the cõmiſſions on all ſides were comen, the towne of *Cambray* was indifferently appoynted for the aſſemblie and meeting, A place fatal for ſo great concluſions, and where were to conferre together the Lady *Margaret* of *Auſtria* and the Lady Regent mother to the French king: The French king labored with all his meanes and diligence, (though he ment not in him ſelfe to performe it) which alſo he confirmed by promiſſes to the confederat Embaſſadors of *Italy* (hauing therein the conſent & priuitie of the king of *England*) not to make any accord with thEmprour without the conſent & ſatisfaction of the confederats: for, he feared leſt they entring into a ielouſie & ſuſpicion of his will, would not preuent him & be the firſt that would compownd with the Emprour, and by that meane to leaue him excluded out of the amitie of both ſides: In which reſpect he ſought to perſwade them not to hope in the peace, but rather to keepe their thoughts diſpoſed & turned to the prouiſiõs of the warre: wherein to eſtabliſh ſome good order & forme of proceeding, not ceaſſing to ſolicit continually, he had ſent into *Italy* the Biſhop of *Tarby* with commiſſion to goe to the ſtates of *Venice*, the Dukes of *Millan*, *Ferrara* & *Florence*, both to ſolicit prouiſions apperteyning to the warre, and to promiſſe that if the Emperour paſſed into *Italy*, he woulde alſo diſcend at the ſame tyme with a mightie armye, ſo farre forthe as the other confederats woulde contribute for

their parte touching the preparacions needefull: Neuertheleſſe the negociacions of accord continued more and more, Inſomuch as the ſeuenth day of Iuly both the Ladies made their entries into *Cambray* by ſeuerall gates with a great pompe, And being lodged in two houſes adioyning hauing an entrye the one within the other, they ſpake together the ſame day, and gaue order to their agents to treate of the articles: Wherein becauſe the kinge woulde be neare at hand to reſolue all difficulties occurring, he was gone vp to *Compiequo*, to whome the *Venetians* hauing feare of the yſſue of that coniunction had made many large and great offers: And for the more abſolute negociacion of this peace there were ſent to *Cambray* as interpoſers in the action, the Biſhop of *London* and the Duke of *Suffolke* Embaſſadors for the king of *England* with whoſe conſent and participacion that aſſembly was made: The Pope ſent thether the Archbiſhop of *Capua*: There was alſo a preſence of Embaſſadors from all the confederats: To whome the French men made relacion of things farre otherwiſe then was the truth of that that was debated: Wherein the king eyther reteyned ſo great an impietie, or els had ſo ſimple and ſole a thought of his intereſt perticular which conſiſted wholly in the recouerie of his children: That where the *Florentyns* made greate inſtance to him, that according to thexample of king *Levvys* his father in lawe and his predeceſſor in the yeare a thowſand fiue hundred and twelue, he woulde conſent that they might accorde with thEmprour for their ſauetie: he refuſed it vnder this promiſe that he would neuer make any accord without comprehending them in it, Aſſuring them alſo that he was moſt ready to follow the warre and promiſed no leſſe to all the others euen in the greateſt heate of ſolicitacion for peace. About the xxiij. of Iuly came aduertiſement of the capitulacions made betweene the Pope and thEmprour, at what tyme albeit the preſent negociacion was well aduaunced, yet it was ſo troubled and hindred for ſome difficulties touching certeine townes of *Franche Counte*, that the Lady Regent gaue order to prepare to depart: Neuertheleſſe by the working of the Popes Legat, & principally by the operacion and good office of thArchbiſhop of *Capua*, the concluſion was eſtabliſhed, the French king not leauing to promiſe to the confederats the ſame things he had offred before. At laſt being the fift daye of Auguſt, the peace was ſolemnly publiſhed in the great Church of *Cambray*, whereof the firſt article conteyned: That the kings ſonnes ſhould be redeliuered ſo farre forth as their father payed to thEmprour for their raunſome twelue hundred thowſande crownes in ready money, and to the king of *England* for him two hundred thowſand: That the king ſhould render to the Emprour within ſix weekes after the ratificacion, all that he poſſeſſed in the Duchie of *Myllan*: That he ſhould leaue vnto him *Aſt* with reſignacion of the rights apperteyning: That he ſhould leaue aſſoone as he could, *Barletto* with all thoſe peeces which he helde in the Realme of *Naples*: That he ſhould require the *Venetians* that according to the forme of the capitulacions of *Coignar*, they ſhould render the townes of *Povvylla*: That in caſe they would not, he ſhould declare him ſelfe their ennemie and ayde the Emprour to recouer them with a monthely contribucion of thirtye thowſande crownes, and with twelue gallies, foure ſhippes, and foure gallions payed for ſixe monethes: That he ſhoulde reſtore as muche as was in his power of the pryce of the gallyes taken at *Portofino*, or els to aunſwer the value deducting and defalking ſo muche as had beene taken ſynce by *Andre Dore* or other the Emprours Miniſters: That according to the former couenants at *Madrill*, he ſhoulde renownce the ſouerainty of *Flaunders* and *Artoys*, and reſigne the rights of *Tournay* and *Arras*: That he ſhould call

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in the proceſſe agaynſt the duke of *Burbon*, and render to him that was dead his honour, and to his heyres his goods: and yet themprour complayned afterwards, that aſſoone as the king had recouered his children, he tooke them from them: That the goods of whom ſo euer occupied in regarde of the warre, ſhould be reſtored to their ſucceſſours: in which poynt themprour tooke occaſion alſo to complaine, for that the king made not reſtitution of the goods occupied vpō the prince of *Orenge*: That all billes of defiance and chalenge ſhould be ſuppreſſed and cancelled, and chiefly that of *Robert de la Marche*. The Pope was comprehended in this peace as principall, and the Duke of *Sauoy* was generally included as ſubiect to themprour, and ſpecially brought in by the nomination of themprour: It was alſo ſet downe that the king ſhould meddle no more in the affayres of *Italy* nor of *Germany* in fauor of any potentate, to the preiudice of themprour, notwithſtanding the French king in times following maynteined that he was not by that defended to recouer that which the duke of *Sauoy* vſurped vpon the realme of *Fraunce*, as alſo all that he pretended to apperteine vnto him by reaſon of the rightes and claymes of the Ladye Regent his mother: There was alſo one article whiche bare that in the peace it was ment that the *Venetians* and *Florentins* ſhould be comprehended, ſo farrefoorth as within foure monethes they were at a poynt with themprour for their differences, which was a kinde of ſecret and ſilent excluſion: That the like ſhould be of the duke of *Ferrara*: But touching the Barons and exiles of the Realme of *Naples*, there was no mention made of them.

Aſſone as this accorde was paſt to concluſion, the French king went immediatly to *Cambray* to viſite the Lady *Margaret*: And being not without ſome ſhame for ſo fowle a fact agaynſt the confederates, he eſchewed for certayne dayes with ſundrye euaſions, eyther to ſee or heare their Embaſſadours: But in the ende giuing them audience apart, he excuſed him ſelfe vpon the impoſſibilitie to recouer otherwyſe his children: Onely he gaue them comfort that he would ſende the Admirall to the Emperour for their benefite: He gaue them alſo ſundrye other ſweete and vayne hopes, promiſing ſeuerally to the *Florentins* to lende them for the remedie of their daungers imminent, fortie thouſande duckets, A promiſe performed with the ſame fidelitie that his other offers were: And he ſuffred as though it tended to their benefite, *Peter Stephen Colonno* whoſe ſeruice he would accept no more, to go to their paye. But during the action and ſolicitation of theſe things, *Antho. de Leua* had recouered *Biagraſſa*, and the Duke of *Vrbin* remayning at *Caſtiano* which he laboured with the hands working of infinit pyoners to fortifie, compelled them of *Pauia* and *Saint Angeo* to holde good, ſaying that the lodging of *Caſtiano* was very apt to miniſter ſuccours to *Loda* and *Pauia*. Afterwards *Antho. de Leua* went vp to *Enzagua*, A place within three myles of *Caſtiana*, from whence he ſent out continually bandes of ſouldiours to skirmiſhe with the *Venetians*: And laſtely from *Enzagua* he drewe to *Vavvry*, eyther for that he ment to runne vp vppon the territories of *Bargamaſquo*, or elſe becauſe the *Venetians* had cut from him the courſe and vſage of all water.

Themprour ſendeth to the P. of Orenge to inuade the ſtates of the Florentins.

Viſtarino about this time entred into *Valentia* by the caſtell, and cut in peeces a garriſon of two hundred footemen that were there: And by this time were aryued by ſea at *Genes* a regiment of two thouſande Spaniards to tary for the comming of themprour, who immediatly after he had paſſed the accorde with the Pope, ſent direction to the Prince of *Orenge* to reenforce the army and inuade at the Popes requeſt the ſtate of the *Florentins*: And when the Prince was come to *Aquila* and mooſtred his companies vppon the frontiers of the kingdome, he was ſolicited vehe-

mently by the Pope to aduaunce and passe further: For which solicitation he went vp to *Rome* the laste of Iuly without his forces, to resolue with the Pope vppon the prouisions for the warre: Where after many actions and negociations which sometimes were vppon the poynt to be broken for the difficulties whiche the Pope obiected touching the defraymentes: It was at laste resolued that the Pope should delyuer to him presently thirtie thousande duckets, and within a very shorte tyme after fortie thousande more, to thende that at thEmperours exspences he might first reduce to the obedience of the Churche thestate of *Perousa* by chasing out *Malatesta Baillon*, and afterwardes make inuasion vppon the *Florentins*, to readdresse in that Citie the famulie of the *Medicis*: An enterprise whiche the Pope esteemed of very easie action, for an opinion he had that beeing abandoned on all sydes, they woulde according to the custome of their elders, rather giue place to the tyme, then to bring vppon their countrey a moste manyfest daunger? Vppon these conditions the Prince of *Orenge* assembled hys forces which conteyned three thowsand Launceknights, the remaynders aswell of those companies which the *Viceroy* had brought oute of *Spayne*, as of others who had passed oute of *Germanye* into *Italye* vnder *George Fronspergh*, and foure thowsande Italians not payed vnder these Colonells, *Peter Levvis de Farnose*, the Count *Saint Second*, *Colonel Martio*, and *Serre Colonno*: For their better safetie in approching anye place, and to execute anye peece of force, the Pope caused to bee drawen oute of the Castell *Saint Angeo*, and to bee carryed wyth them, three Cannons with other peeces of Artilleries: And after the Prince of *Orenge*, was to followe the Marquis of *Guast* with the bandes of Spanish footemen that were in *Povvilla*. But at *Florence* both the generall deliberation was farre otherwise, and the mindes of particular men very resolute to defende their countrey and their libertie, An euent contrary to that which the Pope exspected of that Citie.

Themprour at Genes, vvhither the princes of Italy send embassadours to him.

Whileste these preparations were managed on all partes, the person of themperour departed from *Barselona* with a great fleete of shippes and gallies, fraughted with a thowsande horsemen, and nyne thowsande footemen: And after he had runne not without perill and trauell a course of fifteene dayes at sea, he aryued the twelfth of August at *Genes*, where was brought to him the first aduertisement of thaccorde made at *Cambray*: And at the same tyme passed for him into the partes of *Lombardye*, Capteine *Felix*, whom he had taken into his paye with eyght thowsande Launceknightes. The discending of themprour with such a puissant preparation, made astonished the minds of all the regions of *Italy*, beeing nowe assured that they were left and deliuered vp for pray by the french king: And therfore the *Florentins* who in that astonishment were not lesse carefull then apperteined to the charge of good citisens, vpon the first aduertisements they had of his comming, sent out foure Embassadors of the most principall and chosen of their towne, to congratulate his comming, and to labour to make some composition with him for their affayres: But afterwards eyther vpon better consideration of things, or vpon the cõmon custome of men to receyue comfort when they knowe the vttermost of their mishap, they tooke courage and began to moderate their commissions, restraining their embassadors to debate only with him of their interests, & not to meddle with the differences of the Pope: wherin they hoped that both for the memory of things past, and for the litle cõfidẽce which is wont to be betwene Popes & Emprors, he would be so much discontented with themprours greatnes, as to be driuen to desire that the authoritie and forces of thestate of *Florence* might be adioyned to the power of the Church.

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The *Venetians* were discontented that the *Florentins* being ioynt confederates with them, had sent Embassadours to their common enemie without communicating with them: The Duke of *Ferrara* made also the same complaynt, notwithstanding that following their example he dispatched Embassadours to themprour aswell as they: The *Venetians* consented that the duke of *Millan* should do the like: But he had long tyme before enterteyned a secret practise with the Pope to bring him to compound with themprour, which he did so muche the more solicite and aduaunce, by how much he knew euen before the ouerthrowe of *Saint Pol*, that he could lay no good ground of hope in the French king nor in the *Venetians*.

Themprour disbarked at *Sauona* the bands of Spanish footemen whiche he had brought with him, and conuerted them into *Lombardy* to thend *Anth. de Leua* might issue out strong into the field: He made an offer to disbarke them at *Spetio* to thende to sende them into *Tuskane*, but the Pope had an opinion that so many forces were not necessarie, especially seeing he wished for the preseruation of the countrey, not to addresse without neede so great a furie agaynst the towne of *Florence*: And yet proceding nowe openly agaynst that state and agaynst *Malatesta*, he caused to be stayed in the townes of the Church the knight *Sperello*, who before the capitulation of *Cambray* beeing sent with money by the French king to *Malatesta* who had ratified his paye, returned to *Perousa*: He caused also to be stayed neare to *Bracciano*, the money sent by the *Florentins* to the Abbot of *Farfa* beeing interteyned in their paye with two hundred horsemen, to thende he might leauye for their seruice a thousande footemen: But he was constrayned eftsones to render it to him againe, for that where the Pope had appoynted Legates with themprour, the Cardinalls of *Farnesa*, *Saint Croff*, and *Medicis*, of whom *Saint Croff* passing by his landes, the Abbot caused him to be stayed, and would not redeliuer him if first he had not restored to him his money.

The *Florentins* continued still in their preparations, And as they had in vayne moued themprour for a surceasse of armes vntill he had giuen audience to their Embassadours, so prouiding for the euill before the mischiefe happned, they sent to sommon *Don Hercules* eldest sonne to the duke of *Ferrara*, whom six monethes before they had taken into their paye with title of Capteine generall, to come to their succours with his companies according to the Articles of his contract: But notwithstanding he had receyued the money that was sent him for impreſt to wage a thowsande footemen allowed for his garde when he marched, yet his father preferring considerations of estare before fidelitie, made him refuse to goe thither, without that he payed backe agayne the money, but sent to their aydes his bandes of horsemen: By reason of which dealing the *Florentins* denied him the election of the seconde yere.

By the xix. daye of August the Prince of *Orenge* was come to *Terny*, and the Launceknightes to *Fuligno* where was mooſtred the whole army: But it was a matter ridiculous that notwithstanding the peace was made and published betweene themprour and Frenche king, yet the Bishop of *Tarba* as the kinges Embassadour at *Venice*, *Florence*, *Ferrara*, and *Perousa*, did not onely boast of the mightie prouisions his king made for the warre, but also comforted them to do the lyke. After this the Prince of *Orenge* with six thousande footemen aswell Launceknightes as Italians, came and incamped neare to *Spello*, where presenting him selfe before the towne accompanied with many horsemen to view the situation, it happned that *Iohn Vrbina* a man for his long trayning in the warres of *Italy* of the best place and reputa-

tion amongeſt all the Capteines of the Spaniſh infanterie, was hurt with a ſhot out of the towne in the thigh, of which wound he dyed within fewe dayes after, to the great domage of the army, for that almoſt the whole courſe of the warre paſſed by his counſell and gouernment: In reuenge of whoſe death thartilleries were planted before *Spello*, wherin was a ſtrength of more then fiue hundred footemen & twenty horſe vnder the leading of *Lyon Baillon* baſtard brother to *Malateſta*: But after there were ſpent certayne bolleys of ſhot vpon a tower whiche is without the towne on the wall ſide, The defendants notwithſtanding *Lyon* had giuen a great hope to *Malateſta* to preſerue the towne, yeelded immediatly vpon condition that the towne & inhabitantes ſhould remayne at the diſcreſſion of the Prince, and the ſouldiors with their liues ſaued & ſo much goods as they could cary, ſhould go out in ſafetie wyth their ſwordes onely, and not to ſerue agaynſt the Pope nor themprour in three moneths: Neuertheles contrary to their aſſurance giuen which by the law of armes is a warrant ſufficient and hable, they were almoſt all ſtripped & ſpoyled at their going out: *Iohn Baptiſta Burgeſo* one of thexiles of *Siena* was vehemently charged with this accord, who hauing begon to treate with *Fabio Petruccio* that was in the army, made perfect the concluſion by the ayde of the other capteines, A matter whiche *Malateſta* referred to diſlōyaltie, but many others attributed it to faintnes of corage. After thembaſſadours of *Florence* who firſt preſented themſelues before themprour had congratulated his comming, they began to ſignifie vnto him that as their Citie was not ambicious, but thankfull for benefites receyued, and ready to offer all the offices and commodities they could to whom ſoeuer would profeſſe the protection and preſeruation of it: So they ſought to excuſe their action of entring into league with the french king, vpon the wil and inclination of the Pope who then commaunded them, and vpon the law of neceſſitie which had hithervnto compelled them to continue in it: They ſayd they could not paſſe further, for that they were not enhabled by commiſſion: only they had expreſſe commaundement from their common wealth not to open their eares to any practiſe with the Pope, and to viſite his other Embaſſadours, but not the Cardinall *Medicis*. The great Chauncellor newly called to the dignity of Cardinall, made them aunſwere, that it was neceſſary they ſhould ſatisfie the Pope and reduce him contented both of their doings and of their meanings: And they complayning of the iniuſtice of that demaund, he eſtſones replied that ſeeing their Citie was confederate with thenemies of themprour, and had ſent out armed bandes agaynſt him, that it was falne from her priuileages and diuolued to thempire, and therefore it was in themprour to diſpoſe of it according to hys owne arbitration: But at laſt it was ſayde vnto them on themprours behalfe, that they ſhould procure to be ſent to them ſufficient commiſſion to compounde with the Pope, and that afterwardes ſhoulde be conſidered the differences that were betwene the Pope and them, which if they were not firſt reſolued and compounded, themprour would not common with them of their proper intereſts. Whereuppon theſtate of *Florence* diſpatched a commiſſion very large and ample to compounde with the Emprour, but not to accord with the Pope: In ſo much as themprour departing from *Genes* the xxx. of Auguſt and went vp to *Plaiſanca*, the Embaſſadours following his Court were not admitted into *Plaiſanca*, for that is was vnderſtanded that their commiſſion was not ſuch as themprour had demaunded: By which meane all things ſuſpended and remayned without accord. Themprour cauſed alſo to depart from his Court thembaſſadors of the duke of *Ferrara*, whom he receiued with hard tearmes: and yet returning afterwardes with new conditions and happly with

newe

new fauors, they were admitted and heard. Moreouer the emprour ſent embaſſador to the french king, the Count *Nauſavv*, to congratulate with him the newe accorde confirmed with the knot of parentage, and to receiue the ratification: In recõpenſe of which embaſſage and for the ſame expedition, the king ſent to him thadmirall of *Fraunce*. The king ſent money to *Ranſo de Cero* to thend that with all his companies he might retyre from *Povvilla*: and cauſed to be rigged twelue gallies to be ſent thither vnder *Phillip Dore* agaynſt the *Venetians*, agaynſt whom themprour ſent out *Andre Dore* with xxxvij. gallies: Neuertheles the king iudging that the recouering of his children would be more certayne, if there remayned any difficultie in *Italy* to themprour, he continued to giue diuerſe hopes to the confederates, and promiſed particularly to the *Florentins* to ſende money to them ſecretly by thadmirall, Not that he had any deſire to miniſter to the wantes of them or the others, but to thend they ſhould ſhew themſelues more hard and ſeuere to compound with themprour.

During all this while there was ſolicited a continuall practiſe of accord betwene themprour and the Duke of *Millan*, the action wherof was managed wholly by the Pronotory *Caraccioll*, whoſe office was to come and go from *Cremona* to *Plaiſanca*: But where themprour helde it ſtraunge that the Duke reappoſed leſſe confidence in him then he looked for, and the Duke on the other ſide was hardly brought to truſt him at all: there was an ouerture and motion made that tyll the Dukes cauſe were throughly examined, *Alexandria* and *Pauia* ſhould be depoſed of truſt into the Popes handes. To this thEmprour would not conſent, bothe for that he thought the Duke was not hable to reſiſte his forces, and alſo for that *Anthony de Leua* was gone vp to *Plaiſanca*, who beeing alwayes an enemie to peace and quietnes, had incenſed themprour with many reaſons to purſue the warre: And therefore themprour charged him to goe on with thenterpriſe of *Pauia*, hauing a deuiſe alſo that at the ſame tyme Capteine *Felix* who was come with the new ſupplies of *Almains* aſwell footemen as horſemen and with artilleries, and had firſt paſſed by *Peſquiero*, and afterwards was entred vpon the lands of *Breſſia*, ſhould make warre on that ſide vpon the *Venetians*: of which expedition he had made Capteine generall the Marquis of *Mantua*, newly returned to the deuotion of the Imperialls.

All this whyle the Pope was not ydle to labour a peace betwene themprour and the *Venetians*, with hope to conclude it at his cõming to *Bolognia*: for that where he had before ſolicited to meete themprour and confer with him at *Genes*, they had ſithence by cõmon conſent referred the place of their enteruiew to *Bolognia*, chiefly for many apt cõmodities which that city yelded to ſo great an aſſembly. They were not induced being Princes of the greateſt importance to meete together by a common deſire only to confirme the league of their new amitie and coniunction: but alſo they had to cary them their further ſeuerall reſpects, themprour puſhed on by neceſſitie, being determined to take the Crowne of the Empire, & the Pope by ambition, hauing a deſire to aduance the enterpriſe of *Florence*: and in thẽ both indifferently did concur a ioynt deuotion to eſtabliſh ſome orderly forme ouer the affaires of *Italy*: a matter which they could not accompliſh without reſoluing the affaires of the *Venetians* & duke of *Millan*, and without keping ſome good hande vpon the imminent dangers of the Turke, who being entred into *Hungria* with a puiſſant army, came on to inuade *Auſtria* & take *Vienna*. In this time were done no actions of conſequence betwene themprour & *Venetians*, for that the *Venetians* hauing an abſolute inclination to accord with him, & becauſe they would not incenſe him further, had giuen order to retyre their army by ſea frõ thenterpriſe of the caſtell of *Brunduſa* to

Corffu: And seking only to preserue the townes which they helde, they forbare also for that time all exploytes in the regions of *Lombardy*, except certen light rodes and incursions: and so being only carefull for the gard of their townes, they had put into *Bressia* the duke of *Vrbin*. Touching the *Almains* they were reduced to *Lunaro*, conteining a nũber of a thousand horsmen & eight or ten thousand footmen: They had resolued together with the Marquis of *Mantua*, to execute the enterprise of *Cremona*, where was the duke of *Millan*, who seeing himselfe excluded from all accorde with thempror, & that *Anth. de Leua* was gone to incampe before *Pauia*, & *Caracciol* gone vp to *Cremona* to denounce warre to him, cõtracted with the *Venetians* to conclude no accord with thempror without their consent: and in recompence of that cõtract they bound thẽselues to minister to him for the defence of his estates, a regiment of 2000. footmen payed, with contribution of 8000. duckets for euery moneth: They sent also artilleries & men to *Cremona*, with which proportiõ of succors & promises, the duke had confidence to be able to defend *Cremona* & *Loda:* For touching *Pauia*, it made a very slender resistance agaynst *Anth. de Leua*, not only for that it conteined not sufficient vittels for two moneths, but also becausse capteine *Pissinard* to whom it was cõmitted to kepe & gard it, had not many dayes before sent out of the towne foure companies of footmen to *S. Angeo*, where *Ant. de Leua* had made as though he would incampe: for which want of vittels & weaknes of men of whom the numbers were very small within the towne, and worse furnished for the seruice, there was no confidence in all construction of warre and warre causes, to be hable to defende it, and therfore whẽ he saw thartilleries were planted & bent to execute, not enduring the proofe of one bollet, nor the venture of one assalt, he rẽdred the town vnder saftie of life & goods aswell for himselfe as his souldiours: In this action he was charged greatly (which also was a cause to hasten the rendring of the town) that he was more caryed by couetousnes not to loase the wealth and ryches he had gathered together vpon so many prayes and pillages, then induced by any desire to preserue the glory he had gotten in so many excellent and braue exploytes of warre, and chiefly in the seruices of *Pauia*.

Now was the warre very hotly kindled in *Tuskane*, for that as the Prince of *Orenge* had taken *Spello*, and the Marquis of *Guast* who followed him with the Spanish infanterie beginning to drawe neare him with his armie, so he went on and aduaunced by good degrees till he came at the bridge of *Saint Iohn* neare to *Perousa* vppon *Tyber*, where ioyned with him the regimentes of Spanish footemen: In this Citie was a strength of three thousand footmen of the *Florentins:* And the Prince before he planted his campe before *Spello*, sent a messenger to *Perousa* to perswade *Malatesta* to obey the will of the Pope: Who seeking to appropriate to hym selfe by what waye so euer, the Citie of *Perousa*, and to thende the armie might passe further, made this offer to *Malatesta*, that if he would leaue *Perousa*, he would preserue his estates and his proper goods, he would consent that he might freely goe to the defence of the *Florentins*, and would be bound that *Braccio* and *Sforce Baillons*, nor any other his enemies should reenter into *Perousa:* And albeit *Malatesta* assured him that he woulde not accept any offer without consent of the *Florentins*, yet he opened more and more hys eares to thembassages of the Prince, who after he had conquered *Spello*, solicited hym more vehemently: All these offers and deuises *Malatesta* communicated wyth the *Florentins*, beeing happly inclined to passe thaccorde, for that both he feared the ende of things, and was no lesse doubtfull that the *Florentins* would not continue to giue him all the aydes and succours he desired:

The Pope maketh offers to Malatesta.

desired: and when by necessitie he shoulde be driuen to accorde, he had no hope to find better condicions then those that were offred him, holding it a better way that without offending the Pope, or to giue him occasion to depriue him of the goodes and places which he preserued for him, to keepe him selfe possessed of the paye of the *Florentins*, then in standing to his defence which by many arguments was fraile and easuall, both to put wilfully into daunger his whole estate, and also to pul vpon him the hatred of his friends and the towne: So that as he assured dayly and perseuered in this that he woulde not accorde without their priuitie, so also he added that if they would haue him to defende *Perousa*, they must of necessitie supplie him of new with a thousande footemen, and turne the residue of their companies to make head at *Orsaio*, a place within fiue miles of *Cortona* vpon the confines of *Cortona* and *Perousa*, a matter which they could not doe without decaying the garrisons of their other townes: And yet the weaknes of the towne was such, that by necessitie they must retyre at euery moouing of the enemies: he perswaded with them also, that in case he did not accord, the Prince leauing the enterprise of *Perousa* woulde take his way to *Florence*, in which case also it was needfull that they left him within *Perousa* a thousand footemen of seruice, which yet would not be sufficient since the Pope had meanes to vexe the Citie with other forces then with the regiments imperial: But if he did accorde, then the *Florentins* were to retire to them selues all their bands of footemen who should be accompanied with two or three hundred men of choyse of his owne trayning, and for his part his estates and goods being left to him, and his enemies excluded from all exspectation to haue *Perousa*, he shoulde bee reduced to better tearmes and estate of quietnes to hearken to their defence, if the election had rested in the *Florentins*, they coulde haue bene better contented to continue the warre at *Perousa*: But discerning that *Malatesta* interteyned a continuall intelligence with the Prince, and no lesse assured that he had not discontinued to practise with the Pope, they douted vpon these good grounds, least by the incitation and importunitie of his friends and folowers, and in compassion of the domages of the citie and countrey, and lastly for suspicion of the enemies and instabilitie of the people, he would in the end giue place to the power of the time: They interpreted it also to too great a daunger & hazard to put into *Perousa* almost the whole reputacion and flower of their forces, exsposed to the peril of the fidelitie of *Malatesta*, to the apparant daũger to be forced by the enemies, & to the manifest difficulty to reuoke thẽ againe in case *Malatesta* should accord: They also brought into consideration that the chaunging of *Perousa* could preiudice them litle, both the friends of *Malatesta* remayning there still, and he reteyning his Castels and Borowes, & none of his brothers returning thyther at all, so that so long as it perseuered in this estate, it could not be that the Pope would not be in suspicion of it: Thus they wandred in suspence and incertaintie of mynde, and in that perplexitie making their chiefest care of the safetie of their men, and hauing no assured confidence in the constancie of *Malatesta*, they dispatched secretly the sixt of september a man of credence to drawe away their bands of souldiers from *Perousa* fearing to bee abused if the accorde went on: But being informed afterwards that they could not get away for that the enemies were comen neare at hand, they sent with diligence to *Malatesta* their consent that he might compound: But his necessities and feare of further daunger were swifter then the diligence they made to dispatch to him their consent, for that before the messenger aryued, the Prince of *Orenge* the ix. of September hauing passed *Tiber* at the bridge of *Saint Iohn*, and being drawen into campe and offering certaine skir-

miſhes, he was driuen to compounde the ſame night: By whiche compoſition he bound him ſelfe to depart from *Perouſa*, with obligacion of ſufferaunce to enioy his goodes to goe to the ſeruice of the *Florentins*, and to retire their companies in ſafetie, and to giue him the better time to leade them vpon the dominions of *Florence*, the Prince of *Orenge* promiſed not to remoue in two dayes from the place where he lay incamped: So that they iſſued out of *Perouſa* the xij. daye, and making very ſpedie marches, they went the ſame day to *Cortono* by the waye of the mountaines long & troubleſome, but free and aſſured: Thus was the body of the warre reduced vpon the lands of the *Florentins*, to whom albeit the *Venetians* and Duke of *Vrbyn* had giuen many hopes that they would ayde them with three thouſand footemen, a ſtrength which for ſuſpicion of the Princes comming into thoſe quarters, they had ſent vpon the ſtate of *Vrbyn*, yet becauſe they would not diſpleaſe the Pope, that promiſe ſoarted to none effect: Onely the *Venetians* gaue money to the commiſſarie *Caſtrocaro* to wage two hundred footemen, and notwithſtanding that ſtate and the Duke of *Ferrara* enterteined continual ſolicitation to compounde with the Emperour, yet they forbare not to comfort the *Florentins* and encourage them to ſtande to their defence, hoping vnder ſuch propertie of difficultie to raunge thEmperour more eaſely, and to get to them ſelues better condicions: The *Florentins* at that inſtant had principallie two actions in hand, the one to temporiſe and delay the armie ſo long as they might haue time to rampart and fortifie their towne, vnder the walls whereof they looked that in the end the warre would be reduced: the other, to labor to appeaſe the mind of thEmperour, yea euen in according with the Pope, ſo farre-foorth as the forme of their libertie and gouernment popular, were not innouated: By reaſon whereof, being not yet come the excluſion of their Embaſſadors, they had ſent a meſſenger to the Prince of *Orenge* and made a nominacion of embaſſadors to goe to the Pope, deſiring him when they ſignified vnto him the election, that he would make a ſurceance of the armie vntil they were ariued, which he refuſed to doe: So that the Prince being aduaunced and come on with his forces, he battred and gaue the aſſault to the ſubburbs of *Cortono* which looke to *Orſaio*, in which citie were ſeuen hundred footemen ſtrong, he was repulſed from thence finding both force and vallour where he exſpected but weaknes or diſloialtie: There was a greater ſtrength of footemen within *Aretzo*: But as *Antho. Frauncis Albizi* commiſſarie, fearing leaſt the Prince, after the taking of *Cortono* leauing *Aretzo* behinde him, would take the way of *Florence*, and preuenting the companies that were with him in *Aretzo*, the citie of *Florence* in that aſtoniſhment would draw to accord for want of the readieſt ſuccours that they had, determined to abandon it: So, for thoſe reaſons and conſiderations, without the publike conſent of the ſtate though happly obſeruing a ſecret intencion of the *Gonfalonier*, he went from *Aretzo* with al his companies leauing onely two hundred footemen within the Caſtel: But being arriued at *Feguina* by the counſel of *Malateſta* that was there who allowed well that they ſhould reduce all their forces to the defence of *Florence*, he ſent backe againe to *Aretzo* a thouſand footemen to the end it ſhould not be left altogether abandoned: And as in the courſe of calamities accidents happen by ſucceſſion, ſo the xvij. day the towne of *Cortono* for whoſe keeping and defending a thouſand men had bene a ſtrength ſufficient ſeeing the *Florentines* vſed not ſuch order as they ought, rendred notwithſtandyng it was verye litle preſſed by the Prince with whome the towne compounded to pay him xx. thouſand Duckats: By the accident of *Cortono* the ſouldiers that lay within *Aretzo* douting of their ſufficiency to defend it, abandoned that

Citie,

Citie, which the xix. day compounded also with the Prince, but with capitulaciõs & clauses rather to rule & gouerne them selues in their libertie vnder shadow of the Emperours protectiõ, then to beare any longer the yoke & subiection of the *Florentins*, declaring to be false & fayned the professiõ which to this day they had made to be friends to the family of *Medicis* & enemies to the gouernmẽt popular: At which time th Emperour refused expresly to giue any more audience to the *Florentine* embassadors, vnles they restored the house of *Medicis*, & the Prince of *Orenge*, notwithstanding the embassadors that were with him detested without any regard the Popes couetousnes and the iniquity of that enterprise, had neuertheles told thẽ that without restoring the *Medicis* he must of necessity cõtinue the warre: whereupon calling his army into view & muster, he found that he had strong three hũdred mẽ at armes, fiue hundred light horsmen, two thousand fiue hundred lañceknights braue bodies, two thousand footmen Spanish, & three thousand Italians, al disposed vnder the leading of these captaines, *Sero Colonno*, *Peter Maria Rossa*, *Peter Levvys de Farnesa*, and *Iohn Baptista Sauella*, and to them afterwards came *Iohn Sassatello* bringing with him the mony which he had receiued before of the *Florentins* whose pay he had accepted: To thẽ also was adioyned *Alexander Vitelly* hauing betwene three & foure thousand footmen: Onely the Prince had smal store of artilleries, & therefore he prayed ayde of them of *Siena* to furnish him, who standing in case not to refuse to so mighty an army of the emperour any thing they demañded, they gaue order to refurnish him with some proporcion of artilleries, but prepared it with as great delayes & longnes as they could, both for the hatred they bare against the Pope, & ielousie they had of his greatnes, & also for that they were ill cõtented with the mutacion of the gouernment of *Florence*, with whõ by reason of their cõmon hatred against the Pope, they had for certaine moneths enterteined together a secret peace & intelligence: In this meane while the Pope had giuẽ audience to the *Florentyn* embassadors, to whom he answered that as his intencion was not to alter the libertie of the citie, so he was not caryed into this way of enterprise & armes, so much for the iniuries he had receiued of that gouernment & necessity to assure his owne estate, as in regard of the capitulations he had made with th Emperour, in which debating now vpon the interest of his honor, he required no other thing of thẽ then that they would voluntarily referre themselues to his arbitrement & power, which being done, he would make to them good declaration & testimonie with what propertie of zeale & deuocion he desired the benefit & aduancement of their cõmon countrey, and vnderstanding afterwards that the feare & astonishment was encreased at *Florence* specially since they were aduertised that th Emperour had refused to heare their embassadors, & in that regarde where they had elected new embassadors to go to him, which he thought was done to submit & accord to him that he demaunded, & desiring that the matter might be suddenly done to auoyd the destruction of the countrey: he dispatched in post to the armie the Archbyshop of *Capua*, who passing by *Florence*, found them of the towne otherwaies disposed then the Pope was persuaded: But in this meane while the Prince of *Orenge* aduaunced, & was come the xxiiij. to *Mountuarche* in the vale of *Arno* whiche is within xxv. miles of *Florence*, abiding there for eight cannons from *Sienna* whiche were sent away the daye after, onely they continued to bee caryed with the same tract and slowneſſe with the whiche they had bene prepared, in so muche as by their want and impediment the Prince who the xxvii. day had led the armie euen vp to *Feguina* and *Anchisa* was driuen to abide in that place vnto thend of the fourth of October: And from thence proceeded the difficultie of the whole

enterprise: For, after the losse of *Aretzo* when the *Florentins* found that their hopes failed together with the fauours and promises made from all partes, and also that the fortifications which were made in the citie on that side towards the mountaine notwithstanding the continuall labour of pioners and workemen, could not by the iudgement of souldiers be reduced to defence, sooner then eight or ten dayes: And being aduertised on the other side that the armie of the enemies aduaunced and wonne way, and *Ramassotto* who was in armes by the Popes ordinaunce with three thousand footemen, had sacked *Firensolo* and was entred into the countrey of *Mugello*, which was not without daunger that he would goe vp to *Prato*: By these arguments of feare and impediments the citisens being reduced to an vniuersall astonishment, began to incline to accorde, the rather for that many in their feare were fled from the daunger which in their cowardise they durst not defend: So that at the counsel board of the *Dieci* where are debated the affaires of the warre, and in which counsel were present the principall citisens of the gouernment, the vniuersall consent and aduise was to dispatch to *Rome* a free and ample commission to submit and referre themselues to the Popes wil: But when this resolucion was related to the supreame magistrate without whose consent there could no deliberacion passe, the *Gonfalonier* who obstinately susteyned the contrarie opinion, was against it, who ioyning with him the Magistrate popular of the colledges (who participated with the authoritie of the tribunes of the people of *Rome*) in which office or societie were happly many persons of sinister vnderstanding and great temeritie & insolency: And hauing also their opiniõ supported with the boldnes & threatnings of many young men: he brought to passe that that day nothing was established: And yet it was a thing manifest that if the day folowing which was the xxviii. of September, the Prince had aduaunced and comen on one remoue, the faction that impugned and inueyed against the accorde, had not bene able to resist the strong inclinacion of all the others, of so small causes depend oftentimes the moments of right great things: Thus the surceance and temporising of the armie made by the Prince of *Orenge* in vaine, whiche some interpreted to bee done expresly to interteine the warre for that he had not sufficient artilleries to affront the Citie of *Florence*, was the cause that within the towne many entred into courage and resumed the spirits which through the former astonishment they had lost: But the thing that confirmed them in this resolution, was, that the fortificacion continued without any intermission of time and whiche the hands of many nombers of men did so raise and aduaunce, that before the Prince of *Orenge* remoued from the place where he lay incamped, the captaines iudged that the ramparts were sufficient for defence: So that ceassing nowe all inclination to accord, the citisens with a generall resolucion stoode prepared to defende with their bodies & liues the place which til then they had labored to make strong by their industrie and worke of their hands: wherein the better to assure their mindes so wel induced they were aduertised that *Ramassotto* who led with him without pay or discipline, not souldiers trayned but peysants rawe & vnarmed, & had taken the field not with intencion of fight but to rob & spoile, after he had wasted with raking and sacking the whole countrey of *Mugello*: He retired with the booties he had taken vppon the territories of *Bolognia*, where did dissolue in disorder and disagreement the bandes he hadde leuyed and ledde in insolencie and licenciousnesse, though after they hadde solde to him their shares and most parte of the spoyles: Thus of a warre easye and tractable, and whiche might haue taken ende with a small losse to anye partie, was deriued a warre most heauye and hurtfull to all,

and

and ſuch as could not be led to his end till the whole countrey was waſted, and the principall Citie in hazard of her lateſt deſolacion: The fift of October the Prince of *Orenge* departed from *Feguino*, but he ordred his marching ſo ſlowly to tarie for the artilleries of *Syenna* which now drue neare, that he coulde not before the xx. daye raunge all his companies and artilleries into the plaine of *Ripoly* which is within two miles of *Florence*: He incamped all his armie the xxiiij. day vpon the litle hills neare the rampars obſeruing with the ſauetie of his owne, the places that moſt helped him to anoye his enemies: And of this armie as one parte occupied all the litle hills eminent to the Citie which ſtretch from the gate *ſaint Myniato* to the gate *ſaint George*: So the other part from the ſaid gate *ſaint Myniato* was extended euen to the way of the gate *ſaint Nicholas*: There were within *Florence* eight thouſand footemen, all bodies of ſeruice, and their chiefeſt reſolucion was to defend *Prato*, *Piſtoya*, *Empoly*, *Piſa* and *Lyuorna*, which places they had ſtrengthned and fortified with ſufficient garriſons, leauing all other places and peeces rather to the fidelitie and diſcreſſion of the peoples, and the fortreſſes to the benefite of their ſituacion, then to beſtowe great bands of ſouldiers to garde them: But now the warre riſing by burning degrees into his heate, all the countrey was filled full of combuſtion, of incurſions, and bands of licenſious ſouldiers: And the *Siennoys* notwithſtanding their former profeſſion of league and amitie with the ſtate of *Florence*, did not onely riſe vp to make pillage in euery place, but alſo in that libertie of warre they ſent bands of ſouldiers to occupie *Montpulſion*, hoping that afterwards the Prince woulde conſent that they might reteyne it: Neuertheleſſe, finding it defended by a garriſon of the *Florentins*, their ambicion was eaſely ſtopped, and their aſpiring inuentions preſently defeated, the rather for that not long after *Napoleon Vrſin* arriued there a ſouldier of the *Florentins* with three hundred horſemen, who woulde not depart from *Rome* before the Pope were vpon his way to goe to *Bolognia*: The Prince of *Orenge* when he had beſtowed his army and ſtretched it out at large vpon the hills of *Monticio*, *Gallo*, and *Giramont*, and after he had brought to him from *Lucquay* both pioners and certaine peeces of artilleries, he cauſed to caſt a rampart to the ende to make it profitable to giue an aſſault to the baſtillion of *ſaint Myniato*: But on the other ſide to hinder the vſe and ſeruice of it, were planted in the garden of *ſaint Miniato*, foure Cannons vpon a caualier: The townes of *Collo* and *ſaint Gimignano* rendred immediatly to the Prince, they were places of importance to make eaſie and ſafe the reſort of vittels, that came from *Sienna*: The xxix. day the Prince planted vpon the baſtillion of *Giramont* foure Cannons to beate the ſteeple of *ſaint Myniato* for that a ſaker which the defendants of the towne had mounted there, played with great hurt vpon the armie: Two of thoſe cannons were broken and reduced not ſeruiceable within fewe houres, to recompence which default the day folowing an other cannon being brought to the place, after they had executed in vaine about an hundred and fiftie ſhotte of bollette, and yet coulde not diſmount the ſaker, they forbare to ſhoote anye more where ſo litle good was done by their laboure: By whiche reſiſtaunce and other difficulties and impediments concurryng, euerye one interpretyng it to a harde matter to carie *Florence* ſpeciallie with one onelye armie, the actions and exploytes afterwardes beganne to proceede ſlowlye and rather in manner of skirmiſhes then in forme of aſſaulte: The ſeconde of Nouember was perfourmed a great skirmiſhe againſt the baſtillion of *Saint George*, another vppon the baſtillion of *Saint Nicholas*, and a thirde vppon the waye that goeth to *Rome*: The fourth daye was planted vppon *Giramont* a culuerine

right againſt the pallace of the Lordes whiche ſet open the gates at the firſt ſhotte: But at this time the horſemen that were within *Florence* ranne vp to *Valdipeſo*, and made pray of an hundred horſe moſt part horſes of ſeruice: And in the ſame fortune certayne horſemen and harquebuziers of the *Florentines* iſſuing out of *Pontadero* tooke three ſcore horſe betweene the cabans and the tower of *Saint Romain*.

The Pope & the Emperour at Bolognia.

By this time the Pope was arriued at *Bolognia*, after whom thEmperour folowed according to the ceremonie and cuſtome of great Princes, for that when two Princes are to enterviewe and meete together, the tradicion beareth that he that repreſenteth the greateſt dignitie ſhall come firſt to the place appointed, ſeeing it is both iudged and taken for a great ſigne of reuerence that he that is inferior ſhall ſhowe office and go to the other: And there being receiued of the Pope with great ſhowes and teſtimonies of honour, and lodged in the ſame pallace with him ioyning one to the other, it ſeemed by the demonſtracions of office and familiaritie paſſing betweene them that they had alwayes liued in an indiſſoluble league of amitie and good will: There theEmperour receiued aduertiſements which cleared him of all ſuſpicion of inuaſion by the Turkes, whoſe armie together with the perſon of their Lorde and Prince being preſented before *Vyenna*, wherein was a great garriſon of Launceknightes, they had not onely giuen in vaine many aſſaultes to the place, but alſo hadde bene ſo repulſed with ſo great a ſtaughter, that with the ſmall confidence they had to carie it, and what with the want of great artilleries to batter it, & what by the compulſion of the time which in that region is very ſharpe, being in the moneth of October: They brake vp and went their wayes, not retyring to anye other place neare vnto it, but tooke the way of *Conſtantinople* which is a marche of three monethes: So that thEmperour being cleared and aſſured of that ſuſpicion whiche before hadde not onely made him inclined notwithſtanding the conqueſt of *Pauia*, to accorde with the Duke of *Millan*, but alſo had induced him to deale with the Pope to thinke vpon a meane to compounde with the *Florentines*, to the ende that being eaſed and diſpatched of the affaires of Italie, he might paſſe with all his forces into *Almany* to the ſuccours of *Vyenna* and his brother: According to which perſwaſion as the Pope and he began to debate vpon the affaires of Italie: So the thing that moſt concerned the Pope and lay neareſt his hart, was the enterpriſe againſt the *Florentins*, whereunto alſo thEmperour ſeemed to beare a manifeſt inclinacion aſwel to ſatisfie the Pope touching the matter of capitulation at *Barſellona*, as alſo for that the citie of *Florence* being alwayes caryed with a deuocion to the crowne of Fraunce, it could not be but the embaſing of his greatneſſe was very agreeable to them: Therefore when the *Florentins* had choſen foure embaſſadours to goe to the Pope at *Bolognia*, and making alſo petition to ſpeake to the Emperour, he woulde neuer giue them audience but one time, and that when it pleaſed the Pope, from whome alſo he drewe the ſubſtaunce of the aunſwere he made them: Thus they concluded to continue the enterpriſe, and becauſe it fell out more hard, and entangled then the Pope exſpected, there was a determinacion to employ in this action all the bands and companies of ſouldiers that were in *Lombardy* in caſe there hapned occaſion of accord with the *Venetians* & *Frauncis Sforce*: which companies as they were to be payd by the Emperour, ſo alſo the Pope was to contribute monthly to the Prince of *Orenge* who was gone vp to *Bolognia* to ſolicite thoſe matters three ſcore thouſande Duckats, to thend that where themperour found the burden too heauy to beare out ſo great exſpenſes, he might be ſhared to defray all thoſe regiments that were alreadie about *Florence*: After this was brought in queſtion and

conference

conference the other intereſt of the Pope, which was cõcerning the matters of *Modena* & *Reggia*: wherein the Pope, to auoide the note of obſtinacie and ſelfewill, making ſhow to continue in the ſame inclinacion he had profeſſed many times before, that as if the intereſt of thoſes two townes only were brought into queſtiõ he would make no difficultie to diſpoſe of them according to the will of themprour: So neuertheleſſe he proteſted that in caſe of alienacion of *Modena* and *Reggia*, *Parma* & *Plaiſanca* would ſo remaine ſeperat and cutte of from theſtate eccleſiaſtike, that in conſequence they would ſeame to be more then halfe aliened: Themperour aunſwered him that it was a regard and conſideracion both iuſt and reaſonable: But for his part he could do no more then vſe his authoritie whileſt his forces were occupied in the enterpriſe of *Florence*: Neuertheleſſe in ſecrete he could haue wiſhed that with the good ſatisfaction of the Pope, thoſe townes had remained to the Duke of *Ferrara*, with whom in his waie to *Bolognia* he had had conference & giuen him great hope and comfort to worke with the Pope what he could for the benefite of his affaires: ſo much had that Duke by his good induſtrie and working made inſinuacion into themperours grace and fauour, and alſo made ſuch impreſſions of compaſſion in the mindes of thoſe that gouerned him moſt, that he wanted not in his court the operacions of greate perſonages to make his cauſe fauoured and recommended. There remained now the two articles of moſt importance and difficultie, concerning the *Venetians* and *Frauncis Sforce*, with whom as touching to accord and compounde themprour ſeamed now nothing ſo ſeuere and hard as he had bene before: which as it was altogether contrary to the inclinacion with the which he was come into *Italye*, ſo he tooke his reaſon both vpon the difficultie of thinges appearing greater then he imagined in *Spaine*: and alſo for that he found by reaſon of the new coniunctiõ which *Frauncis Sforce* had made with the *Venetians*, that the conqueſt of theſtate of *Myllan* would not be a matter of eaſie action: he ſaw alſo how farre he was imbarked into exſpenſes and charges by ſo greate a traine of ſoldiours and followers which he had brought with him and cauſed to come after him aſwell out of *Spaine* as *Germanie*: But the chiefe cauſe was thimportunitie of his brother, who for the tumultes of the Lutherians and other ſignes appearing of innouacion, ſolicited him to paſſe into *Almanie*, whether it was credible that within a ſhorte time the power of the *Turkes* would eftſones retorne: a matter which he gathered vpon the proteſtacion which *Solyman* made, who in his paſſion of ſpite and ignominie, had ſworne at his breaking vp from before *Vienna* that he would eftſones recontinue the quarrell with an armie more mighty and prepared: In theſe regardes were equally concurring thintereſts of his honour and ſauetie: For that themprour to whom it ſeamed that if he ſhould go out of *Italye* and leaue thinges vnperfect, he could neither cary awaie aſſurance for him ſelfe, nor reputacion to his name, beganne to giue out many ſignes and tokens of a minde inclined not onely to come to accord with the *Venetyans*, but alſo to pardon *Frauncis Sforce*: In which good diſpoſicion the Pope omitted no good office of perſwacion and inducement both to ſolicite & confirme him, no leſſe mouing him a deuowt deſier to haue an vniuerſall tranquillity, then for that themprour ſtanding no more reſtrained and intangled with other enterpriſes, he might with better opportunitie drawe him to conuert all his forces againſt *Florence*: Onely themperour ſeamed moſt of all to be deteined by this reaſon, that it could not but be againſt his dignitie to giue occaſion to the world to beleue, that neceſſitie had almoſt induced him to pardon the crime of *Frauncis Sforce*: And *Antho. de Leua* being with him at *Bolognia* ſolicited vehemently that he would make

an other resolucion and disposing of that estate, sometimes preferring the memorie of *Alexander* the Popes nephew, and some times naming others meete to receiue such a preferment: Neuertheless for that there could not easely be found out to gouerne that estate, a personage with whom *Italie* would be contented, & the Pope hauing no inclinacion to conuert it to any of his, not that he wanted ambicion to embrace so great a thing, but because he sawe he could not accomplishe it without newe warres and newe troubles: ThEmperour at last was brought to consent to graunt safeconduit to *Frauncis Sforce* vnder colour to haue accesse to him to submit and iustefie him selfe, but in true meaning that libertie of accesse was graunted to thende thinges might be reduced to some composicion: The *Venetians* were not ill contented with his going to themprour, for that they hoped that at one time would be introduced some forme of accord to their affaires.

Neuertheless the course of armes and warre ceassed not for all these in the regions of *Lombardie*: for that *Belioyenso* who in the absence of *Antho. de Leua* was chiefe Commaunder at *Myllan*, went out with seuen thowsande footemen, to incampe before *Saint Angeo*, wherein were remayning for the strength and garrison of the towne, foure companies of footemen of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan*: And after he had vsed vppon it the seruice of his great artilleries, and that by reason of certeine raynes and showers that fell from aboue, the harquebuzes that manned and defended the walls vncouered, were made vnprofitable: He brought neare his souldiours couered with their shields, and being armed with their swords and pykes, he gaue thassault in which he presented in his owne person no lesse vallour and resolucion then was seene in any of the others: But when the defendantes were no longer hable to keepe fire in their matches by reason they stoode open to the rayne, and in that regarde being driuen to feight with other weapons, they beganne to abandon the walls no lesse thorow the vallour of their enemies who prest on with a furie equall to the fortune that fauoured them, then for their owne astonishment which was made so much the greater by howe much they were made lesse apt to doe seruice by the wretched accident of rayne that tooke away the vse of their peeces: As soone as thImperialls saw the walls abandoned of bodies to defende them, the same fierceneese that ledde them to giue the assault, brought them on to enter the place, where, in the rage of their victorie, all suche wretched creatures as they founde, they made them eyther passe by the edge of the sworde, or at least put them vnder the sentence of bitter captiuitie: After this, he determined to passe ouer to the other side of the riuer of *Adda*, and by that time he had put ouer one parte of his armie at the bridge of *Casciano*, he saw certeyne bands of Spanyardes of a newe leauie departing to goe to *Millan*, but preuenting them, he caused the souldiours that were left in the towne to take armes, by which impediment being stopped and denied to enter, they returned againe to the armie: But notwithstanding all these euents, and that the armie of Launceknightes was alreadie vpon the landes of the *Venetians*, the negociacions of the peace were so farre aduaunced and in so good tearmes, that all councells and studies of the warre beganne to vanish and growe colde: for, when *Frauncis Sforce* was brought to the presence of thEmperour at *Bolognia*, and hauing with humilitie and submission praised his benignitie in admitting him to his presence: He tolde him that so much did he reappose for him selfe in his owne iustice and equitie, that for all thinges happened before the Marquis of *Pisquairo* restrained him within the castell of *Myllan*, he desired no other propertie of suretie or supporte then his owne innocencie: And that

therefore

therefore he renounced frankely the safe conduit, the bill or escript whereof the Duke holding in his hande, he layed it at his feete, a matter which much pleased the Emprour: There was a moneth spent in debating of the difficulties aswell concerning his accord as the composition with the *Venetians*: But at last by the continuall working and interposing of the Pope, both the one and the other were concluded the xxiij. of December, *Frauncis Sforce* being bounde to paie to the Emprour within one yeare, foure hundred thowsand duckats, and fiue hundred more within tenne yeares, that is fiftie thowsand euerie yeare: and for the pawne and assuring of these payments themprour to kepe in his handes *Coma* and the Castell of *Millan*, which he bounde himselfe to render and readelyuer vp to *Frauncis Sforce* assone as the payment of the first yeare were finished: he gaue him also the inuestiture of the Duchie, or rather confirmed that which had bene giuen to him before: But to furnish three payments and to perfourme the giftes and bribes which he promised to those that gouerned the emprour, he imposed greate taxes vpon the towne of *Myllan* and throwe the whole Duchie, notwithstanding the people had bene miserably wasted and consumed both by the crueltie of their long warres, and also by the rage of hunger and pestilence: Touching the *Venetians* they accorded: That they should render to the Pope *Rauenna* and *Ceruia* with their territories, sauing their rightes, and also the Pope to pardon all such as had conspired or donne any thing against him: That they should giue vp to themprour by the ende of the next Ianuarie, all that they possessed in the realme of *Naples*, and to paye him the residue of the two hundred thowsand duckats due vpon the thirde article of the last peace contracted with them: That is to saie xxv. thowsand within one moneth next folowing, and xxv. thowsand at the yeares ende, but vpon condicion that their peeces should be rendred to them within one yeare, if either they were not rendred alreadie according to the tenor of the saied peace, or at last the controuersies and differences iudged by common arbitratours: That they should paie to the exiles fiue thowsand duckats for euerie yeare for the reuenues of their goods according to the disposicion of the treatise of the same peace: That ouer and besides this, they should paie to the Emprour an hundred thowsand duckats, the one moitie within tenne monethes, and the other halfe within a yeare after: it was further accorded that the rightes of the patriarch of *Aquilea* which had bene reserued to him in the capitulacion of *VVormes* against the king of *Hungria*, should be decided: That the Duke of *Vrbin* should be comprehended in this peace and confederacion, because he was an adherent and in the protection of the *Venetians*: That the *Venetyans* should pardon the Count *Brunoro de Gambaro*: That the traffike and entercourse should be free amongest all their subiects: and that there should be giuen no place of retraite to the corsaires or roauers who would trouble either partie: That it should be lawfull to the *Venetyans* to continue peasibly in the possession of all those thinges which they helde: That all those that had bene published rebelles for folowing the faction of *Maximilian*, the Emprour, and the king of *Hungria* since the yeare 1523. should be restored: onely the restitucion should not extende to the goods that had bene brought to their fiske: That betwene the saied parties there should not onely be a peace but also a perpetuall league defensible for their estates of *Italye* against all Christian princes: The emprour promised that the Duke of *Myllan* should kepe and holde in his estate, a strength of fiue hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horsemen, six thowsand footemen, and a good bande of artilleries, for the defense of the *Venetians*, and the *Venetians* to menteine the

Capitulacions betwene the Emprour the Venetians & duke of Millan.

like ſtrength for the defenſe of the Duke of *Myllan:* In which article was ſet downe, that whē either of their eſtates were moleſted, the other throw their cōtreys ſhould giue no paſſage of vittells, munitions, corriers, nor embaſſadonrs, reſtraining all natures of aide in their eſtates, and all paſſage or ſuffrance of ſuccours what ſo euer: That if any Chriſtian prince though he were of ſupreame dignitie ſhould inuade the realme of *Naples*, the *Venetians* to bring to the defending of it fiftene light gallies well armed: That in this preſent accord ſhould be comprehended, all ſuch as the affore named and to name, helde in their protection, though without other obligacion of the *Venetians* then for their defenſe: That in caſe the Duke of *Ferrara* accorded with the Pope and with thEmprour, it was ment he ſhould be comprehended in this confederacion: for the execucion of which accordes and compoſicions thEmprour rendred to *Frauncis Sforce* *Myllan* and all the Dukedom, and reuoked all the ſouldiours excepte ſuch as were thought neceſſarie for the garde of the Caſtell and of *Coma*, which places he rendred afterwardes according to the time couenanted: The *Venetians* reſtored to the Pope the townes of *Romagnia*, and to thEmprour the peeces which they helde in *Povvilla*.

Myllan rendred by themprour to Frāncis Sforce.

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The ende of the ninteenth Booke.

THE

THE ARGVMENT OF THE TWENTEETH BOOKE.

THemprour taketh the imperiall crowne at Bolognia, and from thence passeth into Almanie: The famulie of Medicis by the aide of themprours armie retorne to Florence: Ferdinand is chosen king of Romains: The Pope will not harken to a councell: The french king stirreth vp the Turke against themprour, and hath conference with the Pope at Marseilles.

THE TVVENTEETH BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

IT seamed that the conclusion of this peace and confederacion had reduced to their last ende, the warres of *Italye* which for their continuance, and longnes, had drawne a space of viij. or x. yeares, and for their horrible accidents had left to all the regions of that climat, matter of lamentable and iust compassion: Onely the citie of *Florence*, either more wretched in destinie, or lesse worthy of so good participacion, was not dispensed from tumultes and daungers of armes, seeing that as she was a meane & helpe to reduce others to peace, so of the contrarie, in the tranquillity of others was wrought to her selfe, matter of a more heauy and daungerous warre: for, where it was supposed that all natures of difficulties were so resolued and disgested that there was no further dowt nor impediment to deteine the accord from his perfection: Themprour leauying his companies & bandes of men of warre from the state of the *Venetians*, sent out to make warre against the *Florentins*, an army of foure thowsand launceknights, two thowsand fiue hundred Spanish footemen, eight hundred Italians, and more then three hundred light horsemen with fiue and twenty peeces of artilleries: But in this warre either for the ill directiō of the capteines, or worse order of the soldiours, much lesse that there was done any exploit notable, seeing there was performed no action worthy the exercise of a penne to write it, The assailantes lacking harts to inuade the towne, and the defendantes hauing no deuocion to assaie the fortune of a battell: They saw in the accompt of their prouisions that they had meanes sufficient to make defence for many monethes: and in the reckoning of the mindes and inclinacions of men, they dowted not of an vniuersall resolucion of the citie to resiste the quarrell inflicted against their common libertie: in which regards they hoped by tēporising so to make weary the campe of thenemies, that either for want of money which maketh the soldiour mutinus, or for some other accidēts which ordinarily ensue a cāpe, they would driue the ennemies through difficulties to dissolue the warre which they durst not resist by their vallor: Neuertheles either to auoid these difficulties or to prepare a remedy, the prince of *Orenge* had sent out xv. hundred footemen, & iiij. hūdred horsemen with iiij. peces of artilleries, to take *Lastra* wherin were three enseignes of footemē, of whom was passed to the sword two hundred bodies and the

Lastra taken.

towne taken before the reskewes of *Florence* could ariue: it hapned alſo that in the night of the xj. of December, *Stephen Colonno* with a thowſand harquebuziers and iiij. hundred halberdiers and partiſanes all armed with corſelets and caſſakins after the maner of camiſado of *Spaine*, ſet vpon the regiment of *Sero Colonno* lying in the houſes neare to the Church of *Saint Margaret de Monticio*, and in that ſurpriſe they ſlew and wounded many ſoldiours without the loſſe of one perſon of theirs: About that time were ſlaine with the bollette within the gardin of *Saint Mymato*, *Maria Vrſin* and *Iulio ſaint Croſſe*: And in the like fortune, *Pirrhus* going to *Saint Peters Borovv* to take *Montopoly* which is a towne of the contrey of *Piſa*, he was cut of by the footemen that were within *Empoly*, and being defeated in the waie betwene *Palaia* & *Montopoly*, many of his companies fell into the fortune of priſoners: The *Florentyns* ſent to the borow of *Saint Sepulchro*, *Napolion Vrſin* with an hundred & fiftie horſemen, to encounter *Alexander Vitelly* who was ſent to deſtroie the contrey all a long the ſaied borow and *Anguiaro*.

Camiſado.

But now the warre beginning to fall into action of terror and aſtoniſhment: after the regimẽts newly ſent by themprour were paſſed the Alpes, the townes of *Piſtoya* and *Prato* being abandoned of the *Florentyn* garriſons, were yeelded vp to the Pope: By reaſon whereof the armie that had left behind them no impediment, marched not to ioine with the others, but remaining incamped on the other ſide of *Arno*, they went to lodge at *Peretola* neare the walls of the citie, vnder the authoritie & gouernment of the Marquis of *Guaſt*, though the prince of *Orenge* was alwaies ſuperior and abſolute aboue all: By which diſpoſing of the armie apart and ſeparate, things were rather reduced to the forme of a ſeege, then to an action of oppugnacion: At this time alſo *Pietraſanta* was rendred to the Pope: And as the Pope labored with a perpetuall ſtudie and care of minde, to leade to perfection the purpoſes he had pretended to reeſtabliſh and ſette vp his houſe in *Florence*, ſo towardes the ende of this yeare partly at the requeſt of *Malateſta Baillon* who gaue him hope of accord, he ſent to *Florence* directly to him *Rodolffo Pio* biſhop of *Faenſa*, with whom were debated diuerſe and ſundrie thinges, ſome with the priuitie of the citie and for their profitte, and ſome in ſecrecie by *Malateſta* againſt the weale of the citie, matters which much leſſe that they ſoarted to any effect, ſeeing it was diſcerned that *Malateſta* who was now come to the expiracion and full time of his paie, had enterteined them with art & conning to thend that the *Florentins* fearing to be abandoned of him, would eſtſones reteine him into their pay with title of capteine general of the warre, which in thend he obteined: This enterpriſe of *Florence* continued alſo the yeare a thowſand fiue hundred and thirtie: and albeit the prince of *Orenge* in beginning to make new caualiers & caſt new trenches, made demonſtraciõ to batter vehemently the baſtillions but chefly the baſtillion of *Saint George* which was very ſtrong: yet what thorow his ignorance which could not be without his ignominie, and what for the difficultie in the action wherein his errour was nothing leſſe, not one deuiſe was put in execucion, the garde of the whole *Mount* apparteining to *Stephen Colonno*.

In the beginning of this yeare, the *Florentins*, taking hope in the matters of negociacion with the biſhoppe of *Faenſa*, ſent of newe other embaſſadours to the Pope, and to themprour, but with expreſſe commiſſion to innouate nothing nor harken to any mocion by the which the gouernment might be altered, or the generall iuriſdiction diminiſhed: So that as they were repugnant in the principall article, ſo they could neuer obteine audience of themprour, but according to the vanitie of their commiſſion they retorned to *Florence* without any concluſion.

There

There were within *Florence* nyne or tenne thowsande footemen strong, but payed according to the number of fourteene thowsande: And as the souldiours were resolute to defende the Citie with a great affection and readynes of fayth, So to confirme them the more, all the Capteines being assembled in the Church of *Saint Nicholas*, after the celebration of the Masse, and in the presence of *Malatesta*, they made a solemne othe to stande against the iniuries and inuasions offred agaynst the Citie vntill the laste man: Onely in this vniuersall constancie, was founde vnconstant *Napoleon Vrsin*, who notwithstanding he professed him selfe assured to the *Florentins* by receyuing their money and impreſt, yet he became a reuolte, and returning to *Bracciano*, compounded his affayres with th Emperour and the Pope, and reuoked from the seruice of *Florence* certaine capteines whom he had sent thither before.

But the Pope omitted no diligence wherein he thought was any meane to aduaunce his intention, Wherein he so wrought with the French king that he sent *Monsr Clermont* to excuse thaccorde he had made by necessitie to redeme his children: And where he alleaged how impossible it was to comprehend that state in thaccorde, he counselled them with reasons & inducements to lay themselues downe to the necessitie of the time, and take suche conditions as they might, so farreforth as they were conducible to the profit and conseruation of their liberty: In which good inclination, & to helpe to raunge the issue of things to their weale and benefite, he offred as it were to interpose in the action: He also commaunded by publike protestation *Malatesta* and *Stephen Colonno* being of the kings creation and dependancy, to depart from *Florence*, notwithstanding a part and seuerally he gaue them comfort to the contrary: But the thing that imported moste to staye his reputation and astonishe the people, was, that to satisfie the Pope and the Emprour, he retyred his ordinarie Embassador resident at *Florence*, leauing there notwithstanding as a person priuate *Emilio Ferier*, by whom for that he woulde not vtterly leaue them desperate, he made secret promise to ayde thē assone as he had recouered his children. Such was the Popes ambition in this action, and so suttle was his humor to serue his turne of all meanes that eyther art or industrie could insinuate, that he had almoste brought the Frenche king to make retyre from his Court thembassadour resident for *Florence*: Wherein to drawe better fauour to his purposes, he sent by the Bithop of *Tarby* the Cardinalls Hatte to the Lorde Chauncellor, and not long after he gratified him with the legation of the realme of *Fraunce*: And by him he solicited a new enteruiew and conference at *Thurin* betwene themprour, the French king, and himselfe: But he was aunswered in the full counsell of the king sitting, that it was enough that the children of the Crowne of *Fraunce* were vnder captiuitie, without that the person of the king should seeke to intrude himselfe into that calamitie.

Themprour taketh the Crowne at Bolognia.

The Pope and themprour did now determine to go to *Sienna*, to be more ready and apt to fauor thenterprise of *Florence*, and afterwards to drawe to *Rome* for the coronation of the Emprour: But whether it was a true or false deliberatiō, as they were vppon the poynt prepared to depart, the Emprour receiued letters out of *Germany* soliciting him to returne thither, the electors making instance for regard of the dyets, and *Ferdinand* standing to be chosen king of *Romains*, and others in respect to celebrate the counsell. By these new instances whether more effectuall for their sodennes or for their cōformitie to themprors will, al deuises & counsels to passe further were dashed, in which variatiō the empror was cō tēted to receiue

the Imperiall Crowne within *Bolognia*, beeing assisted with a great affluence of people, but susteyning a verye slender pompe and exspences: He was crowned vppon *Saint Matthiewes* daye, a daye of many happye predictions, for that on that daye was he borne, in that daye was the Frenche king taken prisoner, and during that daye was he celebrated with the enseignes and ornamentes of thImperiall dignitie.

But before thEmperour departed to returne into *Germanie*, he laboured to accorde wyth the Pope, the Duke of *Ferrara*, who the seuenth daye of Marche came to *Bolognia* vnder safeconduit: And because there was no other meane of issue or ende betweene them, they referred to the person of the Emperour the arbitration and Compromise of righte and action touchinge all their controuersies: To the whiche the Pope was induced by the generalitie of the Compromise, suche as comprehended also the quarrell and tytle of *Ferrara*, whiche the Pope doubting that according to tearmes of righte, it woulde not diuolue to the sea Apostolike, he thoughte thEmperoure had an easie meane in vsing silence for *Ferrara*, to bringe hym to render *Modena* and *Reggia*: The Pope also was induced by the worde and promyse whiche thEmperour made to hym, that if he founde that he had righte to those two Cities, he woulde pronownce iudgemente of hys syde, but if by examination it appeared otherwyse, he woulde suffer to expyre and determine the tyme of the Compromise. And to assure the obseruation of the sentence and resolution of the Compromise, there wente a couenaunt that the Duke shoulde depose *Modena* into the handes of thEmperour, at whose instance he had reuoked before his Embassadours from *Florence*, and ayded the army with a proportion of Pyoners.

After this thEmperour departed from *Bolognia* the xxij. daye, the Pope hauing lefte hym satisfied that hys intention was to consente to the Councell, if he thoughte it mighte anye waye auayle for thextirpation of the Heresies of the Lutherans: The Cardinall *Campeius* wente wyth hym as Legate, And so he passed by *Mantua*, where after he had receyued threescore thowsande duckettes of the Duke of *Ferrara*, he gaue to hym in chiefe for euer the towne of *Carpy*: After whome the Pope the xxxj. daye tooke hys waye to *Rome*, leauing the matters of *Florence* in the same estate of difficulties they were before.

The Imperialls made many signes and braueries as though they would assault the Citie, for whiche cause they had begon a trenche before the Bastillion of *Saint George*, where beeing perfourmed a hoate skirmishe the xxj. of Marche, they without receyued greate harmes: The xxv. daye the Prince of *Orenge* finding his campe muche vexed by a towre adioyning to the side of the Bastillion of *Saint George* towardes the gate of *Rome*, battered it with hys artilleries, But finding it very strong and well appoynted, after certayne volues of Cannon, he forbare any further execution. There aryued dayly at the campe newe companies and bands of souldiours, by whose insolencie and licentiousnesse for that there was no warres in any other parte of *Italie*, the harmes and ruines of the countrey of *Florence* encreased continually. The Citie of *Voltero* was rendred to the Pope, but the Castell holding good for the *Florentins*, suffred greate executions with two Cannons of thimperialles, and two Coluerines broughte from *Genes*: And the *Florentines* desyring to succour it, sente oute to *Empoly*

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an hundred and fyftie horſemen and fiue enſeignes of footemen, who making their marche by nighte, paſſed by the Campe neare the Mounte *Olyuet*, and beeing diſcouered, there were ſente oute after them certayne guidons of horſemen, who ouertooke them, but beeing skirmiſhed withall by the harquebuziers, they retyred with ſome loſſe: And the horſemen that were iſſued out of *Florence* by an other waye behinde the campe, ſaued them ſelues at the ſame tyme with the footmen within *Empoly*, where they were receyued by *Frauncis Feruccio* commaunder of that place: This man beeing ſente in the beginning of the warre by the *Florentins* to *Empoly* as commaunder ouer a verye ſmall companie of horſemen, and with a verye little authoritie, had, what with the obſeruation of the warre, and with thoportunitie of that ſeate, and with thoccaſion of prayes and ordinarie incurſions, aſſembled together a good crewe of ſouldiours of choyſe: with whome bothe by hys vallour whiche he had well expreſſed, and alſo by his lyberalitie which was infinite in hym, he was ryſen to ſo good eſtate of reputation, that the *Florentins* had no ſmall exſpectation of hym: *Feruccio* then departed from *Empoly* with two thouſande footemen and fiue hundred horſe, with whiche armie marching with great celeritie, he entred within the caſtell of *Voltero* the xxvj. of Aprill earely in the morning, where hauing well refreſhed his ſouldiours, he aſſaulted preſently the towne which was garded by *Iohn Baptiſta Borgueſo* with a verye ſlender ſtrength of footemen, and winning before night two of their trenches, he had the towne the next moarning together with the artilleries that were come from *Genes*: The firſt action he managed after he was Lorde of the towne, was by extorſions and wayes compulſiue to exacte money of thinhabitauntes of *Voltero*, and no leſſe by that good helpe then by his vallour and induſtrie, he conſtrayned to reuolte *Gimignana* and *Collo*, and cutting off the traffike of vittelles that came from *Sienna* by that waye, he had reduced the armie of the ennemies to greate difficulties, whoſe capteines thinking of no other expedition then of the ſiege, the Marquis of *Guaſt* retyred thartilleries within *Prato*. But (ſo ſuddayne and vncertayne are the things of warre) there happned into thoſe quarters vnlooked for, Capteyne *Maramus* leading a regiment of two thowſande fiue hundred footemen without paye: By reaſon of which ſuccour beeing come agaynſt the Popes will, he kepte on his courſe, for that *Maramus* went to incampe with his people at the ſuburbes of *Voltero*. The nynth of Maye was executed a greate skirmiſhe without the gate called *Romegate*, wherein remayned dead and wounded of them within the towne an hundred and thirtie perſons, & of the ſouldiors without more then two hundred bodies, amongſt whom was Capteine *Baragnino* a Spaniard. Amidde theſe enterchaunges of skirmiſhes and factions of warre, the *Florentines* forbare not to hope continually for ſome ſuccours from the Frenche king, who accordingly fayled not to enterteyne their hope wyth promiſe of a ſufficient reskewe when ſo euer he had recouered hys children: Wherein the better to aſſure and confirme them, he gaue aſſignation to the *Florentin* Marchuntes for twentie thowſande ducketts due to them long tyme before, which ſumme beeing lente by them to the Citie, was brought to *Piſa* by *Levvis Alaman*, but by ſuche parcelles and dribletts, that it dyd little comforte the warre: Moreouer *Iohn Pavvle de Cere* whome the *Florentins* had taken into their paye for the garde of that Citie, came awaye to *Piſa*. But by the conquering of *Voltero* was bredde to the *Florentins* a domage of farre greater importance: for that where *Feruccio* both contrary to the commiſſion giuen to him, and alſo becauſe he woulde goe the ſtronger to the action of *Voltero*, and hauing

withall to secure a confidēce in the fortres of *Empoly*, had left for the defence of it so small a garrison, that thimperials vsing thoccasion that was offred, went to incampe about it vnder the conduit and leading of the Marquis of *Guast*: And as for the weaknes of the defendantes and garrison, they tooke it without any resistance and with many harmes put it to sacke: So in the losse of that was brought to the *Florentins* more matter of affliction then in anye other thing during the warre, for that hauing determined to assemble in that place newe companies and regimentes, they hoped by the oportunitie of the situation which importeth muche, both to reduce into distresse and difficulties the armie that lay on that side of *Arno*, and also to open the commoditie and waye for vittells to passe to that Citie which began already to feele the want of norriture and comfort. To this also was added a newe occasion to depriue them more of the hopes they had conceyued: for after the French king had deliuered ouer his money which he was to paye to themprour, and retyred his children which was in the beginning of Iune: In place of so many aydes & succours which by his promises he had reserued till that time, he sent into *Italy* at the instance of the Pope (who to haue wholly at his deuotion the kinges Agents, created Cardinall the Bishop of *Tarby* Embassadour resident in his Court) one *Peter Frauncis Pontriemoly*, a man of great confidence with him, to insinuate some motions and practise of accorde with the *Florentins*, who by that manner of dealing discerned no further hope to be succoured by the king: Wherein they beleued the more by this inducement, that both he and the king of *Englande* ioyning together, did all that they could so to allure and gouerne the Pope, as they might hope to seperate him from the Emprour: And in that regarde the Frenche king laboured to haue some participation and interest to reduce and conuerte the *Florentins* to the Popes amitie. After the Marquis of *Guast* had taken *Empoly*, he went with the bands of souldiours whom he ledde, to ioyne with *Maramus* in the suburbes of *Voltero*: where hauing in one strength almoste six thowsande footemen, they began to batter the towne, and when they sawe they had brought to the earth more then fortie faddomes of wall, they followed thexecution of thartilleries with three furious assaultes, but with worse effect then their vallour deserued, since in the action they lost more then foure hundred men: They made afterwardes a newe batterye, and with certayne chosen bands of Spaniardes and Italians consoarted together, they gaue an other very braue and resolute assault, but with greater domage & harmes then the former assaultes: in which regarde the campe brake vp rather with great prayse then good effecte of their doinges. The same moarning about an howre before day, *Stephen Colonno* issuing out of the gate of *Faenza*, and *Malatesta* by the posterne that leadeth to *Prato*, went to giue the Camisado with three thowsande footemen to the launceknightes that were lodged in the Monastery of *Saint Donat* where they had fortified themselues: *Stephen* passed the trenches and slew many of them, But the alarme being giuen to the residue, they put themselues in order with resolution to defend their place to the last man: So that after *Stephen* had receyued a light hurt in the mouth, he retyred for feare of greater reskewes, complayning muche that *Malatesta* had not followed him.

Empoly sackt by the Marquis of Guast.

The Florentins out of hope to be succoured by the fr. king.

But in *Florence* were entred no nature of vittells nor norriture from anye parte, albeit their wantes of comfortes went on encreasing dayly, yet so resolute were they to defende their lybertie, that there could be discerned no diminution of that constancie and fidelitie that at first armed them to so holy an action: And where *Feruccio* was gone from *Voltero* to *Pisa*, and laboured by his authoritie and in-

dustrie

dustrie to assemble as great a strength as he coulde, all the hopes of the *Florentins* were reduced to his comming: for they had signifyed to hym to aduaunce and come on, and not to forbeare for anye waye or other daunger to ioyne hymselfe to the defence of the Citie, beeing resolued to giue battell to thennemies assoone as he had ioyned his forces with the mayne armie that was within *Florence*: Of whiche deuise the succesſe and issue was not so good and happie, as was greate and manyfest the rashnes of the resolution, if I maye tearme those counsels rashe whiche are drawne or deryued from a laste necessitie: for in this rested the errour of that counsell, that they were to passe thorowe the countreys of thennemies, suche as were occupyed and commaunded by a verye strong armie though dispersed into manye seuerall places. The Prince of *Orenge* who had aduertisement of this deuise, thought to goe before wyth one parte of the armie, whereof he made his greateſt assemblie of the Italian footemen: And *Malateſta Baillon* with whom he had many secrete and strayte intelligences, hauing happlye assured him in secrete that the *Florentins* suspected leaſt in hys absence he woulde assayle the armie, wente out to meete hym: And fynding him neare to *Ciuiniano* in the mountayne of *Pistoya*, a waye whiche he tooke passing from *Pisa* towardes *Lucquaye* in regarde of confidence reapposed in the Chauncellours faction well affected to the popular gouernment, he gaue hym the skirmishe with a verye small companie of men: At the firste shocke the Prince, whose rashnesse was greater then his conduite, and in whome was lesse the humor of counsell and discression then apperteyned to the place he managed, was slayne doing rather the office of a priuate souldiour then of a Capteyne or commaunder: Neuertheleſſe his souldiours gotte the victorie, and made prisoners together with manye others, *Iohn Pavvle de Cere*, and *Feruccio* whome *Maramus* slewe beeing prisoner, in reuenge as he confessed of a trumpet whome he had caused to be hanged beeing sente to him at the siege of *Voltero* to declare a message. *The prince of Orenge slaine.*

Thus the *Florentins* seemed delyuered vp to a condition abandoned of all succours bothe diuine and humaine, in whome also increased dayly afflictions of famine without hope of further remedie or comforte: And yet albeit their extremities for their nature were no lesse heauye and greeuous, then their remedies desperate, yet the obstinacie of those that opposed agaynst the accorde, was nothing abated, but was augmented by the same degrees which multiplied their wantes and extremities: Those men beeing induced by a laste dispayre not to pull vpon them their owne ruine without the destruction of the countrey, and standing nowe no more wilfully resolued to dye for the safety of the countrey, but that their common countrey and their lyues should take ende together: were also followed of many, who flattered them selues with this impression that the succours of the great God of wonders woulde not appeare before thinges were reduced to suche tearmes as there remayned no further exspectation in humayne helpe: And as the Magistrates and almoste all suche as managed any publike authoritie, were concurrant in this obstinacie, and no place left to impugne it, for that greater was the awe of the Magistrates and threates of armes, then the reasons or perswasions of those that were of the contrarie opinion: So there had bene daunger that the warre woulde haue ended with the laste destruction of that Citie, had it not bene for the industrie of *Malateſta*, who seeing the aduersitie of the Citie to be without remedie, dyd as it were constrayne them to incline to accorde: Wherein happlye he was caryed by pitie and compassion to see wholly perishe throughe the rage of

her Citiſens, a Citie ſo auncient and flouriſhing: And happly he was moued by the diſhonour and domage that mighte come to him to bee preſent at ſo greate a ruine: But the principall cauſe of his induction was, that he hoped to obteyne of the Pope by the meane of that accorde, ſuffraunce to returne to *Perouſa*: So that whileſt the Magiſtrates and ſuche as were moſt furious and forward, were conſulting to make iſſue out of the Citie the ſouldiours to giue battell to thenemies, who both exceeded them in numbers and aduauntage and ſtrength of place, and that he refuſed to go out with them: They ſuffred their paſſion to cary them ſo farre, that they decaſſed him and depoſed hym from his charge of Capteine, and ſente certayne of the moſte diſordered amongeſt them to denownce agaynſt him a commaundement to go out of the towne with his companies: A matter which both for the ſoddennes comming vnlooked for, and for the property of iniurie being not deſerued, did ſo inflame and kindle him, that ſtriking at one of them with his dagger, the aſſiſtantes that were by him had muche to do to deliuer him with his life out of his hands: By which accident the preſent company being aſtoniſhed, & the whole Citie beginning to ryſe, thoſe that were not ſo farre incenſed with paſſion and fury, began in better temperãce to reprehend the raſhnes of the *Gonfalonier*, who though he went to arme himſelfe, proteſting ſometimes that he would ſet vpon *Malateſta*, and ſometimes that he woulde iſſue out to feight with thenemies, at laſte thinges were qualified to this moderation, that the deſperate obſtinacie of many gaue place to the extreme neceſſitie of the whole: In ſo muche as in thoſe moodes they ſente out foure Embaſſadours the nynth of Auguſt to capitulate with *Don Ferrand Gonſaguo*, who for the death of the Prince of *Orenge* commaunded in the army, the Marquis of *Guaſt* beeing retyred before: with whom the day following the concluſion was made, of which theſe were the principall articles, that the Citie within very few dayes ſhould pay foureſcore thouſande duckets for the withdrawing of the armie: That the Pope and the Citie ſhoulde giue authoritie to themprour to declare within three monethes what ſhould be the fourme of the gouernment, alwayes reſeruing and ſauing their lybertie: That there was generally pardoned all maner of iniuries done agaynſt the Pope, his friendes, and his ſeruauntes: That tyll the declaration and ſentence of themprour were paſſed, *Malateſta Baillon* ſhould remayne within the Citie in garriſon with two thowſande footemen. Aſſone as this accorde was made, and whileſt the money was collected for the armie, whereof there was neede of a farre greater ſumme, for that in the Pope was found little readines to releeue the Citie with money in ſo great a daunger: The Popes Commiſſarie called *Bart. Valory* ioyning with *Malateſta* who aſpired altogether to returne to *Perouſa*, made a conuocation of the people in the publike place according to the auncient cuſtomes of that Citie, to the which the Magiſtrates and multitudes agreed through feare: And in that Parliament they introduced a newe fourme of gouernment, by the whiche was giuen authoritie to twelfe Citiſens of the faction of the *Medicis*, to diſpoſe as they thought good of the pollicie of the Citie, who reduced it to that fourme whiche it was wont to carye before the yeare a thowſande fiue hundred ſeuen and twentie. After this the armie diſlodged and brake vp, and hauing receyued money for the orderly pay and ſatisfying of the vniuerſall bandes, the Italian capteines conuerting to their owne priuate vſage to the great ignominy of their diſcipline, that which ſhould haue runne amongſt the ſouldiours by ſhare, retyred into *Florence* loaden with the money which was appoynted to paye the armie: They contented with a litle the regiments of footemen and diſ-

The iſſue of the vvarre of Florence.

The ſtate of the Citie of Florence after the ſiege.

miſſed

missed them, who remeining without leaders or commaunders went dispersed into diuers places of the contry: But for the *Spanyards* & launceknights being fully aunswered of all their payes, they went out of the townes and iurisdiction of *Florence*, & drew to the contry of *Sienna* to reorder the gouernment of that citie: And as *Malatesta Baillon*, whome the Pope suffred to returne to *Perousa* without tarying for the declaracion of th Emprour, left the citie wholly to the arbitracion and will of the Pope: So, after the souldiours were gone out of it, the persecutions & punishments of the Citizens began, the ende of one calamitie being the beginning of an other: for, those into whose power and administracion was diuolued the gouernment and authoritie, partly to assure better the state, and partly by malice conceiued against the authors of so many euills, and partly for memorie of iniuries perticularly receyued, but principally to satisfie the intencion and endes of the Pope though he made small manifestacion thereof: Those I say (obseruing happly the superficies and outward declaracion of the wordes but wresting and peruerting the inward sense) interpreted that the chapter or article by the which pardon was promised to such as had iniuried the Pope and his friendes, extended not to deface and wipe out the wrongs & crymes which by them selues were committed in matters that cõcerned the common weale: In which inclinacion to reuenge thinformacion, things being preferred vp to the Magistrates, six of the principalls were beheaded, many imprisoned, and a great number bownd ouer according to the tradicions and statutes of the citie: Insomuch as the citie being so much the more made weake and feeble, by how much she was shaked in her pillors and chiefe foundacions, And withall those that had pertaked in these reuenges and punishments being reduced into greater necessities and difficulties: The power of the *Medicis* returned more free, and more absolute, yea almost royally into that citie, which had for so long and great a warre, remeyned much impouerished of money, made naked both within and without of many inhabitants, and spoyled both of dwellings and goods abroad, & lastly stoode now more then euer deuided in it selfe: A calamitie which yet was made so much the more great and heauy, by how much had bene more lamentable for many yeres their vniuersall necessitie and difficultie to make prouision of vittels in forreine contries for the generall skarcetie and darth which the whole contry endured: for, as for that yeare by reason of the afflictions and impediments of the warre they made neither seede time nor harueste, so it was so seueare a calamitie continued to the yeares succeeding, that the citie being raked and dreyned had yssued out more money to make prouision of corne from forreine regions and cattell without the lymits of their own dominions, then had bene defrayed for the exspenses of so great a warre full of heauy burdens and charges.

In this meane while th Emprour assembling the dyet at *Auspurge*, had caused to be elected king of *Romains*, *Ferdinand* his brother: And calling into question the cause of the *Lutherans*, both suspected touching the power of Princes, and for the multitude and ambicion of their followers deuided into diuers heresies, and euen the life and example of *Martyn Luther* the originall Author of that opinion, being now almost of no consideracion: The Princes of *Germany* could deuise of no better remedie then to assemble and celebrate a councell: for, both the *Lutherans* seeking to couer their cause with the authoritie of religion, solicited vehemently to haue their cause disputed in a publike and free councell: And on the other parte it was beleued that the decrees which the councell should set downe would beare authoritie sufficient, if not to reduce and remoue the minds of the heretikes from their er-

Ferdinand elected king of Romaines.

rours, at leaſt to retyre and recouer to a more ſownd opinion one parte of the multitudes infected: But in *Germany* euen thoſe that followed the factions and opinions of the Catholikes, deſired the conuocacion of a councell, to thende to reforme the exceſſiue charges and abuſes of the Court of *Rome*: Where, what with the authoritie of indulgences, and with the profit of diſpenſacions, and laſtly with the annates or yearely frutes of benefices that were giuen, together with the allowances that in thexpedicion of them reuerted to the offices infinitely multiplyed in that Court: It ſeemed there was no other ſtudye or care then to exacte by thoſe corrupcions a huge maſſe of treaſor throughout all Chriſtendome, without regarding the health and true comforting of ſoules, nor that matters Eccleſiaſtike were rightly adminiſtred and gouerned: for, both many benefices incompatible were transferred and heaped vppon one perſon, and alſo without reſpecting the merits and worthines of men, they were eyther beſtowed by partialitie and fauor, or at leaſt ſuch perſons were introduced who for their age were incapable, or for their doctrine inſufficient, or (which worſe is) for their life and example, moſt ſlaunderous.

The Emperour was verye forwarde to ſatisfie this vniuerſall inſtance and ſolicitacion of the partes and ſtates of *Germanye*, And helde it alſo not out of purpoſſe for his affayres to appeaſe in thoſe prouinces the cauſes of the tumultes and contumacye of the peoples: In which regardes he vrged the Pope by reducing to his memorye the conference they had together at *Bolognia*, to call a councell, promiſing him (leaſt he feared his authoritye and dignitye ſhoulde fall into daunger) to bee there in perſonne to take perticularly care of him: But for the Pope, albeit there was nothinge in the worlde that coulde bee offered more to his diſpleaſing or diſcontentement then the aſſemblye of a councell, yet, to nouriſhe the opinion that men had of his good intencion, he diſſembled that inclinacion or rather cauſe of feare: And yet in effecte he had many deepe and ſetled feares: one was, leaſt the councell, to moderate the abuſes of the Court and the indiſcreete permiſſions of many Popes, woulde not too much diminiſhe and reſtrayne the power of the ſea Apoſtolyke: an other was (which was no ſmall impreſſion in him) that albeit when he was called to bee Cardinall he had proued by witneſſes that he was borne in lawefull mariage, yet in truthe he knewe it was contrarye, And albeit there coulde bee founde no lawe written that forbadde any man (not lawefully borne) to aſcende to the Papacie, yet there was enterteyned amongeſt them an auncient and common opinion, that no man vppon whome coulde bee proued illegittimacion coulde bee capable of a Cardinalls place: Thirdely he reduced to remorſſe and conſcience, that he was rayſed to the ſea Apoſtolyke not without ſome ſuſpicion of ſymonie practiſed with the Cardinall *Colonno*: And laſtely he feared leaſt for the ſeuerities and rudenes whiche he had vſed towardes his naturall contrye, accompanyed with ſo manye tumultes and aduerſities of warre, he ſhoulde bee made perpetually infamous in the generall councell, the rather for that it had appeared vppon theffectes that he was moued not to reduce that citye to a good and moderate gouernment, but was induced with ambicion and enuye to put it eftſoones vnder the yoke and ſeruitude of his houſe: In regarde of theſe cauſes and feares, lyke as he abhorred the name of a councell, and coulde not accompt the fidelitie of the Emperour a ſufficient ſewertye to him: So, after he had communicated the whole matter with ſome Cardinalls deputed to the diſcuſſion of a cauſe of ſo greate

waight,

waight, who also stoode in feare to be corrected by the councell: he aunswered that there were many reasons against the calling of a councell in that time, both for that there was no assured stabilitie of peace amongest the Princes of Christendom, And also the feare was no lesse that the Prince of *Turkes* would recõtinue the warre, in which case it were not good that he found the regions of Christendom encombred with the disputacions and contencions of the councell: Neuertheless making show to referre the resolucion of it to thEmprour, he concluded that he was contented that he should promisse in the dyet, the induction of the councell with these obseruacions: That it might be celebrated in *Italy*: That a reasonable tyme were assigned for the calling of it: That it be assisted with the person and presence of thEmprour: And that the *Lutherans* and other heretikes promising to referr themselues to the determinacion of the councell, should in the meane while desist from the practise of their corrupcions, And rendring to the sea Apostolike their due obedience, they should returne to their former conuersation of Christian Catholikes: This article made more hard the whole practise and negociacion of the councell: for, the *Lutherans* were not onely not to desist from their opinions, and ceremonies before the celebracion of the councell: but also it was beleued that they had no inclinacion to the councell, where they could exspect no other matter then a reprobacion of their doctrine, the rather for that their principall opinions had bene many times refuted as hereticall, by the former councells: yea it was thought they insisted vppon the conuocacion of this councell, for that knowing it was a matter fearfull to Popes to stand in presence of a councell, they were of opinion that the court of *Rome* would not accorde to it, And so by that meane, they should support their cause with the nations of the world, with a greater authoritie.

With these actions and intencions determined the yeare a thowsand fiue hundred and thirty, and successiuely followed the yeare 1531. wherein was wrought no great matter of emocion and stirre: for, notwithstanding it was comprehended by many signes that the French king was not onely ill contented with the accords and contracts made with the Emprour, but also stoode very desirous to innouate things to new tumults, with whom the king of *England* bare the same inclinacion especially against thEmprour for that standing in defence of the cause of the sister of his mother, he impugned the matter of his diuorce: yet the French king beeing both impouerished of money, & litle leasure to respire from the trauells of so long warrs, he sawe the time was not yet apt to kindle matters of innouacion: Neuertheless he omitted not in the meane while to conspire aswell in *Germany* with such Princes as bare mindes estraunged from thEmprour, as in *Italy* with the Pope, to whome the better to assure his amitie, he made an ouerture of mariage betweene his seconde sonne and the Popes Neece: In which practises and conspiracies he suffered him selfe to be so much ouercaried with malice and reuenge, that to the great offence of God and perpetuall infamie to the crowne of *Fraunce* which alwayes made principall profession to defend Christian religion, and for those merits was honored with the title of *Christianissimus*: he enterteyned practises with the Prince of *Turkes* to stirre him vp against the Emprour: Towards whome the *Turkes* were ordinarily ill disposed, no lesse for a naturall hatred they bare to the name of Christians, then for the matter of controuersies they had with his brother tending to questions for the Realme of *Hungrie* with the *Vayuode* whome he had taken into his protection: The *Turkes* also began with much ielousie to suspect and enuye the greatnes of thEmprour.

The French king and king of England ill disposed to the Emprour.

The French king inciteth the Turke against thEmprour.

By this time thImperiall Capteines leauied their forces from the territories of *Sienna* to leade them to *Piemont:* But before they departed, to satisfie the Pope, they reestablished within *Sienna* the famulie of *Montonowo*, repossessing them of their cõtry and goods & yet altered not the forme of the gouernment: And to assure them in their estate, they left them a garde of three hundred *Spanyards* depending vppon the Duke of *Malfy*, vnder whome, beeing not able to keepe his authoritie, thinges so reuerted forthwith to their olde disorders, that suche as had beene reestablished and restored, left for feare the thinge they could not holde by force. Moreouer the Emperour pronownced the forme of gouernment for *Florence*, dissembling that parte of the authoritie giuen to him, which lymited their libertie saued: for that according to the very instructions which the Pope had sent to him, he expressed that the citie shoulde be gouerned with the same Magistrate and in the same manner it was wont in the tymes when the *Medicis* ruled it: he declared also for chiefe of the gouernment *Alexander* the Popes Nephewe, and his sonne in lawe: And that in case of him and his yssue extinct, there shoulde succeede from hand to hande, the children, the descendants, and the next procreated of the same famulie: he restored to the citie all the priuileadges agreed vnto beforetymes by him and by his predecessors, but with this condicion annexed to be deposed from them as often as the citie shoulde attempt any thinge against the greatnes of the famulie of *Medicis*, inserting throw all the decree, wordes which showed that he tooke not his ground and inducement onely vppon the power that had beene giuen to him by the parties, but also vppon the authoritie and dignitie imperiall: In which manner of dealing where he happly satisfied the Pope more then was extended by the facultie giuen him by the writ of compromisse: he offended him as much immediatly after in a matter which was no lesse greeuous to him then the other was agreeable: for, after the Doctors especially assigned had heard and examined the controuersie betwene the Pope and Duke of *Ferrara*, before whome both the parties had produced many testimonies and inscripcions, with a long course of processe and pleading, he pronownced sentence according to their councell and relacion, that as *Modena* and *Reggia* apperteyned of right to the Duke of *Ferrara*, so the Pope in receiuing of him an hundred thowsand duckats, and reducing the tributes to the auncient manner, he should inuest him of new in the iurisdiction of *Ferrara*: Wherein the Emprour labored to insinuat into the Pope, that where contrary to his promisse made in *Bolognia* not to pronownce in case he founde his cause not to be iust, he had giuen sentence: That he was not to complaine against him, but rather to blame the Bishoppe of *Vasona* his Nuncio, to whome he alwayes gaue significacion that he woulde not pronownce sentence, for that he woulde not bee constrayned to passe iudgement against the Pope: But he perswading the contrarye and interpreting those significacions for a discharge of the promisse he had made to giue sentence if the right were in him, had pressed so muche the publicacion of the sentence that he was halfe constrayned to it for the regarde of his honour: An excuse whiche the Pope woulde sooner haue admitted, if the sentence and iudgement had not beene in the same sorte and manner, Wherein thEmprour had many tymes assayed to reduce the matter by accorde: But the poynte wherein the Pope was moste offended, was, that the Emperour in pronowncinge vppon the matters of *Modena* and *Reggia*, hadde followed a waye and taken a courrse of a Iudge moste rogorous, but in the action of *Ferrara* wherein the rigour was manifestelye for hym, he hadde donne the office of a friendelye Arbi-

The Pope holdeth him selfe offended with the Emprour.

Arbitrator and Compromittor: Therefore though he woulde neither ratifie the sentence pronownced, nor accept the payment of the money wherein the Duke was condemned, neither did he at the next feaste of *Saint Peter* accept the tribute which was publikely offred to him according to auncient custom: yet the Emprour forbare not for all that to consigne vnto the Duke of *Ferrara Modena* which he had deteyned in deputacion till that daye leauing them to decyde afterwards the differences betweene them: So that by reason of that dealing, there was not for many moneths betwene the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara*, neither an open warre nor an assured peace, the Pope lying alwayes in watche, to oppresse him with conspiracies and surprise, or els to exspect the occasion to heape against him an open warre with the supportacion of greater Princes.

This yeare of 1531. brought forth no other accidents, and the tranquillitie also went on continuing for the yeare following, A yeare more daungerous for forreine warres, then for the emocions of *Italy*: for, the *Turke* beeing kindled with the ignominie of his repulse at *Vienna*, and no lesse vnderstanding howe thEmprour was intangled in *Germany*, prepared a right huge and great armye, wherein boasting insolently of his forces, he let not to publish that his intencion was to constraine thEmprour to come to battell with him: By the rumor and renowme of which preparacions, both the Emprour put him selfe in as good order as he could, reuoking into *Germany* the Marquis of *Guast* with his Spanish regiments and a great band of horsemen and footemen *Italyans*: And the Pope promised to contribute to him a defraiment of forty thowsand duckats for euery moneth, sending for the same expedicion as Legat Apostolike, his Nephew the Cardinall of *Medicis*: And lastly the Princes and free townes of *Germany*, prepared in fauor of thEmprour and for the common defense of *Germany*, A very huge and mighty army: But the effects aunswered nothing the renowme and the feare: for, *Solyman* who for the greatnes of his preparacions, and difficultie and distance of the way could not enter into *Hungarie* but verie late, did not drawe directlie with his armie where thEmperour was, but exhibiting onely a show of warre together with certeine bragging *Caualcadoes* and braueries of horsemen, he returned to *Constantinople* leauing the enterprise vnperfect for want of vallour which he had induced and managed with so mightie preparacions: Neither did thEmperour shew any greater deuocion or readines, seeing that when he vnderstood the Turkes drew neare, much lesse that he made out to meete them, seeing vppon their retyring he omitted to pursue with all his forces the faire occasion that was offered him to reconquer *Hungarie* for his brother: Onely yeelding to his importunate desire to go into *Spaine*, he gaue order that certeine bands of Spanish footemen & some regiments of Launceknightes should be conuerted to thenterprise of *Hungarie*: But that order was immediatlie disordered by the insolent behauiours of thItalians, who pushed on by certeine their Captaines disdaining that the authority and conduit of the enterprise was giuen to others and not to them, so mutined, That hauing no reason to alleage for their tumult and the presence of the Emperour who went thither to appeale them, being not sufficient to conteine them, They tooke resolutely and vniuersally their way into *Italie*, in which disorder they marched with great hast for feare to be followed, and in their way with minds malicious they burned many villages and houses in reuenge as they said of the burnings & wasting committed in many places in *Italie* by the Launceknights: ThEmperour also returned by the way of *Italie*, and where he had set downe in what order and by what places should passe his Court and all his trayne, The Cardinall *Medi-*

The Turke returneth with shame to Constantinople.

cis, caried with humors and passions of youth, would not obey the order generallie giuen to all the traine, but in his insolencie respecting lesse the Emperours order then his owne ambicious will, he aduaunced and gotte before together with *Peter Maria Rossa* vppon whom chiefly was layed the fault of that sedicion: This bred no litle indignacion in thEmperour, either for that he imputed the beginning and discourse of the matter to the Cardinall, or else he feared least the Cardinall standing ill contented that *Alexander* his cossin was preferred to the administracion of the state of *Florence,* would goe after the bandes of Italians to lead them to trouble the affaires of *Tuskane:* In which regard he caused to be apprehended by the way, the Cardinall and with him *Peter Maria Rossa:* But after he had better considered of thimportaunce of the matter, he wrote letters for the redeliuerie of the Cardinall to whome as well as to the Pope he protested many excuses: Onely *Peter Maria* remeyned prisoner, though not long after he was released, working greatlie for him with thEmperour, the iniurie which it seemed he had done to the Cardinall.

Enteruiew of the king of England and French king.

The retyring of the Turke deliuered the regions of *Italie* of a great warre that threatned to fall vpon them: for, where the Frenche king and king of *England* with mindes full of emulacion against thEmperour, had an enteruiewe and conference together betwene *Calice* and *Bolleyne*, where taking their groundes that the Turke would abide that winter in *Hungarie* and hold intangled the forces of thEmperour: They consulted that the French king vnder that oportunitie should inuade the Duchie of *Millan,* and hauing a disposicion to draw the Pope to their parte by violence and astonishment whom they could neuer allure by other meanes, they deuised to take from him the obedience of their kingdoms in case he would not cõsent to that which they desired of him, which was for the action of *Millan* for the French king, & for the king of *England* to giue sentence on his side in the cause of diuorce: And to relate their intencions, they were determined to sende to him with sharpe commissions, the Cardinalls of *Tournon* and *Tarbes* both which bare no small authoritie with the Frenche king: But the newes which they receiued of the retyring of the Turke before the time of their enteruiew was determined, did not onely well moderate those deuises and their seuerities, but were also the cause that the king of *England* would not suffer to passe to *Calyce* the Lady *Anne Bulleine* to celebrate mariage with her publikely in that assembly, Notwithstanding that both the cause was hanging in the Court of *Rome,* & also he was forbidden by writs Apostolike vnder paine of very great iudgements to innouate nothing to the preiudice of the first mariage: But so deepe did the French king dissemble that albeit to confirme the minde of the king of *England* that he would be against the Pope, he impose by his owne authoritie vppon the Clergie of his Realme a taxe of tenthes, & dispatched the two Cardinalls to the Pope, yet not obseruing the fidelitie of his word and promisse, he sent them furnished with commissions farre differing from the resolucion of the two kings in the beginning.

A second enteruiew of the Pope and Emprour at Bolognia.

The Emprour being comen into *Italy* with a desire to speake with the Pope, the place of their meeting and enteruiewe was eftsoones assigned at *Bolognia,* A place which the Pope accepted willingly, the rather for that he would giue no occasion to thEmprour to goe to the Realme of *Naples* and by that occasion to make a longer aboad in *Italy:* A matter whereunto albeit thEmprour was induced by the reasons and perswasions of many of his Court, yet it was entierly contrary to his principall intencion who desired to make haste into *Spaine* chiefly for the desire he had to haue sonnes, his wife remeyning there: So that those two personages of that e-

state

ſtate and greatnes mette at the ende of the yeare at *Bologna*, where were obſerued betweene them the ſame demonſtrations of amitie and the ſame offices of familiaritie whiche they vſed before, but there was no more the ſame correſpondencie of willes whiche had beene expreſſed vppon their negociations the other tyme: for themperour had a great deſire to aduaunce the Councell, the better to reduce to reſte and contentment the regions and peoples of *Germanie*: He offred to diſſolue the armie liuing at a great charge bothe to him and others, But to thende he might do it with more ſuretie, he inſiſted to haue renued the laſt league made at *Bologna*, both to comprehend in it all the Italians, and to taxe the quantities & rates of money which euery particular was to contribute, if the ſtates of *Italy* were inuaded by the French: He deſired alſo to haue *Katherine* the Popes Neece maryed to *Frauncis Sforce*, aſwel to preſſe the Pope by a greater neceſſitie to looke to the preſeruatiō of that ſtate, as alſo to breake the practiſe of parentage that was ſolicited with the french king: Of all theſe matters not one was acceptable to the Pope, ſeeing the confederation was a motion contrarie to the deſyre he had to ſtande a newter ſo much as he could betwene the Princes of Chriſtendome: Wherein both he doubted many daungers generally, and eſpecially he feared leaſt the Frenche kinge taking his example and inſtigation by the king of *Englande*, woulde depriue him of the obedience of his kingdome: Touching the conuocation of a Councell, it was no leſſe grieuous to hym then before for the auncient cauſes and impreſſions: And for parentage with the Duke of *Millan*, it pleaſed hym nothing at all, for that he interpreted it to a meane to take an open hatred with the Frenche kinge, with whoſe ſeconde ſonne he had a vehement deſyre to conioyne his Neece. Theſe matters were drawne into negociation and counſell, but principally was ſolicited the poynt of the confederation, In whiche action running many monethes, were deputed for themprour, *Cnōuos*, the great Commaunder of *Leo*, *Granuelle*, and *Prato*, his chiefe counſellors: And for the Pope were delegate the Cardinall *Medicis*, *Iames Saluiatio*, and *Guicciardin*: Who as they refuſed not to go through with the confederation, for that it was all one to vncouer the Popes intention, and to gyue themprour cauſe to conceyue iuſtely a greate ſuſpicion of him, So they made inſtance to haue the *Venetians* ſownded and to be drawne to conſente to it, alleaging that bothe without them the defence of *Italie* would be but weake, and that ioyntly with them ſhoulde be protected with more reputation the common affayres if the defence were continued vppon the renowme of the former confederation: Where, if there were reſolued an other without them, it would deliuer to the world an opinion that betwene themprour, the Pope, and *Venetians* were apparant matter of diſcord: In this regarde the *Venetians* were ſolicited to condiſcend to a new confederation for the vniuerſall defence of all the regions of *Italy*, for that by the firſt league their obligation extended no further then for the affayres of *Millan* and *Naples*: Themprour alſo wiſhed with great deſire that they might be bound to the defence of *Genes*, where it was thought that when the warre was on foote, the Frenche men would be apt to recontinue their former inuaſion, a matter which they might pretende to do lawfully by reaſon of their rightes and intereſts particular, without preiudicing the contractes of *Madrill* and *Cambray*. But the Senate of *Venice* refuſed abſolutelye to renewe the confederation, or to amplifye the obligations conteyned in the ſame, A matter whiche broughte no ſmall diſcontentment to themperour, thoughe they affirmed to obſerue inuiolably that coniunction: But themperour was ſo much the more importunate, and ſo refuted all reaſons that

Katherine de Medicis.

were alleaged to the contrarye, that the articles of the confederacion beganne to be commoned vppon: And for the more effectuall handling of thinges there were ſummoned all the Pottentats of *Italy* who ſent Embaſſadors to this negociacion: They were required to enter the league, and to contribute in caſe the warre went on, euery one according to his power and poſſibilitie, wherein they made no difficultie or reſiſtance, but labored ſeuerally to eaſe the demaunde of the contribucion: Onely *Alfonſo d'Eſte* reaſoned with them that it was not reaſonable he ſhould enter into a league to defend the ſtates of others, if firſt he were not aſſured of his owne: he alleaged there could no accorde be made to warrant him againſt the Pope, nor to enter league with him: neither could he promiſſe to contribute with his treaſor to the defenſe of *Myllan* and *Genes*, if neceſſitie compelled him to exſpend it continually to keepe bands of ſouldiours within *Modena* and *Reggia*, and alſo for the ſewertie of *Ferrara*: Vppon which reaſons was deriued a new practiſe and labor to accord him with the Pope: who bearing a mind farre eſtraunged from that mocion, and yet not willing to oppoſe him ſelfe ſo apparantly againſt the inſtance of thEmprour, he proponed condicions very hard and impoſſible to be obſerued, affirming that if he ſhould leaue *Modena* and *Reggia* to *Alphonſo* who otherwayes would not come to accord, he would that *Alfonſo* ſhould reacknowledge & hold them in chief of the ſea Apoſtolike: A matter which for that it could not be done in ſuch ſort as to be iudicially auaileable without the conſent of the electors and Princes of thEmpire, reduced the Emprour to a difficultie which had no yſſue: This brought the Emprour to entreat the Pope, that at the leaſt during the league, he would be boũd not to vexe the ſtate which *Alfonſo* held, Inſomuch as after many importunities and diſputings the Pope conſented to aſſure him for xviij. monethes: And ſo at laſt was reſolued the concluſion of the league paſſed and contracted vppon *S. Mathievves* day, A day alwayes happy to thEmprour: This league and confederacion conteyned an obligacion of thEmprour, the king of *Romaines*, and all the other Pottentats of *Italy* except the *Venetians*, for the defenſe of *Italy*: Onely the *Florentyns* were not otherwayes named then in the ſame manner they were expreſſed in the league of *Conguac*, and that to thend not to trouble their entercourſſe and trades in the Realme of *Fraunce*: it was ſet downe with what proporcion of ſouldiours euery one ſhould be concurrant, and with what quantities of money to contribute for euery moneth: ThEmprours rate was xxx. thowſand duckats, The Pope for him and the *Florentyns* was taxed at twenty thowſand, The Duke of *Myllan* at fifteene thowſand, The Duke of *Ferrara* at ten thowſand, the *Genovvaies* at ſix thowſand, the ſtate of *Sienna* at ten thowſand, and the citie of *Lucquay* at a thowſand: And to thend to be found prepared againſt all ſuddeine & vnlooked for inuaſions vntill defenſe might be made with the contribucions afforenamed, it was agreed that immediatly ſhould be leauied a loane of a ſumme of money almoſt equall to the taxacions, and that not to be exſpended onleſſe the preparacions to inuade *Italy* were manifeſtly diſcerned: There was alſo ſet downe a ſmall contribucion yearely for thinterteinment of thoſe Capteines that remeyned in *Italy*, and to defraye certeine penſions to the *Svvyzzers* to ſtoppe that nation for giuing ayde of men to the French king: Ouer this league was declared Capteine generall by common conſent, *Antho. de Leua*, with ordenaunce that he ſhould remeine in the Duchie of *Myllan*. Touching the generall councell there was nothing cõcluded to the liking of thEmprour, who ſtil ſolicited the Pope to ſend out preſent ſummonce for it: But he refuſed to accompliſhe the mocion alleaging that as in that ill diſpoſicion of the time and mens mindes, there would be daunger

A league for the defenſe of Italy.

The Pope wil not harken to a councell.

daunger leſt the kings of *England* and *Fraunce* would not appeare, So if the councell were celebrated without them much leſſe that there could be introduced either vnion or reformacion of the Church, ſeeing it was to be feared leſt things would diuolue to a manifeſt ſciſme: Onely he was content to ſend out Nuncioes to all Princes to induce them to ſo holly a worke: But albeit thEmprour made a queſtion to him what would be the yſſue of thinges if thoſe two Princes did diſſent from them without iuſt cauſe, and preſſed him in that caſe to intimat the councel, yet he could neuer diſpoſe him to it, So that his Nuncioes were aſſigned and ſent out with a very ſlender hope to bring backe any good concluſion. ThEmprour was no better ſatisfied touching the negociacion of the parentage, for that when the two Cardinalls which the French king had ſent were comen to *Bolognia* and had eftſoones recontinued the negociacion of the mariage with the ſecond ſonne of *Fraunce*, The Pope gaue aunſwer to the offer made for the Duke of *Myllan* and exhibited by the Emprour: That whereas the Frenche king had long time before made an ouerture of mariage for his ſonne, & he had harkned to the mocion by the conſent of thEmprour declaring at that time his good conſent and liking, he ſhould nowe doe too greate a wronge to the Frenche king if during the negociacion he ſhould giue his Neece in mariage to one of his ennemies: But he perſwaded him that that practiſe was artificially introduced by the French king to enterteine him, and not with intencion to conclude it, ſeing there was betweene the parties ſo great diſagreement and inequalitie of degree and condicion: Laſtly he aſſured him that he would not commit ſo great an offence to the king, if he ſawe not before, the practiſe and ſolicitacion altogether broken: And the Emprour for his parte beeing not to be perſwaded that the French king would adioyne his ſonne to a matche ſo farre vnequall to him, encouraged and aduiſed the Pope, that for the better vncouering of the kings diſſimulacions, he would preſſe the Cardinals to ſend for a procuracion to contract them, which accordingly was accompliſhed in fewe dayes and exhibited in very ample forme: By which readines and reſolute meaning not onely was loſt all hope of affinitie with *Frauncis Sforce*, but alſo the ſolicitacion with the French king was purſued with ſo muche the more importunitie, and to it was further added according to the deuiſe betweene them longe before, that the Pope and the Frenche kinge ſhoulde contracte together at *Nyce*, A citye of the Duke of *Sauoye* ſtanding vppon the ryuer of *Var* and ſeparateth *Italye* from *Prouence*. Theſe matters were not a litle diſcontenting to thEmprour, aſwell for a ſuſpicion he had that betwene the Pope and French king were concluded a greater coniunction to his preiudice, as alſo for that he was ielous that in the Pope remeyned not ſome ſecrete memorie and impreſſions of his impriſonment, of the ſacke of *Rome*, of the mutacion of *Florence*, and of other wronges: To theſe he adioyned the paſſion of diſdayne wherein he iudged that the honor which the Pope had done to him in making two iorneyes to *Bolognia* to ſpeake with him, woulde ſtande derided and diminiſhed if he ſhoulde make a voyage by ſea ſo farre as *Nyce* to meete with the French king. But in vaine were theſe ſuſpicions and the cauſes of them, though he could not diſſemble them, for that in the Popes mind was vehemently noriſhed and affected the deſire of that affinitie, beeing happly moued more with ambicion and appetit of glorye in that beeing of a houſe almoſte ſimple and priuate he had obteyned in recompenſe of a baſtarde Nephewe of his, A baſtard Daughter of ſo mightye an Emperour, and nowe in exchaunge of his Neece legyttimate, he had honored his howſe with the ſeconde ſonne of *Fraunce* lawefully borne and orderly aſſured: Then that

The Pope refuſeth to giue his Neece in mariage to the Duke of Myllan.

he was induced which many councelled him, that by the meane of that parentage he might giue cooller of right (though more apparant then true) to the Frenche king, to enter for his ſonne and for his Daughter in law vppon the eſtate of *Florence*: To theſe diſcontentments of thEmprour, may be added alſo as a full accompliſhment of his diſliking, That where he made inſtance to the Pope to create three Cardinalls exhibited by him, he obteyned onely and that with difficultie the calling of th Archbiſhop of *Bary*, the Pope making his excuſes vppon the contradiction of the Colleage of Cardinalls: The Emprour ſtoode litle appeaſed in the readines which the Pope ſhowed to make a ſecret confederacion with him, wherein he promiſed to proceede iudicially to pronownce iudgements and cenſures and all other things that might be done by right againſt the king of *England* and againſt the Lady *Anne Bolleyne*: And they were bownd to make no new confederacions or accords with Princes without reciprocall conſent one of an other.

Thus thEmprour departed from *Bolognia* the daye after the concluſion of the confederacion, being now no leſſe aſſured in him ſelfe that the ſayd mariage would goe on together with thenteruiew betweene the Pope and the French king, Then he had reaſon to doubt ſome greater coniunction: And beeing embarked at *Genes* he paſſed into *Spaine* with this reſolute intencion that if the mariage of *Katherine de Medicis* were celebrated with the ſeconde ſonne of *Fraunce*, he woulde diſſolue and breake the matche made betwene his Daughter and *Alexander de Medicis*: Not many dayes after the Pope departed to goe to *Rome* beeing accompanied with the two French Cardinalls and nothing troubled with the newe confederacion: for that as he was excellent in ſimulacions and practiſes in which he was not ſurmounted with feare, ſo he had told them that vppon concluding the league the ſpaniſh armie was to diſſolue & decaſſe, A matter which would turne more to the benefit of the french king, then the league or confederacion could doe him hurt, ſeeing that aſwell for the obligacions it conteyned as for the obſeruancie and execucions of the ſame, many difficulties might happen and ſundry impediments ariſe.

Thus the ſolicitacions and practiſes begon, were continued betwene them: And as the French king was deſirous in regard of his honor and for ambicion more then for other needefull matter, that the perſon of the Pope might come to *Nyce*, ſo to allure him the more, he promiſed not to require of him any confederacion, nor to incenſe him to warre, and much leſſe to drawe him from tearmes of iuſtice in the cauſe of the king of *England*, nor to importune him to create newe Cardinalls: Neuertheleſſe he was ſomewhat puſhed on by the incitacion of the king of *England* who had now ſolemnly maried the Ladye *Anne Bolleyne*, by whome hauing by due order of time procreated a Daughter he had, to the preiudice of the Daughter of his firſt wife, declared her Princeſſe of the Realme of *England*, A title which is transferred to ſuche as are moſte neareſt the Crowne: By reaſon of which action the Pope not hable to diſſemble ſo great a contempt againſt the ſea Apoſtolike, nor refuſe to graunt iuſtice to thEmprour, had with the vowes and iuſtificacions of the Conſiſtorie publiſhed that king guiltie of the cryme of contempt: A matter which moued the king of *England* to deſire with more importunitie both the parentage and enteruiewe of the Pope with the French kinge, hoping muche in that kinge to remedye his cauſe, and that if the Pope were induced to common vppon new matters againſt thEmprour, he woulde deſire to reſtore him and to drawe him to their coniunction, and ſo almoſte to conſtitute a triumuirate to giue lawes to the thinges of *Italy*: At laſte his going was concluded but not to *Nyce*, for

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some difficultie interposed by the Duke of *Sauoy* touching the consigning of the Castel to the Pope, hauing in likelyhood no inclination to displease the Emperour: But the place was chaunged to *Marseilles* greatly to the pleasing and appetite of the French king, who interpreted it not a little to his honour to reduce the enteruiew into his kingdome, Neyther was it discontenting to the Pope, as one that desired to satisfie him more with demonstrations to please his ambition, then with effects according to true meaning. The Pope caused to be published a brute that he went to this enteruiew principally to solicite an vniuersall peace: secondly to perswade an enterprise agaynst the Infidells: thirdly to reduce and call backe to good wayes the king of *Englande:* and lastely and onely for common and generall interests, and to establish some good fourme in the vniuersall affayres: But beeing in deede not hable to dissemble the true cause of his iourney, before he departed he sent his Neece to *Nice* vpon the gallies which the French king sent to him, accompanied with the duke of *Albania* vncle to the young Lady: Which gallies after they had deliuered the Lady to *Nice* returned to the port *Pisan*, and tooke in the fourth of October the person of the Pope with a trayne of many Cardinalls, whom with a happy nauigation they brought in few dayes to *Marseilles:* There he made his solemne entry, and after him entred the French king, who had visited him before by night: They were lodged in one Pallace, and exercised reciprocally one vpon an other right great offices and demonstrations of amitie, And the king who especially laboured to insinuate into his fauour and to winne him, besought him to sende for his Neece to come to *Marseilles*, which beeing perfourmed with a willing readines in the Pope, who forbare to preuent the king in that motion to shewe that he would first debate of the common affayres, so soone as the Lady was come the contractes wente on which were immediatly confirmed and made perfect by the consommation of the mariage, to the incredible gladnes of the Pope: Who albeit with such art solicited his affayres with the king, that the king reappposed a wonderfull confidence in his wordes, and honored him with a singular affection: yet both contrary to thopinion of all men and especially agaynst thexspectation of themprour, no article or capitulation was passed betweene them: Onely the Pope shewed him selfe alwayes well inclined and desirous that the state of *Millan* might be conuerted to the Duke of *Orleance* husbande to his Neece: A matter also vehemently thirsted after by the king for a hatred & despite he bare to the Emprour and his greatnes & fortunes, But much more for that the duke of *Orleance* hauing to his share an estate of that apparance & greatnes, he thought that therby would be quenched the occasiõs of contentions betwene his children after his death, which otherwise he feared might fall amongest them for the title of the Duchie of *Britaine*: An estate which the king in the yere before contrarie to the couenauntes made by king *Levvis* with those people, had annexed and vnited to the Crowne of *Fraunce*, wherevnto he induced the subiects of that state to consent more by his kingly authoritie then of their proper inclination and will. Moreouer in this enteruiew muche lesse that the king coulde obteyne any fauour of the Pope in the cause of the king of *Englande*, seeing beeing discontented with the inciuilities of the Agentes of that king whom he founde in the Popes chamber protesting and appealing from him to the Councell, he tolde the Pope that it should nothing offende him if he pursued that king and his cause according to the rule of iustice: yea he was so moderate in his demaundes and dealings, that in nothing did he offende the minde of the Pope, sauing that more to satisfie others of his Court and counsell then to content himselfe, he solicited him

Enteruiew of the Pope and fr. king at Marseilles.

Katherine de Medicis maried to the second sonne of Fraunce.

to create three Cardinalls: A matter not a little discontenting to the Pope, not so muche for thinstance whiche themperours Embassadour made to the contrarie, as for that he interpreted it to an action of great consequence both for thelection of other Popes hereafter, and for the disobediences whiche might happen in hys lyfe and after, to adde so many Cardinalls to the French nation beeing at that time fixe in number: Neuertheless to preuent a greater euill with satisfying the lesser, he accomplished the kings demaunde, making to be concurrante in the action of that creation, a brother of the Duke of *Albanie* to whome he had before promised the Cardinalls Cappe: In all other regardes they seemed to stande firme and assured in all sortes of fidelitie and satisfaction, and in that good estate of inclination and amitie the Frenche king was not curious to communicate with him many of his counsells, and especially his determination to stirre vp agaynst themprour certayne Princes of *Germany*, and chiefly the *Lantgraue van Hesse* and the Duke of *VVittemberg*, who the sommer following drewe into commotion: And so wyth these actions and demonstrations of amitie and office, after they had passed a moneth at *Marseilles*, the Pope returned vppon the same Gallies that brought hym: But beeing with great stormes and tempestes of sea aryued at *Sauona*, where reaposing no more confidence neyther in the prouisions of the gallies, nor in the industrie and experience of those that gouerned them, he sente backe agayne the same gallies that had deliuered him out of his first perilles, and tooke his course to *Ciuitavecchia* in the gallies of *Andre Dore*, from whence beeing returned to *Rome* with a right great reputation and wonderfull felicitie, especially to suche as had seene him prisoner in the Castell of *Saint Angeo*, he reioysed as it were at his wyll in the full fauour of fortune, feeling notwithstanding in the secrete apprehensions of his spirite and minde the chaunge that was speedily to happen to him, In which impression he seemed to foresee and discerne his laste ende: for it is certayne that almoste assoone as he was returned from his voyage to *Marseilles*, from whence he seemed to bring certayne predictions and comettes of his death, he caused to make the Ring with all other habites accustomed to bury Popes, assuring his familiars with a mind wel reposed & resolute, that his lateste dayes could not be deferred for any long time. Neuertheles nothing retyring for all those impressions, from his cares & studies accustomed, he solicited as he thought for the greater suretie of his house, to buyld a very strong Citadell within *Florence*, not knowing how soone was to ende the felicity of his Nephews: of whō being mortal enemies one to an other, *Hippolito* the Cardinall dyed before the ende of the yere of the Popes death, not without suspicion of poyson, And *Alexander* the other Nephew who commanded at *Florence* was (not without a great note of indiscression) secretly slayne by night in *Florence* by the handes of *Lavvrence* one of the same famulie of *Medicis*.

The Pope knoweth his end.

The Pope sickned about the beginning of sommer, whose griefe in the first apprehension was the paines of the stomack, which drawing with them to passions of a feuer & other accidents, kept him long time vexed & tormented, somtimes seming to be reduced to the poynt of death, and sometimes so eased and releeued, that he gaue to others but not to himselfe a kinde of hope of recouering. And during the time of his maladie the Duke of *VVittemberg* by the ayde of the *Lantgraue van Hesse* and other Princes, concurring also the money of *Fraunce*, recouered the Duchie of *VVittemberg* which the king of *Romains* possessed: By which occasion fearing a greater combustion they came to composition with the king of *Romains* agaynst the will of the French king, who well hoped that themprour in regarde of those emotions

motions would ſtande intangled with a long and tedious warre, and that happlye their armies being victorious would diſcende vpon the duchie of *Millan*. In lyke ſort about that time *Barbarouſſo Baſcha* & capteine generall to *Solyman* of all his Nauies and armies by ſea, paſſed to the conqueſt of the kingdome of *Thunis*: In his way thither he skowred along the ſhores of *Calabria*, and ranne vp aboue *Caietta*, where ſetting on lande certayne bandes of his ſouldiours, he ſacked *Fondy*, with ſuch a feare and aſtoniſhment to the Court and peoples of *Rome*, that it was ſuppoſed that the Citie of *Rome* had bene left abandoned if in that courſe of victorie they had paſſed on further: This accident was kept from the knowledge of the Pope, who being no longer hable to make reſiſtance agaynſt his maladie, exchaunged this life for a better the xxv. of September, leauing behinde him in the Caſtell of *Saint Angeo* many ryche ſtones and iewels, more then was exſpected of him, and in the Chamber of the ſea Apoſtolike infinite offices, contrary to cuſtome and good order, but in the treaſorie a very ſmall ſtore of money, wherein he beguyled the opinion of all men: He was rayſed from baſe degree to the place of the Popedome with a wonderfull felicitie, but in managing the place he proued a verye great variation of fortune, wherin if both the properties of fortune be euenly balanced the one with the other, the worſer fortune without all compariſon was farre more familiar with him then the better: For as there could happen to him no greater infelicitie then the aduerſitie of his impriſonment, for that with his owne eyes he behelde with ſo greate a ruine and deſtruction, the ſacke of *Rome*, A deſolation whiche his fortune ſuffred him to bewayle with pitie and compaſſion, but not to turne away or remedie the harme: So alſo by him moued the generall deſolation of his naturall countrey, to the which by howe muche more he was bounde by perpetuall obligations, by ſo muche greater was his aduerſitie to be a chiefe inſtrument in the ruine of the place where he had taken his firſt beeing: He dyed hated of all the Court, ſuſpected to moſt Princes, and for the diſcourſe of his lyfe, he left behind him a renowme rather hatefull then acceptable: for he was accounted couetous, of litle fidelitie, and naturally farre of from doing pleaſures to men: And in that humor albeit during hys tyme of Pope he created xxxj. Cardinalls, yet vppon none of them did he impoſe that dignitie to content himſelfe, but was drawne as it were by the violent lawe of neceſſitie and to pleaſe others: yea he called to that dignitie the Cardinall of *Medicis*, not of his proper and free election, but at the contemplation and perſwaſion of others, and at a tyme when beeing oppreſſed with a daungerous maladie, yf he had dyed, he had lefte his friends and kinred in the ſtate of beggers and depriued of all ayde: Neuertheleſſe he was in counſel very graue, and in his actions much foreſeeing: Touching paſſions and affections a conqueror of himſelfe, and for the facultie of his minde and ſpirite of great capacitie and power, if tymerouſnes had not oftentimes corrupted his iudgement. Immediatly after his death the Cardinalls going the ſame night into the Conclaue, elected in his place with full voyce, *Alexander* of the famulie of *Farneſa*, a Romayne by Nation, and for his time the moſt auncient Cardinall of the Court: In which election their voyces ſeemed conformable to the iudgement and inſtance that *Clement* had made, the perſon elected being moſte worthy to be preferred before all the others to ſo ſoueraigne a degree, for that he was both furniſhed with doctrine and good learning, and fully repleniſhed with good apparantes and cuſtomes: And for the Cardinalles they were ſo muche the more forwarde to paſſe the election in his perſon, by howe much for the greatnes of his age beeing already vpon the threeſcore and ſeuenth yeare, and ſup-

Barberoſſa at Thunis.

Death of pope Clement the vij.

Creation of Pope Paule the thirde.

poſed to beare a weake and vnſounde complexion (which opinion he nouriſhed with arte) they hoped he would not ſitte long in the ſeate. But touching his actions and operations whether they aunſwered thexſpectation conceiued of him, or whether they were worthy of the incredible gladnes which the people of *Rome* tooke to haue after the end of an hundred and three yeres, and after the ſucceſſion of thirteene Popes, a Pope of blood and nation a Romaine, and of language and education of one familiaritie with themſelues: it ſtandeth in the teſtimonie and relation of thoſe who are to write of the accidents hapning in *Italy* ſince his election: So is to be verified the ſentence of the prouerbe, that *The office ſetteth out the dignitie of the perſon that manageth it.*

The ende of the twenteeth and laſt Booke.

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